KURDISH
STUDIES

Language Attitudes and Religion: Kurdish Alevis in the UK

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Abstract

In this article I report on results of a Matched Guise Tests (MGT) study investigating attitudes towards Bohtan (BHKr) and Maraş Kurmanji (MRKr) spoken among the UK diaspora. I focus on BHKr, which I use to refer to the Kurmanji that is identified as "good Kurmanji", also referred to as "academic"/ "proper", and MRKr to refer to the Kurmanji that is referred to as "bad Kurmanji" by Kurmanji speakers in the UK (Yilmaz, 2018). The MGT, and questions pertaining to perceptual dialectology such as respondents' perceptions of region, religion, gender and class in this study, show that attitudes towards what is perceived as BHKr and MRKr differ significantly. By concentrating on language attitudes towards Kurmanji which have never been studied in the UK context before, this paper investigates negative and positive evaluations of both BHKr and MRKr in relation to religious affiliation.

Keywords: Language attitudes, religion, matched guise tests, Kurdish-Kurmanji, Alevis.

Abstract In Kurmanji

Helwêstên zimanî û dîn: Kurdên elewî li Ingiltereyê

Di vê gotarê de encamên taqîkirineke bi rêya testa "matched guise" li ser helwêstên beramber kurmanciya Botan û ya Mereşê li nav endamên diasporaya Ingiltereyê hatine pêşkêşkirin. Her du devokên kurmanciyê yên Botan û Mereşê hatine nirxandin, ku li nav axêverên kurmanciyê li Ilgiltereyê (Yilmaz, 2018) devoka Botan li beramber "kurmanciya baş" an jî "akademîk" tê danîn û kurmanciya Mereşê jî wek "kurmanciya xerab" tê danîn. Testê û pirsyarên li ser devoknasiya sehkî (perceptual dialectology), wek seh û nezera beşdaran li ser dever, dîn, cinsiyet û çînê di vê xebatê de nîşan didin ku sehên axêveran derheq kurmanciya Botan û Mereşê bi rengekî girîng ji hev cuda ne. Bi rêya hûrbûna li ser helwêstên zimanî beramber kurmanciyê, ku heta niha qet nehatiye vekolîn li Ilgiltereyê, ev gotar berê xwe dide tehlîla nirxandinên erênî û nerênî yên li ser devokên Botan û Mereşê di warê aîdiyeta dînî de.

Abstract in Sorani

Hellwêstî zmanî û ayîn: 'Elewîye Kurdekan le Şanşîne Yekgirtuwekan

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Lem wtareda ew twêjîneweye radegeyenim ke Matched Guise Testis (MiGT) î bo lêkollînewe le hellwêstî Kurmancî axêwerekanî Bohtan (BiHKir) we Maraş (MiRKir) le naw dayesporay şanşîne yekgirtuwekanda. Min terkîzm xistote ser ((BiHKir, bo amaje dan bew kirmancaney bekardênim ke be "kurmancî baş" nasrawn, herweha wek "ekadîmî"/"lebar" amajeyan pêdrawe, we (MiRKir) bo ew kurmancaney ke be "kurmancî xrap" lelayen kurmancye axêwerekanî şanşînî berîtana amajeyan pê dedrêt ((Yilmaz, 2018.) (MIGT) legell pirsyarekanî peywest be pey birdin be zansitî zarawekan, bo nmûne sernicî wellamgokanî naw em twêjîneweye bo nawçe, ayîn, regez û çîn, ewe pîşandeden ke hewlliwêstekan derbarey ewaney ke be (BiHKir) û be (MiRKir) debînrên zor cyawazn. Be terkîz kirdne ser hellwêste zmanîyekan derbarey kurmancî ke hergîz pêştir le şanşîne yekgirtuwekan dîrase nekrawe , em babete lêkollînewe le hellsengandne erênî û nerênîyekanî heryek le (BiHKir) û (MiRKir) le peywend be întîmay dînî dekat.

Abstract in Zazaki

Tewrê ziwanî û dîn: kurdê elewî yê Qiralîya Yewbîyayîye

Ez na meqale de netîceyanê cigêrayîşê Testanê Seypêkerdeyan ê Guiseyî (MGT) ke derheqê tewranê ziwanî yê kurmancîya Botanî (BHKr) û Mereşî (MRKr) yê ke dîyasporaya Qiralîya Yewbîyayîye de qesey benê, înan analîz kena. Ez giranî dana BHKr ser ke hetê qiseykerdoxanê kurmancî yê Qiralîya Yewbîyaye sey "kurmancîya rinde" yan zî "kurmancîya akademîke/raşte" hesibnîyena, û MRK ser ke sey "kurmancîya xirabine" hesibnîyena (Yilmaz, 2018). MGT û persê ke derheqê dîyalektolojîya îdrakîye de yê, sey dîyayîşê îdrakkerdoxan yê herêm, dîn, cinsîyet û sinife ke na meqale de ca girewto, ê musnenê ke tewrê înan ê hemverê BHKr û MRK yewbînan ra zaf cîya yê. Pê giranîdayîşê tewranê zimanî yê hemverê kurmancî ser, ke heta nika ê tewran ser o Qiralîya Yewbîyayîye de qet cigêrayîş nêameyo kerdene, na xebate erjnayîşanê BHRr û MRKr yê pozîtîf û negatîfan goreyê têkilîya xo ya dînî analîz kena.

Introduction

Sociolinguistic studies have dealt with social factors such as social status, gender and age (Labov, 1966), and the ways in which these are intertwined with change and variation (Eckert, 2012). However, religion has not been taken into account as a social variable in terms of group identity, ideology/beliefs about language and language maintenance (Omoniyi and Fishman, 2006), although it has been recognised as a significant factor in language use (e.g. lexical borrowing, Zuckermann, 2006). In recent years there has been a growing interest in carrying out research in the area of intersection of language and religion in sociolinguistic studies (Yaeger-Dror, 2014; 2015; Yaeger-Dror and Cieri, 2013) that focuses on "volatile sectarian and political communities" (Yaeger-Dror, 2015: 69) such as certain communities found in the Middle East and North Africa (Germanos and Miller, 2015). The linguistic and religious diversity among Kurmanji speakers make them an important case in the investigation of language and

religion. Therefore this paper focuses on language attitudes (Garrett, 2010; Ryan et al., 1982), namely participants' evaluative reactions towards two varieties of Kurmanji in order to investigate the interrelationship between language and religion. Language attitudes show how religious affiliation could "have an effect on one's social networks" (Baker and Bowie, 2015:116) and also how "religious group preferences can impact on speech" (Yaeger-Dror, 2015:69). Based on these, I argue that religion, alongside regional affiliation, needs to be considered in theorisation of language attitudes.

The term MRKr is often used as a derogatory term that refers to the type of Kurmanji spoken in Alevi populated areas such as Maraş, Sivas, and Malatya in the south of Turkey; and the term BHKr is used to refer to a variety spoken in Sunni populated areas such as Şırnak, Siirt and Batman in the southeastern parts of Turkey. Alevi Kurds often make comments such as "they [BHKr speakers] speak good Kurdish", attributing positive values to BHKr. By contrast they make comments such as "our Kurdish is not proper", attributing negative values to MRKr (Yilmaz, 2018). Phonetic variants such as [aː] ~ [ɔː] and [ɛ]/ [æ] ~[aː] that MRKr and BHKr speakers use are evaluated as good or bad Kurmanji.

