LANGUAGE HIERARCHIES AT WORK: FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICIES OF TURKISH-ARABIC BILINGUAL FAMILIES LIVING IN HATAY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

NEŞE BÜYÜKAŞIK GÜZELŞEMME

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

JULY 2025

Approval of the thesis:

LANGUAGE HIERARCHIES AT WORK: FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICIES OF TURKISH-ARABIC BILINGUAL FAMILIES LIVING IN HATAY

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ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE HIERARCHIES AT WORK: FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICIES OF TURKISH-ARABIC BILINGUAL FAMILIES LIVING IN HATAY

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July 2025, 404 pages

This doctoral dissertation aimed to explore family language policies of five Turkish-Arabic bilingual families in an Arabic speaking community in Hatay. It also sought to understand the role of children in shaping their families' language policies. Ethnographic case study design was employed for the purposes of the study. Data were collected through observations in families' home settings, video recordings of family interactions and semi-structured interviews. Data analysis was guided by Spolsky's tripartite FLP model and Braun and Clarke's (2021) Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA). The analysis yielded five main themes and sub-themes related to the three components of Spolsky's FLP model. Findings related to the participant parents' language ideologies revealed that they ranked Turkish and Arabic based on their perceptions of utility and value of these languages in the present day. For language practices, the findings revealed that participant parents adjusted their language based on the interlocutor and content of the interactions. Besides, participants held two conflicting beliefs about the role of grandparents on their children's learning of Arabic. Another finding concerning language practices was that most parents preferred Arabic on occasions like religious holidays and funeral ceremonies pointing to the complementarity principle by Grosjean (1997). In

addition, parents expressed their endearment, love and affection to their children in Arabic. As for language management, in general parents displayed a non-interfering, laissez-faire attitude regarding the transmission of Arabic in line with their language ideologies. Finally, the findings revealed individual variations in children's attitude to and aptitude for the community language.

Keywords: Bilingual Families, Language Ideologies, Language Practices, Language Management Strategies, Child Agency

ÖZ

DİL HİYERARŞİLERİ İŞLEYİŞTE: HATAY'DA YAŞAYAN TÜRKÇE-ARAPÇA İKİDİLLİ AİLELERİN AİLE DİL POLİTİKALARI

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Temmuz 2025, 404 sayfa

Bu doktora çalışması, Hatay'da yaşayan ve anadili Arapça olan bir topluluğa mensup beş Türkçe-Arapça anadilli ailenin aile dil politikalarını araştırmayı hedeflemiştir. Çalışmada aynı zamanda çocukların aile dil politikalarını şekillendirmedeki rolü araştırılmıştır. Çalışmanın amaçları doğrultusunda etnografik durum çalışma deseni kullanılmıştır. Veriler, ailelerin evlerinde yapılan gözlemler, aile etkileşimlerinin video kayıtları ve yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yoluyla elde edilmiştir. Veri analizine Spolsky'nin üç bileşenli Aile Dil Politikası modeli yön vermiş, Braun ve Clarke'ın (2021) Refleksif Tematik Analiz (RTA) yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Veri analizi sonucunda Spolsky'nin Aile Dil Politikası modeline bağlı beş ana tema ve bunlara bağlı alt temalar oluşturulmuştur. Katılımcı ailelerin dil ideolojilerine yönelik bulgular, ailelerin Türkçe ve Arapçayı bu dillere atfettikleri işe yararlık ve değer algıları doğrultusunda önem sırasına koyduğunu göstermiştir. Dil pratiklerine ilişkin bulgular katılımcı ebeveynlerin dil tercihlerini muhataplarına ve etkileşimin konusuna göre düzenlediklerini göstermiştir. Aynı zamanda katılımcılar büyükanne ve büyükbabaların çocukların Arapça öğrenimine etkileri üzerine iki zıt fikir ortaya koymuştur. Dil pratikleri ile ilgili bir diğer bulgu çoğu ebeveynin dini bayramlar ve cenaze törenleri gibi durumlarda Arapçayı tercih ettiğini göstermiştir. Bu durum

Grosjean'ın (1997) Tamamlayıcılık İlkesi'ne işaret etmektedir. Buna ek olarak, ebeveynlerin çocuklarına sevgi ve şefkat ifade ederken Arapçayı tercih ettiklerini ortaya koymuştur. Dil yönetimine dair bulgular ailelerin dil ideolojileri ile bağlantılı olarak Arapçanın aktarımı için genelde müdahaleci olmayan serbest bir tutum sergilediklerini göstermiştir. Son olarak, bulgular çocukların toplum diline karşı tutum ve yatkınlıklarında bireysel farklılıklar ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İkidilli Aileler, Dil İdeolojileri, Dil Pratikleri, Dil Yönetim Stratejileri, Çocuk Eylemliliği

To my mother, daughter, and my late paternal grandfather, the storyteller of my childhood, who ignited my fascination and love for our linguistic and cultural heritage with his Arabic stories

Also

To the memory of all those whom we lost in February 6, 2023 earthquakes as well as to Antakya, my beautiful, beloved 'home', which was ruined by the earthquake

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My PhD journey has been far from straightforward. Beyond the inherent difficulties of undertaking a doctoral study, I had to cope with the challenges of a global pandemic and a devastating earthquake. The COVID-19 pandemic brought with it extended periods of isolation and restrictions affecting my study while the earthquake changed my life unexpectedly into a direction I could have never anticipated. These events disrupted not only the progress of my study, but the stability and order of everyday life for me. As a consequence, the present doctoral study is not just the result of academic work, but of resilience. Throughout these challenges, I was incredibly fortunate to have the support of my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Betil ERÖZ. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to her for her academic guidance, endless emotional support, kindness and understanding. Her unwavering support in every possible way during the darkest time of my life made me feel stronger and kept me motivated. I'm truly thankful to my co-supervisor Prof. Dr. Bilal KIRKICI for his continuous availability, for believing in me and for his encouragement that motivated me throughout this journey. I'm also deeply grateful to him for displaying genuine concern and empathy after the earthquake. Amidst his own grief of losing relatives and an entire hometown during the earthquake, he remained attentive and supportive.

I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my committee members Prof. Dr. Çiğdem SAĞIN ŞİMŞEK and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülin DAĞDEVİREN KIRMIZI for taking the time to carefully review my work, for insightful questions, constructive comments and helpful feedback. I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to my examining committee members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hale IŞIK GÜLER and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet AKKUŞ for their careful evaluation and constructive feedback that have been invaluable in refining and strengthening my dissertation. I also wish to convey my appreciation to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülin DAĞDEVİREN KIRMIZI and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hale IŞIK GÜLER for their support and kindness during the most

challenging time of my life after the earthquake. They not only offered academic support but showed genuine care by trying to reach out and texting me during that time.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the participants of the present study for their cooperation and valuable contributions to the study. I'm thankful to all the participant families for generously opening the doors of their private home settings and sharing their everyday interactions with me. As a community member, in other words, as an insider, I had familial ties with some of the participants. However, I was aware of the delicate balance between personal relations and academic responsibility. Despite these connections, I was welcomed not only as a relative, but as a researcher engaged in serious academic work. Their openness and trust to reflect on personal aspects of their family language policies were invaluable to this study. Without their sincere cooperation, this research would not have been possible. This journey was also marked by a deep loss. During the course of this study, I was deeply affected by the passing of one of the participant mothers, whose contribution was significant. Her voice and contributions will remain as an integral part of this study. I extend my heartfelt condolences and gratitude to her family for their continued contributions in the midst of such grief.

I would like to thank all my friends whose support and presence meant so much to me during this winding journey. I owe special thanks to my PhD mate Özlem ÖZBAKIŞ whose valuable companionship and shared struggle has been as source of strength and motivation for me. From daily short phone calls filled with worry, tears, laughter and words of encouragement to early morning texts planning out the next steps, we walked this challenging road together, step by step. We endured countless sleepless nights trying to keep each other awake and motivating each other while writing our dissertations. Your unwavering presence throughout this journey reminded me that I was not alone in this. Thank you for being a constant source of motivation, strength, support and sharing laughter as well as tears along the way. I extend my heartfelt thanks to my PhD fellow Dr. Gizem AKILLI. Though we were far apart, I always felt your support like a steady hand on my shoulder. My deepest thanks also goes to Sinem DEMİR for her endless support and care from the start of

my PhD journey up to now. I will always remember working on our assignments together with you and Gizem AKILLI at cafes or the canteen during our course-taking period. Your presence made that long distance academic endeavour easier to endure and more fulfilling for me. I would also like to offer my thanks to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alim Koray CENGİZ for being like a mentor, offering valuable ideas and guidance during this journey. I express my heartfelt thanks to my preparatory school partners Levize ABACI and Özlem SARP for believing in and supporting me. I also owe thanks to Nazlı AYKUT, my PhD fellow and all others that would be too long to state here for keeping me motivated and on track.

My deepest and warmest appreciation go to my family- BÜYÜKAŞIK and GÜZELŞEMME families. I feel indebted to my mother Semiha BÜYÜKAŞIK for her unconditional love and endless patience, and for taking care of my daughter in the best way possible in my absence. Throughout this journey, you devoted yourself wholeheartedly, making my daughter your top priority. You shaped your life around my daughter's needs with immense selflessness. You missed family gatherings, sacrificed personal time, and even cancelled some of your plans just to ensure that my little one was always cared for and supported. Without you, I could have never completed my dissertation. Allāh yihnike, iyḫallina inte wa yester eḫərtik immī (Eng., May God make you happy, keep you for us, and may your end be blessed and covered with grace, mother). I would also like to express my gratitude to my father Bedi BÜYÜKAŞIK for believing in me and encouraging me to pursue my dreams. Special thanks go to my sister Narin ERGİN, brother-in-law Zafer ERGİN as well as my nephews Evan Ege and Milan Deniz ERGİN for their endless love and support. I have been looking forward to this summer, during which I hope to have a great time with you with no deadlines to worry about. Also special thanks to my brother Bahtiyar BÜYÜKAŞIK for his endless support and love, and to my younger brother Burak BÜYÜKAŞIK for his constant humour, especially for never missing a chance to tease me about how long my PhD would take. Your jokes lightened the mood during stressful times. And now, I can finally say: it's done!