Alevis are often defined as "heterodox" and "kızılbaş"[2] (red head) both of which have pejorative connotations. Alevis in Turkey have been subjected to systematic religious and linguistic assimilation policies (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012) as well as bloody attacks which took place in Çorum, Elbistan, Maraş, Malatya, Sivas and Yozgat at the end of the 1970s. Many Alevis live in geographically remote rural places and mountainous areas such as Maraş and its surroundings in order to avoid conflict with the Sunni population. Oppression by the state and by Sunni religious groups forced many Alevis to migrate to western cities in Turkey and Europe and currently, many of these rural areas have been abandoned due to mass internal or external migration. Alevis differ from Sunni Kurds in their rituals, for example, they go to *cem* houses as opposed to *mosques*, they also fast during *Muharrem* as opposed to *Ramadan* (Keles, 2014). Alevis are mainly stereotyped as "atheists", "leftists", "communists", "anarchists" (Keles, 2014) as well as "promiscuous", "alcoholics" and in my personal encounters they were also referred to as "modern", "Kemalist", "educated" and "CHPli" (Republicanists) (see Okan, 2017). They are also referred to as Kızılbaş/Qizilbash (redhead) in a negative pejorative sense (Yilmaz, 2016). This term has pejorative connotations not only today but historically as well:

> For a long time, the Kızılbaş had no definite name. In the Ottoman documents, they are called *zındık*, heretic, *râfızi*,

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[2] All translations are the author's own.

schismatic, and also "shi'ite", *mülhid* and atheist. Later on they will become known as *Alevi. Kızılbaş* is their historical name. […] *Kızılbaş* means "red head". […] In the Ottoman documents, *Kızılbaş* has the meaning of "heretic" and "heretic rebel". That pejorative meaning was the reason why the name *Alevi* took place of *Kızılbaş* and became that of the heterodox groups in Turkey (Olsson et al., 2005: 7)

Sunni Kurds on the other hand follow two schools of Islam, namely Shafi'i and Hanafi. The majority of Sunni Kurds follow the Shafi'i school of Islam. The differences between the two schools relate to prayer, fasting and other practices such as marriage and divorce. Van Bruinessen (1991: 2-3) argues that:

Most of them follow the Shafi'i mazhab (school of Islamic jurisprudence), which distinguishes them from their Turkish and Arab Sunni neighbours, who generally follow the Hanafi school. To some Kurds therefore the Shafi`i mazhab has become one of the outward signs by which they assert their ethnic identity. […] Shafi`is perform, for instance, the morning prayer at an earlier time than Hanafis, they keep their hands in a different position during prayer, and have different rules for what disturbs ritual purity. Such minor details in behaviour have at times been deliberately used by Kurds to distance themselves from Turks and Arabs.

As well as these religious differences among Kurmanji-speaking Alevis and Sunnis (also Shafi'is and Hanafis), there are also linguistic differences which bring another layer of complexity to the ways in which Kurmanji speakers align themselves differently in relation to their regional identities. Many Alevi and Sunni Kurds live in separate geographical locations in Turkey. In other words, religious affiliation predetermines the locations where Alevis choose to live. Geaves (2003: 60) argues that "Alevi ethnicity has developed by creating a clear boundary between itself and that of Sunni Muslims who function as the definite 'other'." Giles (1979: 253) defines an ethnic group as "those individuals who perceive themselves to belong to the same ethnic category". I argue that Kurmanji variation and attitudes towards MRKr and BHKr are contextualised in the framework of speakers' religious and regional identities which mark the boundaries between the two groups.

Kurmanji and variation

Classified under the "Western Iranian group of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family" (Thackston, 2006: vii), Kurdish has two major varieties: Kurmanji and Sorani. Kurmanji is spoken mainly in Turkey, Syria, Armenia and Azerbaijan and in some small parts of Iraq and Iran. Thackston

(2006: viii) argues that due to historical and political reasons the Kurmanji variety of Kurdish is far from being "unified, normalised, or standardised" whereas Sorani, which is spoken by the Kurds of Iraq and Iran, has been the second official language of Iraq since WW1. Although Kurmanji variation is not very well documented, Öpengin and Haig (2014: 147-148) categorise Kurmanji in Turkey under five regions (see figure 1). BHKr broadly corresponds to the Southern dialect region and MRKr corresponds to the Northwestern dialect region. I will use these terms only when necessary otherwise I will use the terms Bohtan and Maraş since it was these that were used by participants during my ethnographic fieldwork.

Figure 1 Map of major regional dialects in Kurmanji

Source: Öpengin and Haig (2014: 148)

Southeastern dialect region (SEK): this region includes the Hakkâri Province of southeastern Turkey and the Duhok Province of Iraq Kurdistan, and includes what is traditionally called the Badini dialect.

Southern dialect region (SK): this region includes the central-southern section of the Kurmanji speech zone, including the Kurmanji of the Mardin (Kr. *Mêrdîn*) and Batman provinces in Turkey, as well as sections of Şırnak (Kr. *Şirnex*), some districts of Diyarbakır (Kr. *Diyarbekir*) and the Şanlıurfa (Kr. *Riha*) provinces in the Kurdish region in Turkey as well as in Hasaka Province in Syria and the region of Sinjar in Iraq.

Northern dialect region (NK): this dialect is commonly referred to as "Serhed" Kurdish, and in Turkey includes the provinces of Muş (Kr. *Mûş*), Ağrı (Kr. *Agirî* or *Qerekilîs*), Erzurum (Kr. *Erzerom*) and some districts of the provinces of Van (Kr. *Wan*), Bitlis (Kr. *Bilîs/Bedlîs*), Bingöl (Kr. *Çewlig*) and Diyarbakır.

Southwestern dialect region (SWK): this region includes Adıyaman (Kr. *Semsûr*), Gaziantep (Kr. *Entab*) and the western half of the Şanlıurfa provinces of Turkey as well as the northern section of the Aleppo (Kr. *Heleb*) Province in Syria.

Northwestern dialect region (NWK): this region includes the Kurmanji varieties spoken in Kahramanmaraş (Kr. *Meraş*), Malatya (Kr. *Meletî*) and the Sivas (Kr. *Sêwaz*) provinces.

MRKr shows highly divergent features, lexically and phonologically, from BHKr, and it is the most stigmatised [variety] among all the Kurmanji varieties (Öpengin and Haig, 2014). This stigma is assigned in all levels of Kurdish society because MRKr is stereotyped as a mixture of Turkish and Kurdish and hence identified as a "contaminated" variety. Although Kurmanji in all of Turkey shows "many traces of Turkish influence" (Haig, 2006: 283), the Kurmanji of Alevi populated areas such as Maraş is stigmatised by its own speakers as well as by others who are classified as speaking "pure" Kurmanji. The stigma of course has no empirical ground but it is related to how Alevi and Sunni Kurds identify themselves differently.

Table 1. Sound correspondences in Kurmanji (based on data from Öpengin and Haig, 2014)

Bohtan Kurmanji   **Maraş Kurmanji**

a [aː]	agir	fire	[ɔː]	ɔːgir
e [ɛ]/ [æ]	dev	mouth	[aː]	daːv / (æv/ æw)
[iː]	īro	today	[h]	huroː
VbV [-b-]	hebū	there was	[-w-]	hawu
Xw	xwē	salt	[xʷeː]	xwe

Sounds are realised distinctively in BHKr and MRKr. For example, the vowel [aː] in BHKr, is realised distinctively in MRKr as a mid-low back rounded vowel [ɔː] (Özsoy and Tuŕkyılmaz, 2006) e.g. ɔgir ~ agir and kavir ~ kevir in BHKr (Öpengin and Haig, 2014).

Özsoy and Tuŕkyılmaz (2006) suggest these vowel changes are connected to a Turkish influence. Turkish influence on MRKr is taken for granted and its influence on BHKr is often dismissed in scholarly work. The differences could be related to factors such as convergence/divergence due to migration

or historical or social changes, e.g. Alevi Kurds prefer to live in neighbourhoods where they can co-exist with Turkish Alevis rather than living with Sunni Kurds[3].

Language and religion

A significant study was carried out by Baker and Bowie (2010), who investigated whether religious affiliation among English speakers who identified as Mormons (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) in comparison to non-Mormons correlated with vowel contrasts (hot-caught, pin-pen, bag-beg, fail-fell, and pool-pull-pole) in Utah County. Two groups of informants were used in the study. One group provided recorded instances of Utah English and the second group provided perceptual information. The participants who provided the recorded data were age and gender matched participants from Utah County. All the participants had lived all or a majority of their lives (immigrating to Utah before the age of 5) in Utah County, Utah (Baker and Bowie, 2010: 3). Next, participants unfamiliar with Utah English were asked to judge which of the two vowels in a vowel pair contrast was produced by the speakers. Their findings showed evidence of differences based on self-described religious affiliation for several of the vowel mergers, and those who self-described as Mormons exhibited considerably different linguistic behaviour from those who described themselves as non-Mormons. Further the study showed that religious commitment was a key factor in the formation of social networks which led to linguistic differences between Mormons and non-Mormons (Baker and Bowie, 2010).

There are Sunni-*Zaza* (also Zazaki) and/or Kurmanji speaking Kurds, Alevi-Zaza/Kirmancki (Kurds of Dersim refer to Zaza as Kirmancki) and Kurmanji speaking Kurds as well as Sunni Kurds whose religious practices are mainly in Arabic (since it is believed that the Qur'an should be read in its original language). In the same vein, the religious ideological orientation of Alevi Kurds involves distinctive linguistic dynamics in their faith-based organisations. For example, the London Cemevi, an Alevi house of worship, carries out rituals in Turkish, with Kurdish playing hardly any role in this particular setting. In my personal encounters and visits to *Cemevis* both in

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[3] Many Turkish Sunni settlements were transplanted in Kurdish Alevi areas such as Malatya and Maraş after the establishment of the Turkish state in the 1920s in order to systematically convert Alevi Kurds into Sunni Turks. Van Bruinessen (1996) argues that this assimilation process was voluntary as Alevi Kurds and Turks were both in support of secularism in this period. However, through endogamy and other strategies such as the kirve tradition, a ceremony for the circumcision of boys, Alevi Kurds distance themselves from both Sunni Turks and Kurds. The kirve tradition prohibits marriage between the families, both family members of the circumciser and the circumcised. Dinç (2015) maintains that "From the moment the kirvelik relationship has developed between the two families, the members of these have absolute prohibition to marry". Therefore it is difficult to establish that the distinctive vowel differences between BHKr and MRKr (as opposed to other Kurdish dialects) are merely due to Turkish influence.

Turkey, Germany and the United Kingdom, Kurmanji (and also Kirmancki) were not used during the *Cem* ceremonies. As an anecdote one of my participants who often visited the *Cemevi* in London said "We were not allowed to speak Kurdish in the *Cemevi* in the 80s". This is partly because Kurmanji was banned in Turkey via the 1982 Constitution (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2013: 167) and partly due to the assimilation policies that Alevi Kurds underwent in the 1980s and also their secularist aspirations, where the Kurdish language is associated with being backwards (see Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012). The national identity of Alevi Kurds is defined as "ambiguous" especially when they define themselves as Alevis without mentioning the word Kurdish. While Aydın (2018: 19) argues that Alevism is a contested identity and difficult to define, he suggests that Alevism is an ethno-religious identity where "unity has been established, not over language but in terms of the hearths and their positioning against the 'other'". It is often argued that Alevis should assert their national identity first over their religious identity. Van Bruinessen (1997: 1) argues that:

> The existence of Kurdish-([Kurmanji] – my emphasis) and Zaza-speaking Alevi tribes, who almost exclusively use Turkish as their ritual language, and many of which even have Turkish tribal names is a fact that has exercised the explanatory imagination of many authors. Both Turkish and Kurdish nationalists have had some difficulty in coming to terms with the ambiguous identity of these groups […]

All these factors in the intersections of linguistic, national and religious affiliations demonstrate the complexity inherent in the study of language attitudes in the context of Alevi Kurds in the UK. Many Alevis claimed asylum in the UK at the end of the 70s, after the ethnic and religious persecution they experienced in Sivas, Malatya, Maraş and surrounding areas (McDowall, 2004; Demir, 2012), as well as during the armed conflict between the The Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê*, PKK) and the Turkish armed forces in the 1990s. Alevis in the UK (see Jenkins and Cetin, 2017; Cetin, 2017) are mainly Kurdish but there are Turkish Alevis too, however, many Alevis do not categorise themselves as either Kurdish or Turkish and many Kurdish nationalists do not like the terms Alevi and Sunni Kurds. Their dis/loyalty to Kurdish and Alevi identities as well as their relationship with the Kurdish movement in Turkey is usually interpreted as ambivalent (Bhabha, 1984) or ambiguous.

Presently, Alevis are demanding that Alevi children be exempted from religious education classes in Turkey. Alevism has been recognised as a distinctive belief in the UK since October 2001. It is taught as an optional course as part of RE lessons in Germany and in the UK (Cetin and Jenkins, 2014). Material for these lessons is prepared in Turkish and not Kurmanji.

The present developments in the UK diaspora have increased the visibility of the Alevis and of scholarly work on Alevis, however their language practices and attitudes towards Kurmanji have remained unexplored. In the next section I give an overview of the language attitudes which inform the theoretical ground for this paper.

Language attitudes

Language attitudes are "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers" (Ryan et al., 1982: 7). Attitudes are often influenced by the process of standardisation (Garrett, 2010). Many languages are believed to have a standard variety (ibid) even if most do not. Ideological predispositions which regulate concepts of "standard language", "dialect" or "regional accent" result in positive or negative evaluations, and these have social implications in terms of who are discriminated against, favoured or disliked. This seems to happen as a top-down normative and prescriptive practice carried out by states or state-like institutions, and also found in grammar books and the teaching material produced by Kurdish institutes in Paris, Istanbul and Brussels. Although Kurds lack a unified state, they do have grammar books, dictionaries and institutions which regulate, legitimise and distribute linguistic standards. These could be interpreted as an endeavour to legitimise the "languageness" (Jaffe, 1999) of Kurmanji through books, literacy and institutions, such as the Kurdish institutes. Here, there is a concept of "standard/proper Kurmanji" among Kurmanji speakers which is associated with "correct" grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and so on (see Milroy and Milroy, 2012 for standard language ideology).