I've felt the unwavering support of my husband's family all the time. I extend my gratitude to all of them. I'm truly grateful to my mother-in-law Semiha

GÜZELŞEMME, whose heartfelt prayers and constant good wishes accompanied me throughout this journey. Allāh yihnike, iyḫallina inte wa yester eḫərtik immī. I also would like to thank my sister-in-law İpek GÜZELŞEMME for helping me with the Arabic transcription system, and also my brother-in-law Süleyman GÜZELŞEMME for his endless support and encouragement. I wish you all the success and strength on your own PhD journey. I have no doubt in your abilities.

Finally, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my husband Mehmet GÜZELŞEMME and daughter Semiha Sena GÜZELŞEMME- the two pillars of my life. My dear husband, thank you for being such a supportive partner and such an amazing father. Despite your heavy work schedule, you have always done your best to support me and not to leave our daughter alone during this challenging journey. My sweet daughter Semiha Sena. Rūḥ qalbe, daw ʿayne inte. (Eng. “You’re my soul and heart, and the light of my life”). Even at just five years old, you have been the spark that kept me motivated. You stood by me in your own way, cheering me on with your big words of encouragement such as “Çok iyi gidiyorsun anne” (Eng., “You’re doing really well, mom”), while also feeling the absence of the time I owed you. You cried, you complained, you questioned, you waited, and still, you loved me unconditionally through it all. I thank you not just for your encouragement and patience, but for forgiving the moments we missed. This journey was never mine alone, it was ours. And this accomplishment is for you. Now it’s time to cherish family time that will not be restricted by any restricting schedules or deadlines.

We had a family language policy of our own disrupted by an unfortunate incident. Trying to heal and regain stability following the earthquake, now I am committed to fulfilling it. Through this, I want to help you to discover and appreciate the beauty of our mother tongue, culture and heritage.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Eng., Justice and Development Party)
RLS	Reversing Language Shift
AFAD	Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (Eng., Disaster and Emergency Management Authority)
ATU	Autonomous Territorial Unit
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Eng., Republican People's Party)
DEMAK	Deprem Mağdurları ve Kayıp Yakınlarıyla Dayanışma Derneği (Eng., Association for Solidarity with Earthquake Victims and Relatives of the Missing)
DSB	Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı (Eng., Directorate of Strategy and Budget)
ELPP	Ethnography of Language Planning and Policy
FLP	Family Language Policy
IOM	International Organization for Migration
HL	Heritage Language
L1	First Language
LPP	Language Planning and Policy
LS	Language Socialization
OPOL	One Person One Language
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Eng., Nationalist Movement Party)
MPC	Malaca Portuguese Creole
MSA	Modern Standart Arapça
RLS	Reversing Language Shift
RTA	Reflective Thematic Analysis
SLQZ	San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec
TA	Thematic Analysis
TBB	Türk Tabipler Birliği (Eng., Turkish Medical Association)

TMMOB	Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği (Eng., Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects)
TUİK	Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Eng., Turkish Statistical Institute)
TUN	Tıbbi Uç Nokta (Eng., Medical Enpoints)
UK	United Kingdom

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Chapter Presentation

This introductory chapter presents a background to the present doctoral study. In this chapter, firstly, I explain how my personal history and experiences related to my ethnic identity and mother tongue grew into academic interest and responsibility that urged me to take up the present study. I explain how acknowledging the 'silenced' part of my hybrid identity over the years as well as my observations related to the decline of linguistic and cultural continuity across generations deepened my interest in the issue of mother tongue and identity. Then, I present an ethnic and linguistic background of Hatay in general. I attempt to sketch the sociolinguistic situation among the Turkish-Arabic bilingual communities living in Hatay by focusing on the language shift phenomenon reported to be underway (Cengiz, 2006; Smith-Kocamahhul, 2003). After that I present the research questions generated in line with the aims of the present research. I also report the need for as well as the significance of the present study. I conclude the chapter with definitions of some terms employed in the study.

1.2. Background to the Study: A Personal Introduction

My choice of and commitment in the present doctoral study is shaped by my personal experiences related to my mother tongue Arabic and my identity, which evolved into a sense of responsibility and academic interest through time. In fact, it derived from several happenings that collectively shaped my emotional stance to the issue of mother tongue and identity. Echoing the concerns[1] of some of the

[1] These concerns are reported in Chapter 4 where I present the findings.

participants in the present study, my parents had consciously decided to raise me and my siblings as subsequent bilinguals. To clarify, based on their negative experiences of schooling as monolingual Arabic speakers, my parents spoke to us exclusively in Turkish initially. Based on my mother's accounts, she and my father did not want us to experience the difficulties they had experienced at school; therefore, they chose Turkish as our first language. As a consequence, I and my siblings learnt Arabic through interaction with our grandparents and cousins whose default language was Arabic. We were lucky enough to be surrounded with extended family members who spoke Arabic and learn our mother tongue outside the home domain. Despite our Turkish dominance, and lack of Arabic speaking abilities, Arabic occupied a meaningful place in my mind associated with warmth, cultural familiarity, childhood memories, and emotional connection with my grandparents.

I have very fond memories of my late paternal grandfather gathering us in a corner behind the stove and telling us Arabic tales and religious stories. I think that was the initial step in nurturing my love for Arabic. My grandfather would lead us into a world of wonders filled with mystery and imagination with the Arabic tales and stories he told us in his soft velvety voice. The magic of these storytelling evenings lay not only in the stories themselves, but also in the language that carried them. Through his words, I started to recognize the warmth, rhythm and expressive power of Arabic. I also began to associate this language with a sense of belonging, personal identity, emotional connection as well as familial and cultural bonding with my extended family.

I don't remember my parents telling me or my siblings anything about our ethnic origin, but our Arabness was never mentioned out loud in any way. There was an occasional mention of our Alawite identity, but that was not foregrounded, either. In contrast, the issue was skirted. I even remember elder people warning their children or grandchildren not to disclose their Alawite identity. For instance, my grandmother kept warning my uncle anxiously about not saying that he was an Alawite when he was admitted to university in an another city. She feared that he would be marginalized and treated badly.

In fact, my early identity formation during my formative years involved a presumed ethnic Turkishness. I still remember how proudly I recited "Andımız"[2] meaning "Our Pledge" each day of school feeling a deep pride in my Turkish identity. The realization of my ethnic origin did not surface until I started university. At university, whenever I said I was from Hatay, the people or friends I newly met would ask me whether I was of Arab origin. Each time I answered "Yes", my realization of my ethnicity deepened as if that part of my identity had been quietly sleeping waiting to be awakened. I realized that I had been raised as a stranger to my own identity. Interestingly, there was no outright denial of our roots or origin by my parents or the community. Rather, it was an issue left mostly unspoken or thrown background out of focus as a result of adaptation and assimilation to the wider society. I came to understand that one part of my identity had been 'silenced' or 'suppressed' not as a deliberate or conscious decision, but rather as an unconscious inheritance passed down from generation to generation in my community as a collective coping mechanism formed against marginalization and social exclusion. In other words, the socio-historical realities of our community had pushed it to a kind of estrangement to its origin and roots.

In my third year at university in İstanbul, I met a circle of friends from Hatay. All of them were Arab Alawites, and all were sensitive to the mother tongue issue. They had initiated a theatre group under the supervision of a teacher from Hatay working there. I joined them, and as a group, we wrote plays in our mother tongue Arabic. We performed these plays in İstanbul as well as in Antakya. Over the years, my affiliation with my ethnic identity and mother tongue deepened, not as a result of adherence to ethnic ideologies, but because I began to appreciate the duality and richness of embracing a hybrid identity. Rather than viewing identity as a fixed

[2] This used to be a daily patriotic pledge recited by students at the beginning of every school day at primary school. It aimed to foster ideas of national identity and pride in students. The English translation of the pledge is as follows:

I am a Turk, I am righteous, and I am hardworking. My principle is to protect my minors, respect my elders, and love my country and my nation more than myself. My law is to rise, to go forward. Oh supreme Atatürk, I pledge that I will walk steadily on the path you opened, to the target you pointed out. Let my existence be bestowed upon the Turkish existence. Happy is the one who calls himself a Turk. (Meşeci-Giorgetti, 2015, pp. 248-249). Under the rule of Justice and Development Party, the ritual of reciting the pledge before school was abolished in 2013 by Türkiye's Council of State, the highest administrative court in Türkiye (Burak, 2022).

singular notion, I began to perceive it as fluid and multifaceted, shaped by intersecting cultural backgrounds, languages, and personal histories. I came to realize that the 'silenced' part of my identity deserves to be reclaimed and embraced. Unlike people who feel ashamed[3] of their origin or tend to conceal it, I believe I should fully own and preserve all my colors. I view my hybrid identity as a great asset. I have always loved to celebrate our national holidays such as Republic Day of Türkiye on October 29th and May 19th Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports Day with great enthusiasm and pride since my childhood. At the same time, I love to celebrate holidays such as Ewwel Temmuz, Kəddēs and Ras əl Senī [4] belonging to my minority culture. I like using both Turkish and Arabic proverbs and enjoy the cultural elements they include. I relish music, movies, stories and poetry in both Arabic and Turkish. I value the way both my minority and majority cultural backgrounds have shaped me into who I am today. I acknowledge the value of having such a dual cultural background and view them as complementary parts of my whole being, each with its own value and charm. In short, instead of feeling the need to choose between two identities or suppress one, I view my dual heritage as a source of richness and strength. I choose to embrace my hybrid identity wholeheartedly and view this cultural integration as a gift rather than a burden or something that should be

[3] Some community members tend to deny their Arab Alawite identity or knowledge of Arabic as an act of assertion of identity or with the need to fit in the socially dominant linguistic norms. For instance, at high school, I had friends who pretended not to be able to speak Arabic due to their perception of it as a non-prestigious language. Similarly, some of my acquaintances from our neigborhood stated that when they migrated to other cities due to the earthquake and were asked whether they were Alawites, they did not have the courage to say 'Yes', and denied their ethnoreligious identity.