The active distinction between good vs bad Kurmanji among Kurds in the UK is a strong indication of power asymmetries in intra-group relations. A variety that is associated with high status is one that is often perceived as prestigious, as in having overt prestige (Trudgill, 1972 and 1974). Overt prestige refers to the positive evaluations of a variety on the status level and is often associated with dominant varieties such as Received Pronunciation (RP). On the other hand, a variety that is evaluated highly on the solidarity dimension is one that "elicits feelings of attraction, appreciation and belongingness" which is typically the case for the language/variety of one's family life and intimate friendships, as this "acquires vital social meaning and comes to represent the social group with which one identifies" (Ryan et al., 1982: 9). Such varieties are argued to have covert prestige: for example, regional varieties are often evaluated positively on the solidarity dimension (Trudgill, 1972).

Matched guise tests

The MGT is an indirect method that investigates perceptions of linguistic varieties through pre-recorded speech stimuli. The MGT "could be used to look at how a language, dialect, or linguistic variable affects what social characteristics are attributed to the speaker" (Drager, 2014: 61). The experiment was first introduced by Lambert et al. (1960) who asked research participants to listen to and rate the same speaker in an English and French bilingual situation in Montreal. The participants were asked to rate the speaker(s) on solidarity (e.g. likeability, sociability, warmth) and status-related traits such as intelligence, education, and leadership. In this study I also investigate moral qualities such as religiosity (Bentahila, 1983). Lawson and Sachdev (2004: 1347) argue that varieties associated with the dominant groups are ranked higher on the status dimensions, and regional varieties tend to be ranked higher on the solidarity dimensions.

The MGT was criticised by Bradac et al. (2001: 139) as follows: "respondents' evaluative reactions to dialect versions, for example, may be falsely attributed to the dialects themselves when in fact they are a product of idiosyncratic differences in speaker fluency". Although MGT were found to yield data which were statistically significant, another criticism in the 1980s was that this type of data collection did not shed light on the real language situation and that data should be obtained by "ethnographic" means (Joseph, 2004: 71).

Although researchers may have their recorded speech samples "validated" by a pilot group of judges prior to using the samples in their main study (for example, see Drager, 2014) they typically do not ask the judges themselves to state where they believe the voice is from, even though there has been increasing attention to careful characterisations of input in MGT research (Preston, 1989: 3). Preston says: "Though this seems a simple technique to add to attitude surveys, it is rarely done, and language attitude results are made extremely difficult to interpret because the respondents' areal taxonomy and identification of regional provenance of the voice samples are not known." My inclusion of this question (where respondents believe the voice is from) fills this gap in this particular study. The MGT is an effective method for measuring attitudes towards language and its relationship with identity. Although the MGT singles out the "real" intergroup differences in communication, it is a useful technique when investigating large scale social categories such as ethnicity, gender and social class.

Speakers

The speakers recorded for the MGT that I carried out were from Maraş, Turkey and had been speakers of MRKr as well as BHKr Kurdish for many

years, but identified MRKr as their first language. Both speakers learned BHKr as adults through their involvement with the Kurdish movement and were self-taught acquirers. The male speaker (42) lived in Turkey, had a degree in Public Relations, and worked as a journalist and translator, mainly of books, plays, TV series, cartoons and documentaries. The female speaker (49) lived in London and worked as an interpreter and as a "Life in the UK" instructor in a London-based college and was completing her degree in Turkey. During the pilot study, I asked the respondents whether or not the speakers were competent, and they stated that they could understand what was said. The respondents were confident about the speakers and the quality of their voices when asked after the pilot study. The audio recordings were randomised so that the same speakers were not heard consecutively by the listeners (Kircher, 2016).

Procedure

Audio recordings of the two speakers telling a children's story in two varieties, BHKr and MRKr, were produced. The speakers were asked to listen to four different stories which were audio recorded (and broadcasted on YouTube) and then narrate the stories in both varieties. As the speakers said that they were self-conscious and it took them some time to adapt to each variety, they were recorded narrating the stories for five minutes each. Then I used *Audacity* to edit and capture one-minute segments of speech where the speakers were most fluent and relaxed. This was also helpful to prevent the listeners getting bored by listening to the same story. Although this may have affected the choice of wording and speech rate, participants in the pilot study did not realise that the same speakers were narrating the stories. The stories narrated were ideologically and politically neutral, though still related to Kurdish culture. However, it should be noted that one of the shortfalls of this approach is that no story is entirely ideologically free or neutral. The lexical items preferred by the speakers differed, and this, I would argue, might have affected the listeners' perceptions.

A 5-point Likert-scale was used for each speaker in order to elicit the extreme opposites of the traits tested and to be consistent with previous studies such as those carried out by Kircher (2016). Questions that pertained to solidarity traits related to politeness, sense of humour, warmth, likeability, and sociability. Traits that pertained to status were intelligence, dependability, ambition, leadership qualities and intelligibility. These traits "represent the social group with which one identifies" (Ryan et al., 1987: 9) or not. Ryan et al. (1987: 1073) argue that the dimensions of status and solidarity are considered to have "a universal importance for the understanding of language attitudes."

In addition to the Likert scale, where solidarity and status traits were evaluated, at the bottom of the page three qualitative questions were asked of the participants: (1) Where do you think the speaker is from? (2) What is the speaker's occupation?; (3) Do you think the speaker is Alevi or Sunni? These questions were asked in order to find out firstly with which dialect region the speakers were associated; secondly, which social class the respondents attributed to the speakers. As there is a lack of research on the details of how social class categories are determined among the Kurds that I am aware of, I used the traditional system in the UK on the grounds that my participants live here. While determining the categories I use in this study, I took education and occupation into consideration and labelled my categories as high, middle and low level occupations. Higher professions involve occupations such as writers, doctors and dentists; intermediate professions pertain to teachers, nurses and small businesses; and lower professions refer to jobs such as waiters and shopkeepers. These categorisations were not asked through multiple choice questions, rather participants were free to write the occupations as they perceived them. The last question was asked in order to find out which belief (Alevi or Sunni) was associated with BHKr and which with MRKr. This question aimed at discerning whether or not the dichotomy of "our" language vs. "their" language may be related to religion aside from the geographical factors. The answers were coded and categorised.

Response sheet

Participants were informed that they would hear four different speakers (two male and two female) and that they should rate their personality traits on the basis of how the speakers spoke. Initially, a semantic differential scale (SDS) which had bipolar adjective scales, such as educated-not educated was prepared. A pilot study was run in order to see if participants had any difficulties with the response sheet which showed that respondents found the SDS difficult to understand when evaluating the speakers. A second response sheet with a Likert-scale that had five intervals (5= agree strongly, 4= agree mildly, 3= don't mind, 2= mildly disagree, 1=disagree strongly) was prepared for the actual study. Friborg et al. (2006: 873) argue that a drawback of the SDS format is "the increased cognitive demand, hence introducing new errors in scores". Participants found the Likert-scale easier to use for rating than the SDS. The response sheet was prepared in three languages, Kurmanji, Turkish and English.