[4]'Ewwel Temmuz' is the 14th day of July in the Gregorian calendar, and it's considered the 1st day of July according to the Rumi calendar. 'Ewwel' means 'the first', and here it refers to the beginning of July. That's why it's called 'Ewwel Temmuz'. This holiday, which was banned during the 1980 coup d'état, is celebrated as a festival today. It is said to date back to 4000 years when sacrifices were made to 'Tammuz', the god of fertility to ensure a fruitful harvest during the polytheistic era. After transition to monotheistic religions, the tradition continued among Arab Alawites. 'Ras əl Senī' meaning 'the beginning of the year' is celebrated on January 14th in the Gregorian calendar, which falls on the 1st of the month according to the Rumi calendar. Ras əl Senī is traditionally celebrated as new year's day and a religious holiday. On the morning of January 14th, the children and the younger ones kiss their elders' hands, and the elders give them pocket money. Families come together and have fun. They eat dishes made specifically for this day such as 'kibbi' (stuffed meatballs) and zlibi (bread fried in olive oil). 'Kəddēs', which means 'to consider holy, to pray, to glorify and to thank God', is celebrated 5 days after Ras əl Senī on January 19th. For Christians and Arab Alawites, this holiday commemorates the consecration of Jesus with water and oil by Saint John in the Jordan River. It's also believed that, on this day, after the consecration of Jesus in the Jordan River, basil and olive trees, birds, the earth and all nature joined him in worship. Hence, Arab Alawites consider olives and basil trees sacred. They bring olive and basil branches and hang them in their houses on Kəddēs.

discarded. This mindset and my observations about the decreasing linguistic and cultural continuity in my neighborhood over the years has urged me to embrace Arabic and also my Arab identity more tightly rather than ignoring it. Against this backdrop, I decided to explore family language policy within my own Arab Alawite community living in Defne, Hatay in southern Türkiye and to investigate the intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue Arabic within participant families.

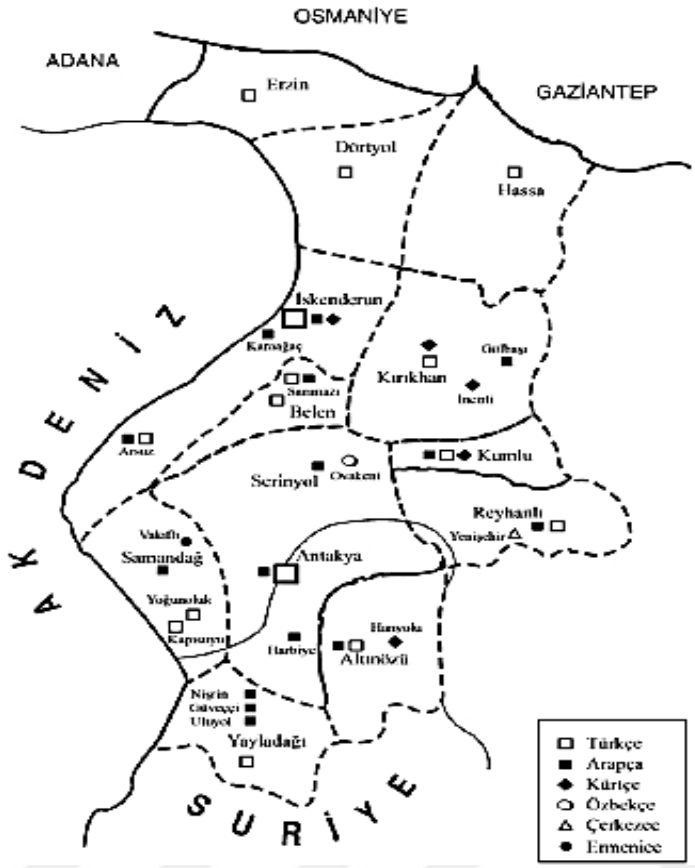
1.3. Introduction to the Study: The Sociolinguistic Situation in Hatay

Hatay, which is a city in Türkiye that borders Syria, has historically been part of the territories of both of these countries. Being an independent state for a brief period of time, Hatay has maintained its importance throughout history due to its geopolitical and strategic location (Şan, 2019). As a consequence of its geographic location, Hatay has always been a favourable place for human settlement. Therefore, it has hosted many civilizations and various ethnic groups, rendering it a multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural settlement. Türk (2005) indicated that the largest ethnic group in Hatay is the Turkish Sunni community. Nusayris (Arab Alawites), on the other hand, constitute the second largest group in terms of their population relative to the total population of the city. Türk (2005) stated that Sunni Arabs and Christian Arabs have substantial populations, as well.

As opposed to the autochthonous minorities, Afghan Uzbeks joined the multi-ethnic structure of Hatay in the 1980s. After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, some of the Afghan Uzbeks came to Turkey in 1982 and settled in Ovakent in Hatay. Additionally, there are Kurds and Armenians living in different parts of Hatay. This ethic and religious diversity has long been a reflection of cultural richness rather than a source of conflict.

The ethno-religious diversity in Hatay is also reflected in language. Different communities have spoken their own languages or dialects, enriching the linguistic landscape of the city (Şan, 2019). Table 1 displays the languages spoken in different parts of Hatay:

Table 1. Language Map of Hatay



Source: Cengiz (2006, p. 26)

At the same time, co-existence of languages has led to language contact issues in the region. Following the annexation of Hatay to Türkiye, Arabic and Turkish came into closer contact. Pertaining to language contact, Cengiz (2006) mentioned that Sunni and Alawite Arabs' maintaining their mother tongue led to the efficient use of both Turkish and Arabic in the region. An inevitable consequence of language contact is bilingualism (Hansen, 2020). Mougeon et al. (1985) stated that no matter how differently they are labelled, all contact situations are alike in two respects:

(1) the population undergoing shift is the minority demographically,

(2) the language being shifted to enjoys wider currency and greater prestige (p. 455)

The nation-building and modernization processes in the early Republican era set the ground for language shift towards Turkish, the national language among minorities in Hatay. Language shift occurs in contexts where at least two languages have

contact. In such cases, “Language A is being adopted by speakers of Language B, and Language A is replacing Language B in the sense that fewer people use or learn B” (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 14). Language shift may stem from internal factors and external factors or an interplay of them. For instance, as an internal factor, lack of literacy in the minority language may contribute to language shift. As an external factor, language policies of a country could lead to language shift (David, 2005). Holmes (2013) distinguished between migrant and non-migrant communities in accounting for factors that affect language choice. According to Holmes (2013), migration is not the only cause of language shift, and that economic, social and political factors may also pave the way to it (p. 55). The researcher associated the latter factors with non-migrant communities. For instance, as one of the minority languages in Iran, Azeri has to compete with Farsi, the official and dominant language that represents national unity. The lower status of Azeri relative to the prestigious Farsi leads to language shift towards Farsi, and puts Azeri under threat of loss in the long run. Holmes (2013) also noted that intermarriages in contexts where multilingualism is not tolerated, small speaker base of minority languages in contrast to larger speaker sizes, living in close proximity to centers of political power as opposed to rural areas and attitudes to minority languages also affect the shift from a minority to the majority language.

Language shift has been documented among some Turkish-Arabic speaking communities in Hatay (Cengiz, 2006; Smith-Kocamahhul, 2003). In her dissertation examining language shift among Arabic speaking people in Hatay, Smith-Kocamahhul (2003) interviewed 53 Arab-Christian and 20 Arab Alawite individuals. Smith-Kocamahhul (2003) identified several factors that lead to shift from Arabic to Turkish in Antakya. The researcher noted that, as a result of internal and external migrations motivated by internal conflicts in Turkish history, minority communities in Turkey (including the Arab community) have shrunk. Apart from migration, Smith-Kocamahhul (2003) indicated that the policies of the Turkish Republic targeting language either directly or indirectly served to foster the spread of Turkish while undermining minority languages. The declaration of Turkish as the sole official language based on the notion of a monolingual state placed minority languages at a disadvantageous position. The education system of Turkey has also

played a role on language shift in Hatay. The use of Turkish as the language of instruction affects the rate of literacy in Arabic adversely, and it causes Arabic transmission to be mostly orally. The centralized political structure and administration of Turkey (e.g. provincial governors as government's appointees) which has resulted in a Sunni Turk presence all around the country despite its historic ethnic diversity features as another cause of language shift. In Hatay, the establishment of a university which leads to an influx of monolingual Turkish speaking students, ethnic Arab students' leaving Antakya -a partially Arabic speaking environment- and moving to a Turkish-speaking environment for university education, and compulsory military service, obliging young men to go to cities where they must use Turkish are among the other causes of shift in Hatay. Smith-Kocamahhul (2003) concluded that several societal level factors (i.e. the long history of interethnic conflicts, the homogenization efforts of the Republic, increased modernization, urbanization, economic and social mobility) that necessitate the use of Turkish have led to the decline of Arabic transmission *vis a vis* increased Turkish competence and use in Antakya.

In his master's thesis on Turkish-Arabic bilingualism in Hatay, Cengiz (2006) indicated that although Arabic is still maintained among Christian Arabs, Sunni Arabs and Nusayris, Turkish has become the dominant language in these Arab communities. Consequently, the use of Arabic has been on the decline. Cengiz (2006) stated that as the official language and language of instruction is Turkish, new generation Sunni Arabs, Nusayris and Christian Arabs encouraged their children to learn Turkish. He also noted that from a psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspective, bilingual parents above middle-ages encourage the use of Turkish as a medium of communication because they don't want their children to face the problems that they had experienced. Parents choose to use Turkish with their children in the family setting to ensure that they will not have the linguistic and communicative problems they experienced due to lack of proficiency in Turkish. Cengiz (2006) also mentioned the role of education and job opportunities in shifting from Arabic to Turkish. According to Cengiz (2006), all these causes increased the prestige of Turkish and caused it to be the dominant language among the Arab communities. Cengiz (2006) also indicated that since Arabic is learnt only orally and

since it does not suffice to carry out conversations beyond daily interaction (i.e. at technical, political and intellectual levels), Arabic is declining day by day.