Statistical procedure

Demographic data about the 84 participants, regarding their age, sex, location, level of education and years lived in the UK were entered into SPSS, statistics software package for statistical analysis. Variables such as ethnicity

and religious affiliations are presented in univariate analysis through bar charts which indicate the percentage of people belonging to each categorisation. Responses to questions such as "where do you think speaker#1 is from?" are presented in bar charts using Microsoft Excel 2010.

Secondly, analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were performed using SPSS in order to determine whether or not gender and regional variation as two independent variables had an effect on respondents' evaluations. This time the data was recoded before the ANOVAs were performed.

The ANOVAs were followed by t-tests. Paired t-tests were carried out using SPSS. The p-value for statistical significance was $p < 0.05$, for ten personal traits between BHKr female and MRKr female; BHKr male vs MRKr male; BHKr male vs BHKr female and MRKr female vs MRKr male speakers. The t-tests were aimed at finding out whether or not there was a statistically significant difference between the paired populations.

Respondents

The majority of respondents were aged between 26-40 (53%) and 41-55 (35.1%). The number of participants aged 18-25 (7.2%) was significantly low. Although equal numbers of female and male respondents were invited to the study, the majority of participants were male (74%), and females comprised 24% (2% missing) of the experimental group. 20 female and 62 male participants.

The majority of respondents had either a university degree (24.1%) or a diploma of higher education (23.3%). The study then looked at the employment of the respondents, using classifications adapted from the National Statistics Socio-economic classification[4]. After their responses were coded and then categorised, the majority of participants had higher (34%) or intermediate professions (29%) and a very small number of them had lower professions (15%).

49% of respondents identified as Alevi and only 15% as Sunni. However, 26% identified as Shafi'i or Hanafi. The rest identified as other. This could be interpreted as the division between schools of Islam becoming clear in participants' self-identifications. As this research focuses on the Alevi and Sunni beliefs, the division between Hanafi and Shafi'i schools of Islam needs further investigation. The rest of the respondents identified as Zoroastrian, Christian or as having no religion.

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[4]   http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/soc2010/soc2010-volume-3-ns-sec--rebased-on-soc2010--user-manual/index.html#5 (last accessed on 20 October 2015).

Attitudes towards BHKr and MRKr on the solidarity dimension

Repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted in order to find out whether or not the independent variables of gender, region and the interaction of gender and region affected the participants' evaluations of BHKr and MRKr. The ANOVA results show that the gender of the participants affected how they rated **female "ambition"**. The region of origin of respondents affected their ratings of **male "politeness"** and **male "intelligence"**. The combination of gender and region affected the ratings of **female "intelligibility"**. These results were statistically significant on a <0.05 level. For the purposes of ANOVAs, the regions were grouped as south corresponding to BHKr and northwest corresponding to MRKr.

In order to examine how these traits were rated in terms of solidarity and status, paired t-tests were conducted. The next section deals with how Bohtan versus Maraş Kurmanji was rated considering the effects of gender and region on participants' ratings.

Table 2 shows the respondents' evaluations of the female and the male speakers in two different guises on the solidarity dimension. The evaluations of these traits were calculated on a p<0.05 level. The mean values show that the MRKr female speaker was rated significantly more favourably than the BHKr female speaker on "humour" and "likeability" traits. Whilst the BHKr male was rated more favourably overall than the MRKr male, only traits pertaining to "humour" and "sociability" were rated significantly higher.

Table 2. Paired sample t-tests of the evaluations of the female and male speaker in BHKr and MRKr on the solidarity dimension.

	Female Speaker		**Male Speaker**	
	Bohtan	Maraş	Bohtan	Maraş
politeness	3.67	3.78	4.02	3.77
humour	3.18	3.76*	3.61*	3.23
warmth	3.85	4.10	3.92	3.69
likeability	3.38	3.83*	3.69	3.49
sociability	3.52	3.75	3.78*	3.33

* score is higher and statistically significant (p<0.05)

Attitudes towards BHKr and MRKr on the status dimension

Although the mean values show that the BHKr female speaker was rated more favourably on "dependability", "education", and "intelligibility" than the MRKr speaker, and lower for "intelligence", "ambition" and

"leadership" traits, paired t-tests on the status dimension show that **none of the traits were statistically significant** on the p<0.5 level. However, the BHKr male speaker was found to be more intelligent, educated, ambitious and was overall rated higher for the leadership qualities.

Table 3 Paired sample t-tests of the evaluations of the female and male speaker BHKr and MRKr on the status dimension.

	Female Speaker		Male Speaker	
	Bohtan	Maraş	Bohtan	Maraş
intelligence	3.56	3.59	3.89*	3.44
dependability	3.76	3.71	3.53	3.55
education	3.08	2.86	3.57*	3.11
ambition	3.17	3.32	3.17*	2.81
leadership	3.10	3.28	3.36*	2.76
intelligibility	3.91	3.78	3.86	3.73

Figure 2 shows how the participants responded to the speakers' social class on the basis of how the speakers spoke. As demonstrated, the BHKr male speaker was affiliated with the higher professions as opposed to the female BHKr speaker. The female speaker was evaluated to have low profession jobs both in her BHKr and MRKr speaking. On the contrary, the male speaker was assessed to have a low profession only in his MRKr speaking. This might be interpreted as the ingrained gender prejudices in Kurdish speakers manifesting themselves in actual speech performance.

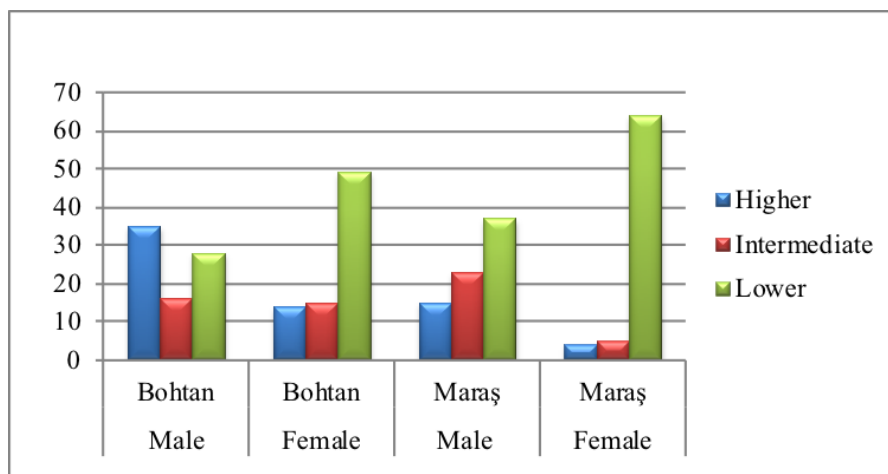**Figure 2.** What is the speaker's occupation?

Table 4 shows that on the solidarity dimension, ratings for only two traits were significant. The BHKr male scored higher than the female BHKr

speaker on "politeness" and "humour". Furthermore, the BHKr male speaker also scored higher on status traits, i.e., "intelligence" and "education". As for the MRKr variety, the female speaker scored higher than the male speaker on solidarity traits such as "humour", "warmth", "likeability" and "sociability", as she also did for "ambition" and "leadership" on the status dimension. The BHKr male speaker was rated more favourably than the BHKr female speaker. The MRKr female speaker was rated more favourably than the MRKr male speaker. This could be because most participants were male in this study and they rated the BHKr male speaker more positively than the MRKr male speaker because he was also evaluated to have a lower job. Other studies show men prefer more nonstandard forms. This contradicts with other studies. However, they seem to do the opposite with the female speaker. This may be because the BHKr male speaker was associated with power and prestige while the MRKr female was rated more highly on most solidarity traits than on status traits. Further female and male speakers were rated differently on the status dimension: while "intelligence" and "education" were rated significantly differently pertaining to the BHKr speakers, "ambition" and "leadership" were rated significantly differently in relation to the MRKr speakers.

Table 4. Paired sample t-tests of the evaluations of the BHKr female and male and MRKr female and male on the solidarity and status dimensions

	BHKr Female	BHKr Male	MRKr Female	MRKr Male
politeness	3.67	4.01*	3.79	3.77
humour	3.16	3.61*	3.74*	3.22
warmth	3.82	3.94	4.06*	3.69
likeability	3.39	3.70	3.86*	3.50
sociability	3.51	3.78	3.66*	3.34
intelligence	3.54	3.90*	3.59	3.42
dependability	3.75	3.53	3.67	3.57
education	3.05	3.55*	2.89	3.09
ambition	3.13	3.16	3.28*	2.81
leadership	3.06	3.40	3.30*	2.76
intelligibility	3.93	3.89	3.82	3.74

* score is higher and statistically significant ($p < 0.05$)

The respondents were asked to identify where the speakers might be from. This question was asked in order to find out whether or not the respondents could categorise the speakers regionally according to the varieties they spoke. Although both speakers were from the same town and the same dialect region, namely the northwest dialect region in Turkey (as outlined

Figure 3. Where is the speaker from?
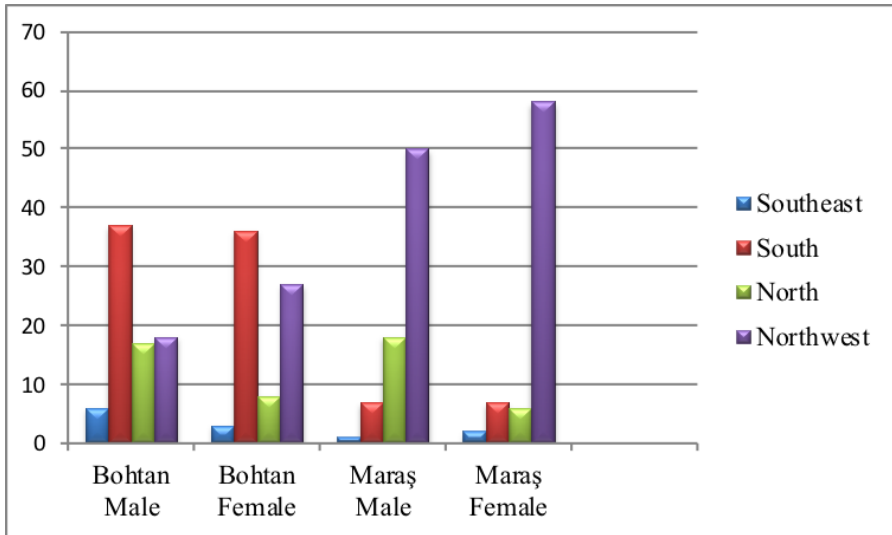
by Öpengin and Haig, 2014), the respondents evaluated the regions differently:

> When asked about where each speaker was from, both the Bohtan male and female were evaluated as Southern by the majority of the respondents. In the same vein both MRKr male and female speakers were evaluated as MRKr. Considering the results pertaining to the urban vs. rural traits, it could be concluded that BHKr speakers who were evaluated to be Southern were also evaluated as more urban than the MRKr speakers. In the actual study I asked the respondents to write the name of a city where they guessed the speaker was from. I categorised these regions on the basis of Öpengin and Haig (2014). Drawing on the perceptions of the listeners, BHKr corresponds to cities such as Mardin, Batman, Sirnak and Urfa. MRKr corresponds to cities such as Malatya, Sivas and of course Maraş. Beal (2006) argues that regional varieties are a strong marker of regional identities. Lippi Green (1994:165) argues that "accent is how the other speaks. It is the first diagnostic for identification of geographic or social outsiders". This suggests that attitudes towards specific geographic locations determine who the insiders and outsiders are.

Religion is another identity marker, and language "may be used as a major tool for religions and cultures to maintain or form their identity" (Zuckermann, 2006: 237). The paired t-tests pertaining to the binary

opposition of religious vs. not religious were evaluated by the participants very differently.

Table 5. Paired sample t-tests of the evaluations of female and male speakers on religious/not religious

	Female Speaker		Male Speaker	
Region	Bohtan	Maraş	Bohtan	Maraş
	2.72*	2.46	3.04*	2.41

Both the BHKr female and male speakers were evaluated as being more religious than the MRKr speakers. Furthermore, paired t-tests pertaining to the BHKr female vs. MRKr male in Table 5 show that the BHKr female was evaluated to be more religious than the male speaker. Neither the MRKr female nor the MRKr male was found to be religious, indicating that Alevis are not perceived as religious, which is also a common stereotype. This is illustrated in figure 4. Figure 4 shows that the BHKr male speaker was evaluated as Sunni whereas the MRKr male was evaluated as Alevi. By contrast, the BHKr female was evaluated as Alevi by the majority of the respondents.

Figure 4. What is the religious affiliation of the speaker?
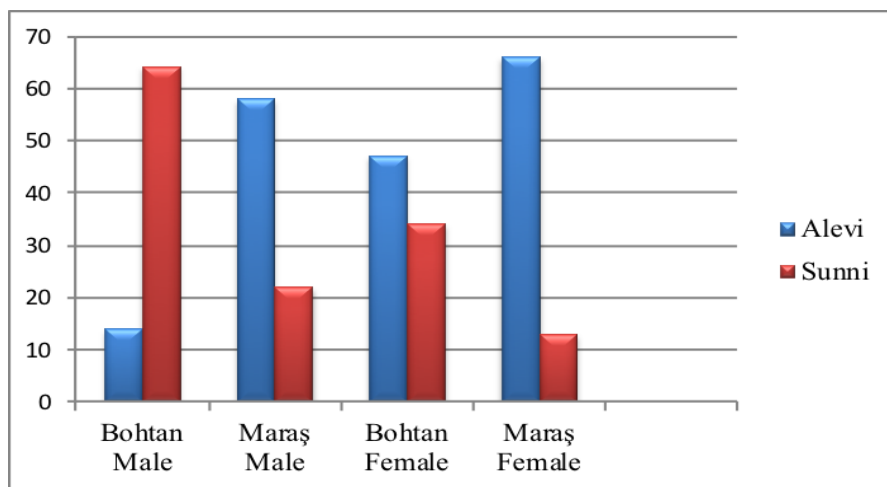
Discussion