1.4. The Aim and Significance of the Study

A host of societal, political and economic factors have been identified as causes of language shift (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Holmes, 2013). Among the various micro and macro level factors, the role of family and intergenerational language transmission have drawn a great attention in language maintenance. Schwartz and Verschik (2013) view the family as "a key prerequisite for maintaining and preserving languages." (p.1) Family deserves this attention as it constitutes the primary linguistic environment of a child. Focusing on nuclear families with children can give us a better understanding of children's language socialization in both minority and majority languages (Spolsky, 2007). Spolsky (2004) noted that the family domain is important in studies of language policy both in terms of understanding the influence of external pressures on it and because parents' decision regarding transmitting or not transmitting the heritage language to their children has a determining role in language shift or maintenance. Fishman (1991) also placed the family domain at centre stage among the determinants that revive a threatened language. In fact, Fishman (2001) argued that "nothing is as crucial for basic RLS - reversing language shift- success as intergenerational mother-tongue transmission." Fishman (1991) underscored the role of family in reversing language shift, and noted that families, mothers in particular, may help maintain the ethnic minority language by using it in interaction with each other and with their children. Grenoble and Whaley also (2006) highlighted the pivotal role of language transmission to the younger generation in a language's vitality. They indicated that "[…] only when children are acquiring a language does it stand much chance of long-term use. For a language to be vital, it must be actively used by children" (p. 6).

Based on the accounts that place the family and intergenerational language transmission at the heart of the language maintenance phenomenon, the present doctoral study seeks to explore Turkish-Arabic bilingual families' language policies and the language socialization of children in both the minority (Arabic) and the

majority (Turkish) languages within the family domain. The study aims to document family members' language behaviours with members of different generations, their attitudes and beliefs towards their community language and to the dominant language, parental efforts to sustain the community language, and children's role in shaping FLPs. With this objective in mind, the study addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the family language policies of five Turkish-Arabic bilingual families living in two neighbourhoods of Defne District in Hatay?
    1.1. What are the families' language ideologies?
    1.2. What are the families' language practices?
    1.3. What are the families' language management strategies?
2. How do children affect their family's language policies?
    2.1. How do they children negotiate language choices with adult family members?

While literature abounds with FLP studies, particularly the early studies in this field have been criticized for focusing on Western middle-class families in which children were learning two high-status European languages (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun 2022, King 2016). Furthemore, Smith-Christmas (2016) indicated that FLP studies in autochthonous minority contexts as well as studies involving extended families have received little attention as opposed to FLP studies conducted in one parent one language (OPOL) and minority community contexts. To our knowledge, there is only one study exploring FLP of an autochthonous minority in Türkiye (Eroğlu, 2022). In this regard, the present study aims to fill this void by focusing on an Arab Alawite community in Hatay, an autochthonous minority in southern Türkiye. In this way, the study aims to contribute to the existing literature by responding to the call for further research on underexplored contexts. The study also aims to gain a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the participant families' FLPs. As a consequence, it adopts an ethnographic case study approach and employs a variety of data sources such as observations, video-recorded family interactions and interviews. In this way, it contributes to the line of FLP literature that has started to use sociolinguistic ethnography methods in recent years (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018).

1.5. Definitions of Terms

Autochthonous Communities: These refer to the "old, traditional, indigenous minorities" who are "originally" (emphasis in the original) and permanently linked to the state territory they inhabit (Granić, 2025, p. 250).

Community Language: This denotes language of minority and migrant groups (Pedley & Viaut, 2019). In the present doctoral study, community language is used to refer to the local variety of Arabic spoken by the Arab Alawite community from which the sample was drawn.

Family Language Policy (FLP): Having its roots in the field of language policy, FLP was originally narrowly defined as "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008, p. 907). FLP is firmly based on the familial decision making processes in the home and the effects of these decisions on child learning outcomes. Deriving from Spolsky's (2009) tripartite language policy model, FLP focuses on language ideologies, language practices and language management within the family (Lanza & Gomes, 2020). Pointing out that parental decisions about language use at home are not necessarily overt, Fogle (2013, p. 83) expanded the definition of FLP as "Family language policy refers to explicit an overt decisions parents make about language use and language learning as well as implicit processes that legitimize certain language and literacy practices over others in the home." Implicit and covert FLP denote the default language practices deriving from language ideologies within a family (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018).

Language Ideologies: These refer to beliefs and perceptions about the nature, form and use of language constructs within a social setting. These beliefs and perceptions are not solely tied to the language. They are intertwined with political, moral and aesthetical evaluations about linguistic practices of a certain social group. They can be reflected both in practices and embodied attitudes. Or they may be explicitly revealed in discourse, implicitly reflected in textual form and embedded in material structures. Language ideologies are fundamental in social life because they link

linguistic aspects with broader sociocultural constructs such as identities, interpersonal dynamics, and hierarchies of cultural value. (Gal, 2023). Within FLP, language ideologies or beliefs refer to what family members think about certain languages or dialects, language mixing and the link between language, identity and social positioning.

Language Practices: These refer to "the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language." (Spolsky, 2004, p. 9). They denote the actual, observable language behaviours in a specific context. Language practices often reflect underlying language ideologies and language management strategies.

Language Management: This refers to the development and dissemination of an explicit plan or policy about language use. It is often articulated formally in a document though not necessarily (Spolsky, 2004). Within a family context, language management refers to "the concrete linguistic measure consciously or implicitly chosen by parents to provide resistance against or submission to a minority language and cultural changes" (Curtd-Christianse & Wang, 2018, p. 236).

Language Maintenance: This refers to "a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres." (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719)

Language Shift: This denotes "the change (gradual or not) by a speaker, a group of speakers, and/or a speech community from the dominant use of one language in almost all spheres of life to the dominant use of another language in almost all spheres of life." (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Chapter Presentation

This chapter includes five sections. Firstly, the evolution of the field of FLP is presented to set the scene. Then, the factors which influence FLP making are reported. After that, FLP studies on language ideologies are reviewed. In the subsequent section, studies related to the role of grandparents on FLP are presented. Following that, studies of language contact and shift in autochthonous communities are reviewed. Finally, the theoretical framework of the study is presented.

2.2. The Evolution of the Field of FLP

The roots of FLP trace back to the 1900s. However, as a notion, FLP was first mentioned in 2003 by Luykx in her study of Aymara-Spanish bilingual families in Bolivia, and it was not until the seminal study published by King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008) that FLP was formally defined and recognized as a field in its own right (Gomes, 2018; Romanowski, 2021). Based on the developments that have been pivotal in the emergence and development of FLP in its historical trajectory, King (2016) divided FLP research into four phases as follows:

1. Classic diary studies by linguist parents
2. Psycholinguistic approaches to bilingual language acquisition
3. Sociolinguistic approaches and the establishment of FLP as a field of inquiry
4. Diverse family structures, linguistic contexts, and evolving research approaches

2.2.1. Tracing the Roots of FLP: Classic Diary Studies in Family Language Policy Researchs

The beginning of the 20th century was marked by studies on child language development. One such work was French linguist Grammont's (1902) contribution titled *Observation sur le langage des enfants (Observations of children's language)* in a Festschrift (tribute volume) honoring the French linguist Antoine Meillet. Although much work refers to Grammont's contribution for the emergence of *une personne une langue* (one person one language-OPOL) strategy, it originally included information about two French-speaking children's monolingual language development. In other words, it did not contain information about dual language acquisition. However, Grammont's advice to his friend Ronjat, another French linguist, paved the path to the first implementation of the OPOL strategy. Ronjat had a German wife and based on Grammont's earlier work on child language development, he solicited his friend's guidance about raising his son bilingually. Grammont replied to Ronjat's call for advice soon after Ronjat's son Louis was born. He proposed that each language (French and German in this case) should be separated and represented by a different parent while interacting with the child. In line with that, Ronjat spoke only French and his wife spoke only German with their son (https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/life-bilingual/201504/one-person-one-language-and-bilingual-children). Ronjat observed and documented his son's bilingual development from birth until he was four years and ten months. In 1913, he published this linguistic biography in *Le Developpement du langage: observe chez un enfant bilingue* (*The Development of Language: Observations of a Bilingual Child*). Ronjat attributed his son's success in dual language acquisition to the *Grammont Formula*, as he called it. He indicated that his son Louis acquired German from his mother and German nanny, and French from his father and the French-speaking community in France. Based on Ronjat's accounts, his son rarely mixed languages, and after the age of three, he could separate the two languages and therefore choose the appropriate language based on the addressee. After twenty years, the OPOL strategy was implemented by Leopold, another linguist, who was familiar with Ronjat's linguistic biography. Leopold was German, and he was living in America with his German-American wife. When their first child, Hildegard, was

born in 1930, the couple decided to raise their daughter bilingually in German and English. Hence, Leopold spoke exclusively German, and his wife spoke exclusively English to their daughter. Leopold's longitudinal observations of his daughter's bilingual development resulted in a four-volume series of books published between 1939-1949. These publications included Hildegard's bilingual language acquisition from age two months to age seven with additional observations up to age fourteen. Similar to Ronjat's son Louis, Hildegard was able to acquire both English and German successfully. By the age of about three, she was able to distinguish between the two languages and adjust her language based on the speaker. Leopold also indicated that as an adolescent, Hildegard displayed reluctance to use German in her America dominated life, and hence German became her weaker language. Additionally, Hildegard's younger sister Karla, who was six years younger than her, did not attain the same level of success in acquiring English and German simultaneously. However, during her solo travel to Germany at the age of 19, Karla was able to communicate with the locals very well. Leopold concluded that Karla's passive German knowledge became active in the right setting, so their bilingual child-rearing initiatives were ultimately rewarding. These early diary studies were pioneering in suggesting the association between bilingualism and metalinguistic awareness (King 2016; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022) as well as cognitive flexibility (King 2016). Since Leopold's substantial work, there had been a discontinuity of research on bilingual child language development for about 30 years, during which attention was directed at first language acquisition and development. However, around 1980, there was a revival of academic attention towards OPOL resulting in new interpretations of the strategy (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004).