The paired t-tests that compared BHKr and MRKr on the solidarity dimension present different results in regards to gender. While the MRKr female speaker was rated significantly more favourably in relation to the solidarity traits than the BHKr female speaker, the BHKr male speaker was

rated more favourably than the MRKr male speaker in relation to the solidarity traits. This could be interpreted as a male bias towards the out-group since 43% of the participants were from Maraş and its surrounding areas as opposed to the 12% Bohtan, where the MRKr male speaker was believed to be from. This contradicts what several theorists claim: Edwards (1977), Edwards and Jacobsen (1987), Giles (1973), and Lambert et al. (1960) found that while speakers of a standard variety are rated more favourably along the dimensions of status, speakers of non-standard varieties received higher evaluations on the solidarity dimension. Secondly, paired t-tests on the status dimension show that none of the traits concerning the female speaker either in BHKr or in MRKr were statistically significant at the p<0.05 level. However, there is considerable difference in how the male speaker BHKr and MRKr were rated. This contradicts what several theorists claim: Edwards (1977), Edwards and Jacobsen (1987), Giles (1973), and Lambert et al. (1960) found that while speakers of a standard variety are rated more favourably along the dimensions of status, speakers of non-standard varieties received higher evaluations on the solidarity dimension. Secondly, paired t-tests on the status dimension show that none of the traits concerning the female speaker either in BHKr or in MRKr were statistically significant at the p<0.05 level. However, there is considerable difference in how the male speaker BHKr and MRKr were rated. While the comparison of BHKr vs MRKr female showed nothing significant, ratings of the BHKr vs MRKr male show that the MRKr male was rated more favourably.

Other studies such as Giles (1970; 1971) and Hiraga (2005) show that people rate standard varieties of English higher in status traits but lower in solidarity traits. Furthermore, the follow-up question also confirms that the female speaker was associated with lower professions in both speakers, whereas the Bohtan male speaker was associated with higher professions. This could again be due to male bias and the large number of males in the sample.

In order to answer the second question pertaining to gender on solidarity and status dimensions, paired t-tests were conducted to compare the BHKr female with the MRKr female and the BHKr male with the MRKr male. The BHKr male was evaluated more positively for intelligence and education both of which are status traits. No ratings pertaining to the BHKr female were statistically significant.

Other studies have shown that the speaker's gender has an influence on the attitudes of the listeners. In New Zealand, Wilson and Bayard (1992) and Street et al. (1984) found that female speakers were rated lower on all traits. However, Van-Trieste (1990) reported that the highest ratings were given by female participants to male speakers and the lowest by male participants to male speakers among Puerto Rican university students. It was also found

that there was no significant difference in ratings given to female speakers by either the male or female participants. It could be concluded that the gender of the speakers and listeners definitely plays a role in the perceptions of BHKr vs. MRKr and the way in which the listeners evaluated the female and male speakers.

As for the third question pertaining to region, both the BHKr male and female speakers were evaluated to be more urban than the MRKr speakers. The responses to the follow-up question, which asked participants to identify where the speakers might be from, show that both the BHKr female and male speakers were evaluated to be from the southern region. This shows that folk beliefs (beliefs held by nonlinguists) about region are prevalent in this sample. As discussed above, region is an important indicator of social identity and attitudes toward regional variation determine who is an insider and who is not.

The responses to the question on religion show that both the BHKr female and male speakers were evaluated as religious, whilst both the MRKr female and male speakers were identified as non-religious. The responses to the question that was asked about whether the speakers were Alevi or Sunni demonstrate that both MRKr speakers were evaluated as Alevi and the male BHKr speaker to be Sunni. While the BHKr male speaker was identified as Sunni, the BHKr female (who was the same person who produced the MRKr speech sample) was identified as Alevi. Kircher (2009) (also Fuga 2002; Genesee and Holobow, 1989) found that the speakers who spoke third were evaluated consistently differently from the other speakers. This seems to be a methodological issue that needs to be tackled in future studies. Nonetheless, drawing on these results it could be concluded that religious affiliations among Kurmanji speakers who identify as Alevi and Sunni have different linguistic features. This is interconnected with geographical location that is itself a result of religious affiliations.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that gender and regional identities affect how participants evaluate BHKr and MRKr speakers. Although the sample for this study is too small to make generalisations, it demonstrates that there is a significant distinction in attitudes towards BHKr and MRKr in the UK. Whilst the BHKr male speaker was rated higher on the status dimension, the MRKr female speaker was rated higher than the BHKr female speaker on all of the solidarity traits. This shows that there is a clear bias on the listeners' side when evaluating these two varieties of Kurmanji.

More specific implications of the MGT are the notions of "us" and "them": the sample shows that there is a clear dichotomy between the MRKr versus

BHKr in terms of regional and religious identity as well as attitudes towards class and gender. The way in which individuals categorise themselves and others, the negative and positive values they attach to the speakers, favouring one group against another, are important aspects of social identity. Tajfel (1978; 1974) and Tajfel and Turner (1986) argue that in-group identifications lead to stereotyping and prejudice against out-groups.

It could be argued that in-group and out-group identities affect language choices and language use. Although many MRKr speakers learn what is identified as "academic" or "proper" Kurmanji, that is, BHKr, their strong affiliations with the region and with the Alevi religion help them to form a distinctive Kurdish Alevi identity that affects their attitudes towards BHKr vs. MRKr Kurmanji.

The results of this study demonstrate that BHKr is associated with the Bohtan region and MRKr is associated with the Maraş region. Although one cannot conclude that Alevis speak differently at this stage, it seems very likely that both region and religion have an impact on the way in which Alevis diverge in terms of phonological and lexical differences.

The MGT results show that women and men are perceived differently. Although the sample in this study is too small to make generalisations and the fact that women and men have different voice qualities that can contribute to evaluations and perceptions of their production of BHKr and MRKr, the implications of the results could be summarised as: linguistic sexism seems to be relevant in Kurdish society, similar to the US and Russian contexts (Andrews, 2003; see also Hassanpour, 2001 for patriarchy in the Kurdish language). Although folk beliefs about women's and men's speech are often dismissed by linguists, as Preston (1999) argues, these beliefs have a great impact on social interaction, language attitudes and the status of women and men in the Kurdish community in the UK. Although women hold high-status jobs (Yilmaz, 2018), the results of the MGT show that both BHKr and MRKr female speakers were perceived to have low-status-jobs. Given the fact that these attitudes do not reflect women's real life professions, the implications of these attitudes are that the place of women in Kurdish society continues to be subordinate.

Alevi identity is depicted as highly ambivalent and problematic in connection with their national identity. The results of the MGT shows that BHKr Kurmanji speakers were perceived as more religious than the MRKr speakers. While the BHKr male speaker was evaluated as Sunni, the BHKr female speaker was perceived as Alevi. This not only means that MRKr speakers are seen as non-religious but also helps us to understand the controversies around Alevis. This demonstrates that BHKr is affiliated with

dominance and MRKr is associated with subversiveness, which is often dismissed in Kurdish political discourse.