2.2.2. Bilingual Language Acquisition and the Psycholinguistic Foundations of FLP

This phase is characterized by a focus on the interplay between cognitive functions and linguistic structures underlying the language acquisition process (Lanza & Gomes, 2020). Psycholinguistic approaches were adopted to explore the differences between bi- and monolingual language development (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022), the nature and impact of language transfer, as well as the connection between

bilingualism and specific cognitive traits and functions (King, 2016). Research questions at that time addressed the reason why some children growing up in bi-/multilingual contexts develop relatively equal competence in their minority and the majority languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, Smith-Christmas 2016), as well as how language input, parents' discourse strategies, parents' language experiences and knowledge of bilingualism is connected to balanced bilingualism (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). De Houwer (1990) examined early morphosyntactic development of a bilingual child exposed to Dutch and English simultaneously from birth. The parents used the OPOL strategy and analysis of the child's speech revealed that her linguistic development resembled her monolingual peers in both languages. The study pointed to separate development of two separate linguistic systems suggesting that bilinguals can distinguish between their languages from early stages. It also indicated the importance of language input consistency in achieving balanced bilingualism. Additionally, based on the lack of transfer between Dutch and English, the study challenged the belief that bilingualism causes confusion. Piller (2002) investigated the strategies used by German and English elite bilinguals in raising bilingual children. She collected data from online newsletters and conversations between couples. Data analysis revealed that OPOL was the most commonly used strategy by parents whereas only few employed mixed language or code-switching practices. Although parental communicative strategies constituted crucial mechanisms in formulating and implementing FLPs, particularly relevant questions regarding the actual types of linguistic input and interactional strategies and whether these strategies yielded efficient bilingual outcomes remained unanswered. Lanza addressed this gap with her study focusing on parent-child interactions of English-Norwegian families (King 2016). Lanza (1997) adopted a sociolinguistic and discourse analytic approach to explore the classic psycholinguistic question about early language differentiation. Adopting a language socialization perspective (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986), Lanza identified five discourse strategies that parents employed to respond to their two-year old bilingual children's language mixing: *minimal grasp, expressed guess, repetition, move on* and *code-switch*. In minimal grasp, the parent pretended not to understand the child's utterance, prompting the child to use the target language. In expressed guess strategy, the parent reformulated the child's utterance in the target language and sought confirmation. In repetition, the

parent repeated the child's utterance in the target language modelling correct use. In the move on strategy, the parent accepted the child's language choice while sticking to their own language choice. In code-switching strategy, the parents switched to the child's preferred language either partially or entirely to maintain the interaction. These strategies produced varying degrees of language socialization contexts for children. Whereas the minimal grasp strategy represented a monolingual language environment and was most conducive to socializing the child in the minority language, code-switching strategy at the bilingual end was the least conducive.

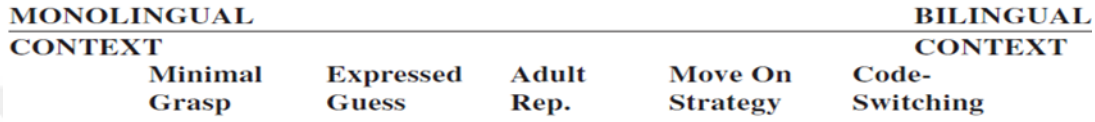


Figure 1. Parental strategies toward child language mixes (Lanza 1997, p.268)

FLP studies carried out during these initial phases shifted the prevailing view of bilingualism from negative to positive. Nevertheless, they were mainly focused on Western middle-class families in which children were learning two high-status European languages (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun 2022; King 2016). Studies of FLP in subsequent years built on this gap and expanded the range of family types, languages and contexts explored.

2.2.3. The Sociolinguistic Turn and the Establishment of FLP as a Field of Inquiry

At Phase 3 of FLP research history, there was a clear shift to a sociolinguistic lens. Furthermore, this phase coincided with the formal definition of FLP as a distinct field of inquiry (King, 2016). The definition of FLP by King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008, p. 907) "as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" was a significant milestone in the development of the field as it provided researchers interested in this research area with a shared venue to advance academic discussion (Gomes, 2018). Since then, FLP research has burgeoned due to being officially defined (Gomes, 2018, Smith-Christmas, 2016). Curdt Christiansen and Sun (2022) indicated that at

this phase, studies of FLP as a newly emerging field of enquiry adopted Spolsky's tripartite language policy framework including three interrelated components- *language ideology*, *language practice and language management* (Spolsky, 2004, 2009). Phase 3 was also notable for the interdisciplinary approaches adopted to answer research questions. Tools such as interviews, observations, audio and video recordings of natural interactions at home and beyond were employed to explore FLPs at that time. The broadened theoretical and methodological approaches helped researchers gain a more nuanced understanding of how parental ideologies shape the formation and negotiation of FLPs over time, as well as short and long term effects of these FLPs on child language development (King, 2016).

2.3. Broadening Scope: Diverse family structures, linguistic contexts, and evolving research approaches

Examining publications between 2008 and 2019, Gomes and Lanza (2020) indicated that there had been shift in focus in FLP research. Whereas early research sought to examine the connection between overt planning, parental language use and language learning outcomes in children, recent research has concentrated on (1) language as a means through which multilingual adults and children define themselves and their families; (2) globally dispersed, transnational or multilingual populations beyond the traditional, two-parent family; and (3) research methods that attend to meaning-making in interaction as well as the broader context (p. 160). Similarly, acknowledging the contribution of studies at phase 3 to the understanding of family language policy-making and child outcomes, King (2016) pointed to the gap in studies featuring phase 3 as (1) a lack of diversity in family, language and context types, (2) lack of recognition of the family as a dynamic system, embracing aspects such as child agency, identity choices and family (re)formation, all of which enacted with language, (3) a lack of attention to tri- or multilingualism despite the presence of families speaking not just two, but three or more languages. Studies examining FLPs of transnational and non-transnational families continue to draw on Spolsky's framework at phase 4. Acknowledging the usefulness of Spolsky's framework and employing it commonly, researchers have also directed their attention at the various mechanisms shaping family language planning decisions. As Curdt-Christiansen

(2018, p. 4) indicates, “However tightly knit, families do not live in a vacuum, isolated from the larger sociocultural environment.” In this regard, it is imperative to examine the various factors at play in the construction and execution of FLPs. This leads us to the next section where internal and external forces associated with FLPs are reviewed.

2.4. Home and Beyond: Internal and External Factors Affecting FLP

Use of language involves decision-making whether it’s choosing between languages, dialects, styles or other varieties of a language (Spolsky, 2007; Spolsky, 2009). Spolsky (2009) pointed to the need for an ecological model (Haugen 1987: 27) to understand the decision-making process concerning languages. This model considers the interaction between a given language and its environment. The emphasis on environment within this context is echoed in Voegelin, Voegelin and Schutz (1967) as well as Voegelin and Voegelin (1964) as they state “in linguistic ecology, one begins not with a particular language but with a particular area” (cited in Spolsky 2004, p. 7). From this perspective, language choices are emergent and influenced by a wide range of environmental forces encompassing social, cultural political and personal factors. Decisions regarding what languages to maintain or to abandon are largely determined by the values that family members ascribe to certain languages. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2012), parental beliefs and aspirations for their children’s multilingual development and academic achievement also affect this decision-making process. Added to this are various factors such as the dynamics of intergenerational language transmission, families’ migration experience, and the family’s financial status, particularly as it relates to providing linguistic resources (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). The figure below displays the linguistic and non-linguistic determinants (Spolsky 2004; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020) of FLP:

As demonstrated in Figure 2, families are closely connected to the broader context surrounding them. They are in constant interaction with others in sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic and socio-political contexts (Spolsky, 2004, 2012). These interactions occur through language, a crucial conduit of language socialization. As reflected by the dotted lines surrounding components of FLP and

the broader social contexts, families are separated from the outside world. However, these lines do not constitute solid barriers, but rather semi-permeable membranes, allowing reciprocal influence between family dynamics and external forces through language socialization process (Curdt-Christiansen 2018).

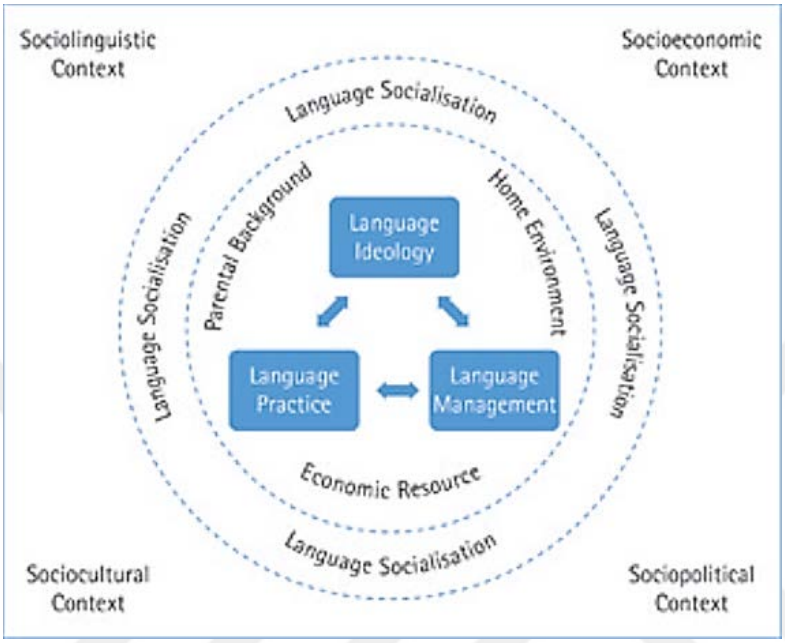


Figure 2. The interdisciplinary framework of family language policy (FLP)
(Source: Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p.3. Adapted from Curdt-Christiansen, 2014)

Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2014, 2018) generated a theoretical model of FLP based on Spolsky's (2009) tripartite language policy model and language socialization theory (Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin 2011; Lanza 2007). The model demonstrates the dynamic relationship between FLP and various factors affecting FLP (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang 2020, p.176).

As illustrated in the figure, the inner core of the model encompasses the three interrelated components of FLP- language ideologies, language practices and language management. Language ideologies includes family members' beliefs and perceptions about particular languages. Language practices denote what people actually do with languages. Language management refers to interventions employed to preserve or promote a certain language (Spolsky 2004, 2009).

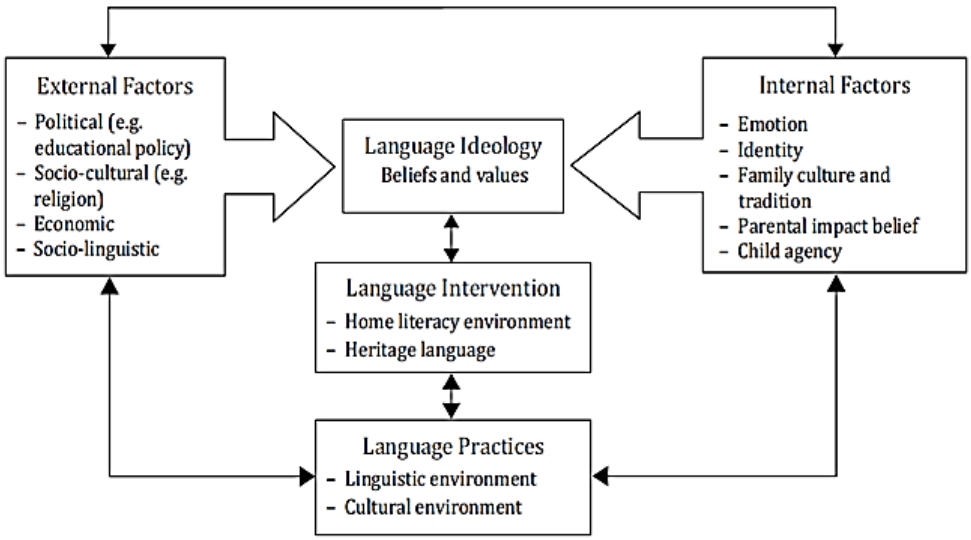


Figure 3. Dynamic model of family language policy

(Source: Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020, p.176. Adapted from Curdt Christiansen 2009, p. 335, 2014, p. 37)

Families operate based on rules and norms related to speaking, viewing, acting and believing. Rules and decisions regarding what languages to preserve or give up are closely linked to the beliefs and values ascribed to certain languages by family members. As displayed on the figure, the dynamics that influence FLP can be broadly divided into two as external and internal factors. While categorized as two distinct entities, these factors are closely related even blurred together. In fact, they constitute "the ideological bedrock" for language choices, practices and language investments at home (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang 2020, p. 176). Often, ideologies are subconscious and they are rooted in the status, role and importance of languages in a particular society (Ojha, 2020). FLP is largely shaped by the individual family's interpretation of the social structures and social transformation. Of particular importance is "what the family believes will strengthen the family's social standing and best serve and support the family members' goals in life" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 326).

Language ideologies influence both language policy and language acquisition, therefore understanding language ideologies that underlie parents' choices as well as how these ideologies are formed is crucial in family language policy research (King et al. 2008). As King (2000) stated, perceived as the underlying factor in language

practices and planning, ideology is suggested to be “the mediating link between language use and social organization” (p. 169).

As displayed on Figure 2, internal factors generally refer to language related forces that can either strengthen or undermine family ties and intimate relationships among family members. Internal variables embrace emotion, identity, family culture and tradition, parental impact belief and child agency. Whereas the dynamics of the private family sphere and language related factors have a defining role in the construction of FLP, as Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) indicate, families are inseparable from the larger socio-cultural environment surrounding them. In other words, they are constantly shaped by external factors such as socio-linguistic, socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political factors (Spolsky 2004, 2012). Socio-linguistic factors include beliefs about which languages are deemed good/acceptable or bad/unacceptable. These beliefs may surface in parental attitudes regarding language mixing or in their preference for a particular language variety. Socio-cultural factors concern the symbolic cultural values associated with a given language, and in that sense, they are considered as reflections of culture. Socio-economic factors are related to the economic forces or linguistic capital that a certain language evokes (Bourdieu 1996). Assumed economic benefits of a given language affects FLP decisions about whether to maintain that language or not. Socio-political factors pertain to individuals’ rights, resources and access to education (such as language-in-education policy), civil activities, and political decisions. In connection with this, parents’ concerns about their children’s education in the mainstream language has a decisive role on the FLPs they form and enact. For instance, in an immigrant context, chances of home language maintenance are very small if parents perceive the home language as a block that prevents their children from accessing and participating in education (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

2.4.1. The Role of Emotions on FLP

The emotional factor relates to the role of the home language in the relationship between the generations in a family (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). Research has shown that as an intra-familial factor, emotions affect FLP in various ways (e.g.

Cantas 2024; Hatos 2024; Okita 2002, Sevinç 2016; Tannenbaum 2012; Wilson 2020). In her seminal book, Okita (2002) investigated the complexities of bilingual child-rearing in Japanese-English intermarried families living in England. Interviewing 28 intermarried families, Okita (2002) pointed to the emotionally demanding task of raising bilingual children while grappling with more pressing social pressures such as the multitasking involved in childrearing, the need to establish social networks in the UK or the dilemmas mothers faced about Japanese maintenance and the needs of their children entering mainstream education. Okita (2002) highlighted the tensions experienced by the Japanese mothers in their efforts to raise bilingual children as an 'invisible work', and called for the recognition of the invisible work of bilingual child rearing both by spouses and professionals. In this regard, her study was significant in pointing to the emotional and gendered aspects of bilingual child rearing.

In the same line, Tannenbaum (2012) drew attention to the less researched emotional and psychological aspects of FLP, and suggested a re-conceptualization of FLP including its analysis from the perspective of coping and defense mechanisms within a psychoanalytic theoretical framework. Tannenbaum suggested that emotional aspects should be taken into consideration both at micro and macro levels because emotional motives are operative not only in decisions within families but also on national level decisions regarding languages.

Sevinç (2016) stated that although bilingualism is often associated with advantages (Grosjean 1994), the "language tension" (emphasis in the original) arising from the quandary of the socioemotional need to maintain a heritage language and the pressure to shift to the majority language, complicates bilingual language acquisition. Based on this tension, Sevinç (2016) investigated language maintenance and shift among three generations of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands by focusing on the emotional mechanisms involved. The findings suggested a language shift across three generations. While Turkish was the main language of the home domain among first generation participants, Dutch was more dominant in other domains, particularly among the third generation participants. Interview data corroborated findings of the survey by revealing a language shift from Turkish to Dutch among the third generation based on participants' accounts. Importantly, the study demonstrated that

the potential shift to Dutch due to socio-political forces, parents' aspirations for their children's academic achievement on the one hand, and the desire to maintain Turkish on the other hand generated emotional strain among third generation participants, giving way to intergenerational tensions among family members. In this regard, the study pointed to the socioemotional aspects of language choice among generations.

In a subsequent study, Sevinç and Dewale (2018) attempted to elucidate the link between anxiety and variables like language background and demographics in a transnational context. Drawing on questionnaires, they investigated anxiety in the minority and majority languages (Turkish and Dutch, respectively) among 116 Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. The participants were comprised of first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants. The findings revealed varying levels of Turkish and Dutch anxiety across generations in different daily life situations. First generation participants reported high levels of anxiety in Dutch, the majority language, when speaking Dutch with or around Dutch people. Second generation participants experienced anxiety in both languages, particularly in the native Dutch settings. Third generation speakers reported experiencing high levels of anxiety in the minority language, Turkish, particularly when speaking with their fathers and grandparents. Overall, the study demonstrated the existence of anxiety among Turkish immigrants in both Turkish and Dutch with varying degrees based on the generation. Moreover, the study pointed to the inadequacy of questionnaires in exploring the link between anxiety and other variables suggesting the need for alternative ways to examine emotions in FLP.

In a later study building on Sevinç and Dewale (2018), Sevinç (2018) investigated language anxiety levels among three generations of Turkish immigrants through autonomic arousal associated with Turkish anxiety and Dutch anxiety. The study included an experimental video-retelling task involving several modes like bilingual mode, free mode or monolingual Turkish/Dutch mode as well as interviews. As in the previous study, third generation participants displayed greater anxiety in the Turkish monolingual mode than in Dutch monolingual mode. The findings signalled a relationship between anxiety, bilingual speech and physiological reactions. They also suggested a link between social factors, language mind sets and anxiety in that

bilinguals tended to possess the belief that they should be fluent in both Turkish and Dutch around native speakers of these languages. 30 participants who participated the video-retelling task were interviewed by a Turkish and a Dutch researcher. Reported by Sevinç and Backus (2019), the findings revealed that language anxiety stemmed from and also contributed to the linguistic and socioemotional aspects of language learning. For the majority of the participants, the pressure and stress caused by the monolingual mind set positing that a bilingual should speak both of her/his languages fluently led to the arousal of language anxiety. The discrimination and social exclusion experienced by the participants both in the host country and the country of origin was also a cause of language anxiety. In relation to FLP, the first-generation mothers held the Dutch education system responsible for their children's Turkish language anxiety. Some second-generation parents viewed their parents' strict monolingual practices as a cause of tension among generations. Furthermore, they considered bilingualism as disadvantageous rather than advantageous because they felt in constant struggle navigating between two languages. The researchers pointed to the reciprocal relationship between language proficiency, use and anxiety. Anxiety may stop bilingual children from using the language that gives them the feeling of anxiety, which in turn increases anxiety and reduces proficiency in the home language. Overall, the study contributed to the line of research examining FLP not from sociolinguistic but from psychoanalytic perspectives by focusing on the role of emotions.