Finally, the investigation into attitudes among minority groups is important since attitudes play an important role in revitalisation, intergenerational transmission, survival of a variety and more importantly group identities. This study indicates that MRKr in the UK diaspora is in a fragile situation. When asked, many respondents (42%) stated that they wanted their children to learn all languages (Kurmanji, Turkish and English) and 23% wanted their children to learn Kurmanji only. These results were followed by Kurdish+Turkish (19%) and finally 3% of respondents wanted their children to learn English. These numbers indicate positive attitudes towards multilingualism and a strong desire to transmit Kurmanji to the next generation. However, throughout my fieldwork (Yilmaz, 2016), children dropped out of Kurmanji lessons and were not eager to attend.

Finally, studies concerning the intersection of language and religion in relation to language attitudes among Kurmanji speakers in the UK have been hitherto non-existent. Further analytical studies are needed to determine the sociolinguistic situation of regional varieties of Kurmanji in the UK as well as their interrelationship with social factors such as region, religion, gender and class.

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Appendix A: Matched Guise Test Questionnaire

MGT (English)

Respondent code: _____

Please listen to the tape and circle the number that indicates your rating of the speaker 1, 2, 3&4 and answer the following 3 questions.

5= agree strongly   4= agree mildly   3= don't mind   2= mildly disagree 1=disagree strongly

polite	5	4	3	2	1	not polite
intelligent	5	4	3	2	1	not intelligent
good sense of humour	5	4	3	2	1	no sense of humour
warm	5	4	3	2	1	cold
dependable	5	4	3	2	1	not dependable
likable	5	4	3	2	1	not likable
educated	5	4	3	2	1	not educated
ambitious	5	4	3	2	1	not ambitious
sociable	5	4	3	2	1	not sociable
has leadership qualities	5	4	3	2	1	has no leadership qualities
intelligible	5	4	3	2	1	not intelligible
religious	5	4	3	2	1	not religious
urban	5	4	3	2	1	rural

1. Where do you think the speaker is from? _____
2. What is her/his occupation? _____
3. Is the speaker Alevi or Sunni? _____

About you
Please circle the answer that best fits your situation.

1. What is your age?
1=25 or under   2= 26-40   3= 41-55   4= 56 or older

2. What is your gender?
1= Female   2= Male   3=Other

3. How long have you lived in the UK?
1= 5 years or under   2= 6-10 years 3= 11-15 years 4= 16 or more

4.Where do you live?

5. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

1= No education   2= Primary   3= Secondary 4=High School
   5=Bachelor's degree 6= Master's Degree 7= Doctoral Degree   8=
   Other_____

6. How would you describe your ethnic identity?
1= Kurdish   2= Turkish   3=British Kurdish   4=Other_____

7. How would you describe your religious affiliation?
1= Alevi   2=Sunni   3=Non-religious   4= Prefer not to say

8. Which language(s) do you identify yourself most with?
1= Kurdish   2=Turkish   3= English   4=Other_____

9. What language would you like your children to learn?
1=Kurdish   2= Turkish   3=English   4= All three

10. What is your first language/mother tongue?
1= Kurdish   2= Turkish   3= English   4=Other _____

11. Do you speak Kurdish? _____

12. What is your level of Kurdish?_____

13. Where were you born? _____

14. What is your occupation? _____

15. What do you believe this study was about? _____

This experiment is anonymous. However, if you would like to talk to the researcher
   about any of the questions, please feel free to contact her by putting your name,
   address or phone number here. Please write any other comments you have.
Thank you!

Name:
E-mail/Telephone number/Address:

MGT (Kurmanji)

Beşdar No:____

Ji kerema xwe guhdariya qeyda dengî bikin û axivkerî (1,2,3,4) hun di pîvekê de li ku cih bikin wê numerayê gilover bikin.

5=Ez bi temamî pejirîn im   4= Pişkî pejirîn im   3= Ez ne arîxen im   2= Ez pişkî ne pejirîn im 1=Ez qet na pejirîn im

pir kubar e	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne kubar e
pir aqilmend e	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne aqilmend e
henera wî/ê ya heneka pir e	5	4	3	2	1	henera wî/ê ya heneka qet tune
pir xwîngerm e	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne xwîngerm e
pir pêbawer e	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne pêbawer e
pir xwînşîrîn e	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne xwînşîrîn e
pir perwerdekirî ye	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne perwerdekirî ye
pir bi hêrs e	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne bi hêrs e
pir civakî ye	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne civakî ye
taybetîyê wi/ê yê derîkeşîyê pir e	5	4	3	2	1	teybetîyê wi/ê yê derîkeşîyê qet tune
pir fehmbar e	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne fehmbar e
pir oldar e	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne oldar e
pir şaristanî ye	5	4	3	2	1	qet ne şaristanî ye

1. Li gorî we axivker ji kuderê ye?
2. Li gorî we karê axivker çiye?
3. Li gorî we axivker sunî ye an jî elewî ye?

1. Temenê we?
1= 25 an jî jêr   2= 26-40   3= 41-55   4= 56 an jî jor

2. Zayenda we?
1= Jin   2= Mêr   3= Din

3. Hûn çiqase li Brîtanya dijîn?
1= 5-10 sal   2= 11-15 sal   3= 16 an jî pirtir

4. Hûn li kîjan bajarî dijîn? _____

5. Dibistana herî bilind a hûn jê mezûn bûne?
1= Min perwerde nestandîye 2= Dibistana seretayî 3= Dibistana navîn 4= Lîse
5= Zanîngeh   6= Lîsansa bilind   7= Doktora   8= Din_____

6. Hûn nasnameya xwe ya etnîk çawa binav dikin?
1= Kurd   2= Tirk   3= Brîtanî-Kurd
                    4=Din_____

7. Hûn xwemaliya xwe ya olî çawa binav dikin?

1= Elewî   2= Sunî   3= Şafiî/ Hanifi   3= Ne oldar 5=Naxwazim bêjim

6= Din_____

8. Hûn piranî xwe bi çi zimanî terîf dikin?

1= Kurdî   2= Tirkî   3= Ingilîzî   4= Kurdî-Tirkî   5= Tevde

9. Hûn dixwazin zarokên we çi zimanî hîn bibin?

1= Kurdî   2= Tirkî   3= Ingilîzî   4= Kurdî-Tirkî   5= Tevde

10. Zimanê we yê zikmakî kîjan e?

1= Kurdî   2= Tirkî   3= Ingilîzî   4= Kurdî-Tirkî   5= Tevde

11. Hûn bi kurdî diaxivin?

1= Erê   2= Na

12. Hûn kurdî di çi astê de diaxivin?

5= Pir baş   4= Baş 3= Navîn   2= Xerab   1= Pir xerab

13. Hûn li ku hatine dinê?

14. Karê we?

15. Li gorî we ev xebat derheqê çi de bû?

16. We di çar qeydên dengî de tiştek neasayî ferq kir?

Di vê lêkolînê de navê we nayê bikaranîn. Lê belê tiştek ku hebe hûn ji lêkolîner bipirsin an jî bixwazin bêjin ji kerema xwe navê xwe û melûmatên xwe yên danûstandinê li vir binivîsin.