Recently, socioemotional aspects of FLP have gained popularity and some FLP researchers have highlighted the lacuna of research pertaining to the role of emotions in the formation and implementation of FLPs (Hatoss, 2024; Sevinç & Mirhavedi, 2023). According to Sevinç and Mirhavedi (2023) emotion should be considered "[…] as one of the individual components of multilingualism and FLP and as an extremely important domain for maintaining the home language because of its critical role in forming multilingual children's linguistic environment, well-being, attitudes towards language and norms, as well as their motivation in language use and practices." (p. 148). Pointing to the scarcity of FLP studies dealing with the socio-emotional aspect, Hatoss (2024) aimed to address the emotional dimensions of language maintenance among 80 Hungarian speaking immigrants living in Australia

and parenting a bi-/multilingual child. Based on the qualitative and quantitative data analyses, the researcher generated a conceptual model accounting for the emotive aspects of FLP. The model was composed of six dimensions that involved tensions and conflicts concerning (1) linguistic/ideological, (2) discursive, (3) personal/relational, (4) socio/relational, (5) agentive, and (6) pragmatic aspects of bilingual child-rearing in a diasporic context. The study showed that these six dimensions jointly affected parental wellbeing pointing to the complex relationship between FLPs and emotional health. It also suggested that rather than other factors, researchers should focus on the emotive and agentive challenges that parents may face in implementing their FLPs within and outside the home domain. Importantly, the study highlighted that agency should not be taken solely as free will, but an outcome of the interplay between free will and the social conditions due to the fact that agency is constrained by societal attitudes, community support and available resources.

In another study, focusing on emotions, Cantas (2024) examined FLP of a Czech-English speaking family living in the Midwestern United States. The researcher explored the family's negotiations of language use to provide their children with a rich heritage language environment while at the same time considering the children's majority language preference. For that purpose, the researcher examined the family's language use and children's attitudes to the heritage language. Using an ethnographically informed case study approach, the researcher collected self-video recordings of routine family interactions and interviewed the family online due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Thematic and discourse analytic analyses of the data revealed that the focal family reconciled their desire to transmit the heritage language with their children's emotional experiences. Acknowledging their children's preference for the majority language, the caregivers adopted a holistic perspective to heritage language learning by considering cognitive and emotional aspects of heritage language learning. They managed this through incorporating child-centred playful input in the heritage language. In that sense, the study underscored the key role of emotions and the importance of affective dynamics between caregiver and children. In addition, it suggested that playful language constituted a powerful pedagogical tool in supporting heritage language use and transmission.

In another study, Wilson (2020) reported some of the findings from a large-scale FLP study she had conducted with French-English bilingual families in the UK. Diverging from the traditional focus on parents' FLPs, the study centred on children's views related to bilingualism and FLP. Specifically, it aimed to shed light on children's views and experiences of bilingualism and their perceptions and attitudes towards their parents' language management efforts. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews with children, children's language portraits and observations of family interactions. The findings showed that despite their overall positive attitudes towards bilingualism, children's preferred language was English in general and among siblings. This suggested a dual language acquisition process for the children, in which English and French were not separate or competing systems. Furthermore, for all the participant children, translanguaging was a natural and instinctive practice suggesting a more holistic linguistic identity. The study also signalled the uniqueness of children's bilingual experiences in that even children growing up in the same household experienced and perceived bilingualism and biculturalism differently. A significant finding was related to the emotional effect of parents' language management strategies. The study showed that strict use of strategies such as sanctioning the use of the majority language may lead to resentment and resistance whereas more flexible approaches could result in more positive judgments and attitudes in children. This further implied that parents' negative reactions to children's language choices rather than divergent language choices by the parent and the child have an undermining effect in bilingual development. The study was an important contribution to literature in that it demonstrated emotional aspects of bilingual development as well as the significance of exploring children's perspectives in FLP research.

İstanbullu's (2021) study of multilingual immigrant families' FLPs also pointed to the influence of emotions on FLP-making. Adopting a multi-sited ethnography approach, İstanbullu (2021) investigated family language policy of two trilingual transnational families living in France and Germany by comparing intergenerational language choices (Arabic, Turkish, French or German). The families in this study were bilinguals in Arabic and Turkish in their country of origin, so they had to add another language (French or German) to their repertoire following immigration.

Through interviews with three generation family members and analyses of language practices, the researcher aimed to explore the participants' FLPs in relation to this language constellation. The findings revealed that neither family followed an explicit rigid FLP. Rather, particularly first generation (grandparents) and third generation (grandchildren) family members were observed to align to each other's language choices. In this regard, grandparents did not assert authority over the grandchildren by imposing the use of their preferred language. The researcher stated that this alignment facilitated communication between family members and enabled the grandchildren to be able to use familial languages, particularly Arabic. In addition, frequent use of affective terms, expressions and compliments (e.g. 'habibte' meaning 'my darling', 'inte kæjjse' meaning 'you're beautiful' or 'yavrum' meaning 'my baby') also facilitated communication in the familial languages and helped to enhance family bonds. In that sense, the study pointed to the role of positive emotions on FLPs. Overall, the study illustrated implicit FLPs in which "What dominates is the desire to communicate, supported by the deep attachment that members of these families have to each other." (p.476) rather than imposing or sanctioning use of particular languages. The grandchildren in the France used different varieties of Arabic in addition to the local one (Istanbullu, 2017). In this way, they influenced their grandparents' language use, suggesting an agentive role. In her study aiming to examine the role of emotion-related factors in the choice of language in bi-/multilingual families, Pavlenko (2004) noted that among other factors, perceived language emotionality and affective repertoires associated with certain languages had a role on language choice between the parent and the child. For instance, some participants preferred to use their L1 for emotional expression due to the authenticity of L1. In this regard, use of the L1 to express strong emotions or endearment contributed to language maintenance.

2.4.2. Parental Impact Beliefs

Parental impact beliefs (de Houwer 1999) concern parents' convictions regarding their own capability and responsibility in raising their children bilingually or in a home language (Nakamura, 2019; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang 2020). Strong impact beliefs reflect parents' firm belief that their language use directly affects their

children's language development. On the contrary, weak impact beliefs concerns parents' conviction that they have little control over their children's language development (Nakamura, 2019). Parents' past educational experiences, cultural upbringing and disposition, experiences of migration and knowledge about raising children bilingually lay the basis for parental impact beliefs. Due to its direct link to parental involvement and investment in the process of language learning and development, parental impact beliefs are among the most important factors in home language maintenance (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

De Houwer (1999) generated a model based on developmental psychology to illustrate the relationship between parents' beliefs, attitudes, practices and outcomes in childhood bilingualism. De Houwer (1999) acknowledges that the model is overly simplistic because the processes illustrated are not unidirectional. While a child's language practices are influenced by their parents' language use, children's language use also impacts parental language beliefs and strategies. Based on this model, at least three types of parental belief and attitudes affect parents' language behaviour. First, parents often have strong opinions about the purpose and domain in which languages should be used. Second, parental attitudes towards language practices such as mixing or use of slang shape their child-directed speech. Third, parental attitudes towards language learning and bilingualism also determine their language behaviour (King et al., 2008).

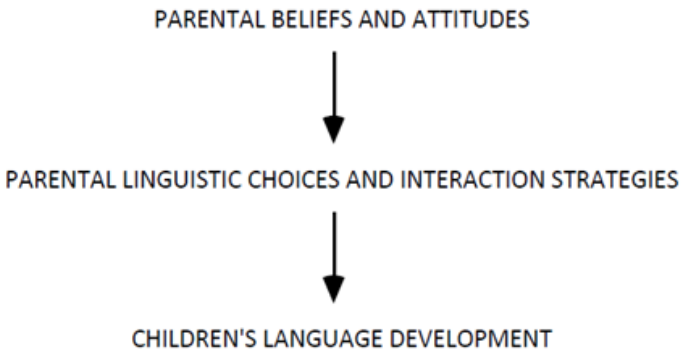


Figure 4. The relationship between parental beliefs/attitudes and children's language development in a potentially bilingual input condition

(Source: King et al., 2008, p. 912)

According to De Houwer (1999), parental beliefs and attitudes impact parental language choices and interaction strategies, which in turn governs children's language development. In that sense, positive attitudes towards both of the languages being acquired by a bilingual child as well as to early child bilingualism are an essential pre-requisite for successful bilingualism. However, positive attitudes do not suffice; parents should also hold impact beliefs about their role in their children's language development. Impact beliefs lay the foundation for the development of active bilingualism (Nakamura, 2019).

In a study examining parents' impact beliefs, Nakamura (2019) explored the formation of impact beliefs as well as how they shaped parents' efforts in raising bilingual and biliterate children in exogamous families. Participants were eight exogamous English- Japanese bilingual families living in Tokyo. There were 16 children ranging in age from 1 to 13, and all were born and raised in Japan in an OPOL setting. Based on an ethnographic approach, data was collected through interviews. The findings revealed that parental ideologies and impact beliefs had a role on their FLPs. Parents' pro-English and also pro-bilingual ideologies were informed by their perceptions that the best linguistic input is provided in the native language, their personal experiences and also socioeconomic factors related to their children's education and career. Parental impact beliefs were determined by individual experiences, spousal support, peer influence and community influence. Specifically, parents' own bilingual experiences and their interest in language and literacy, spouses' cooperation in creating a bilingual environment for children, observations and experiences of peers who raised their children bilingually and being part of a community of practice through children's playgroups fostered parents' impact beliefs regarding their influence on their children's linguistic outcomes.

Similarly, Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) study of Chinese immigrants in Quebec raising multilingual children in Chinese, English and French revealed that strong impact beliefs contributed to active parental involvement in providing the necessary linguistic resources for their children's language development. Parents' past educational and migration experience and the values they ascribed to languages affected their impact beliefs. Whereas strong impact beliefs assit parents'

construction of a pro-bilingual language ecology, weak impact beliefs can result in lack of parental agency in supporting bilingual child development. In a study illustrating this situation, Pérez Báez (2013) explored FLPs of families in a diaspora community by focusing on the interplay between family language choices, language ideologies affecting these choices, parental language intervention and language shift among children. Participants were members of the diaspora community of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ) living in Los Angeles, California. Data was collected in San Lucas and Los Angeles between 2002 and 2011 through participant observation and sociolinguistic interviews. The study showed that adults' language choices varied from using SLQZ among themselves and their children to total shift to Spanish and/or English. Furthermore, an interplay of various factors such as parents' impact beliefs and the social context, children's place of birth and beliefs about multilingual language acquisition determined the languages they used with their children. All the parents displayed weak impact beliefs about their children's bilingual development, and hence were not consciously involved in setting an environment for fostering their home language. The study demonstrated that parental language ideologies and weak impact beliefs resulted in unstructured FLPs that further led to shift towards the dominant language in the community. Since weak impact beliefs stemmed from the assimilationist ideologies prevalent in the US, the study also pointed to the inextricable link between internal and external factors (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

In contrast, Kopeliovich's (2013) study revealed that parents' beliefs regarding their impact on their children's bilingual language development and their investment in accordance with that belief can foster home language transmission. As a parent-researcher, in an 11-year-long ethnographic study, Kopeliovich (2013) documented her own and her husband's experiences concerning Russian-Hebrew bilingual child rearing in Israel. The researcher proposed the Happylingual approach as a result of the longitudinal search for parental strategies targeting raising truly happy bilingual children. The study demonstrated that parents' commitment to the Happylingual approach together with conscious language management strategies contributed to willingness in children towards the home language.

2.4.3. Child Agency

Child agency denotes children's active role in the negotiation of family language use patterns (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). Echoing Fogle and King (2013), Smith-Christmas (2020) indicated that child agency was not widely recognized or accepted in FLP research until recently. In early language socialization studies, children were conceptualized as "blank states" shaped by the language practices of adults surrounding them (Luykx, 2005, p. 1407) or outcomes of their parents' language practices (Smith-Christmas, 2020). New directions in child agency suggest that socialization is not a unidirectional concept operating from parents to children. Children are active participants in socialization processes rendering socialization a bidirectional concept (Revis, 2019). Luykx (2005) stated that traditionally parents are believed to be responsible for children's linguistic socialization due to the expectation that adults would possess more socially-valued linguistic resources than children. She added that in contexts of rapid modernization and/or immigration, children were the holders of linguistic capitals because they had greater access to new language varieties and modalities. This, in turn, led to reversals or disruptions in traditional roles of parents and children regarding language socialization. Drawing on years of relatively unstructured observations in rapidly modernizing societies and also immigrant contexts, the researcher stated that there are three possibilities in which children may act as socializing agents affecting adult family members' language development. (1) Parents' linguistic aspirations for their children cause the whole family to get into contact with new language varieties as when a vernacular-speaking family decides to move to an urban area permanently for providing their children with better educational opportunities. This decision brings new language varieties and modalities into the home and effects all family members. In addition, in time children gain more proficiency in the dominant language than their parents, and their language choice may differ from their parents' L1-based preferences, thus leading to divergence from the FLP. (2) Children may have an indirect socializing influence on their parents' linguistic development when parents adapt to their children's language use in line with children's sociolinguistic needs. In this situation, parents' accommodation to children's language behaviour results in the inclusion of new speech varieties into the parents' linguistic repertoire in the long run. For

instance, parents may start to use the majority language in the home domain when their children start school so that they could help their children with school work. In such cases, parents are socialized into the majority language and the home language may not be retained because all family members shift to the majority language due to school effect. (3) Parents learn new language varieties from their children, who have greater access to new varieties and eventually bring them into the home sphere. In this situation, parents' efforts to help their children with school related work may contribute to their proficiency in the majority language.

Smith-Christmas (2020) traced the shift in the conceptualization of child 'agency' from its early focus on agency as a form of resistance towards the more recent, multidirectional perspectives that characterize current scholarship. Whereas early research in FLP guided by the key question of "What beliefs, practices, and conditions lead to what child language *outcomes*?" (emphasis in the original) resulted in a unidirectional view of parental agency, more recent research (Gafaranga 2010, 2011; Fogle, 2012) pointed to an "agentive turn" (Smith-Christmas 2020, p. 220). As a result of this, researchers started to turn their attention to "children's role in thwarting language maintenance and in how children actively shape the contexts for their own language input" (Smith-Christmas 2020, p. 219). The researcher developed a multidimensional, multi-layered model that conceptualizes child agency as a notion at the intersection of compliance regimes, linguistic competence, linguistic norms and power dynamics as displayed in Figure 3:

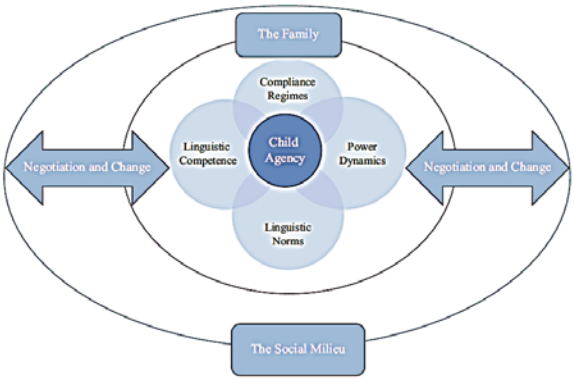


Figure 5. The intersectional, multidimensional, and multilayered nature of agency in FLP

(Source: Smith-Christmas, 2020, p. 221)

Based on this model, child agency is not simply an act of choice or autonomy. Rather, it is shaped by and enacted within an interplay of the rules and expectations established by parents (compliance regimes), children's ability to speak and understand a language (linguistic competence), beliefs about which language is more acceptable (linguistic norms) and beliefs about whether parents or children hold the authority regarding language choices (power dynamics). As the figure suggests, all these components of child agency are interrelated and overlapping. In this regard, whereas they are the outcome of negotiations within the family, they can also lead to changes within the family (inner layer). In the same line, as a fluid social construct, the family and its interactions are both restricted by and contribute to shaping the broader social structures such as linguistic and cultural norms of schools or government bodies (outer layer). In this respect, this intersectional, multidimensional and multi-layered model helps to explore child agency within its reflexive relationships with other structures.

In an early child agency study, Tuominen (1999) explored the language transmission and maintenance within bi- or multilingual immigrant families living in the U.S. She collected data through interviews from 18 families with different language backgrounds. The findings revealed that children determined the languages to be used at home by challenging their parents' language rules concerning the home language through sticking to English, the majority language or by resisting going to home language schools. The researcher also found a relationship between families' educational as well as socioeconomic status and child agency. The researcher indicated that children in multilingual families with low levels of education and economic power "run the show" (p. 72) by choosing which language they'll speak. In some cases, they may even determine the language that their parents will speak, thereby establishing new language rules. Due to having greater access to linguistic and cultural capital of the host country, they socialize their parents instead of being socialized by them.

In her study exploring language and gender socialization in mono- and bilingual contexts, Luykx (2003) reported her observations regarding children's gendered language socialization and agentive role in FLP among Aymara-Spanish bilingual

families. The researcher had been engaged in fieldwork in a Bolivian town for over three months in 1987. Her accounts were particularly based on the interactions of the family with whom she was staying. However, due to her observations of other Aymara- Spanish and Quechua-Spanish families, she concluded that the community shared the interactional patterns she had observed. Regarding children's agentive role, the researcher pointed to school-age siblings' influence on younger children's socialization into the majority language (Spanish in this case). Even in households where parents did not use Spanish, school-age children introduced it into the home environment and to the younger siblings. In urban settings, this situation resulted in younger children's limited or passive knowledge in Aymara and increasing proficiency in Spanish. In time, Spanish turned into the sibling language solidifying its position within the household. In that way, while negotiating their evolving linguistic identities, children shaped their parents' language choices as well because parents started to learn more Spanish with the hope of helping their children with school work. As a result, a synergy of internal and external factors contributed to the negotiation of FLP.

Kheirkhah and Cekaite's (2018) study exploring the role of children and sibling interaction on the language environment and language practices of Iranian immigrant families in Sweden corroborated Luykx's observations. Interviews, video and observation data from five Farsi/Kurdish-speaking Iranian immigrant families living in Sweden constituted the data source. The findings revealed that sibling interaction could challenge or reinforce family language policy in various ways. For instance, Swedish preference in sibling interaction influenced the language ecology. By using Swedish with each other, the children created a Swedish-dominant home domain, thereby facilitating shift from the heritage language to the societal language. Paradoxically, siblings' aligning to each other's language choices in multiparty conversations contributed both to heritage language maintenance (as when one sibling accommodated to the other in switching from Swedish to Farsi) and to changing parents' medium to Swedish (as when siblings aligned with each other's choice of Swedish). Elder siblings displayed agency when they responded to younger siblings' requests for translation into Swedish where parents were engaged in parallel discourse. This also gave elder siblings an opportunity to show their expertise and

knowledge of the heritage language. Furthermore, they helped younger ones in learning literacy in Swedish and modelled, corrected or evaluated younger children's language use in English assuming the role of an expert. Lastly, some elder siblings assumed the role of guardians of the heritage language policy. For instance, in Family 2, the elder sibling criticized her younger sibling resistance to the OPOL strategy of her parents through metalinguistic talk. This was particularly evident in an earlier study of Kheirkhah (2016) focusing on the only family who used the OPOL strategy to foster a multilingual language environment in their home. In this family, the parents tried to ensure a monolingual environment and engaged in strategies to do this. The study showed how the younger child resisted her parents' request for translation when she mixed languages. In addition, both the parents and the elder sister reminded the younger sister of the family's heritage-language oriented FLP through metalinguistic comments.

Gafaranga (2010) examined language shift among Kinyarwanda-French bilingual Rwandans living in Belgium with a focus on how child agency contributes to the shift. Responding to Fishman's (1991) call to focus on face-to-face small-scale interaction to reverse language shift, Gafaranga examined face-to-face interactional patterns between adults and children in the diaspora. Gafaranga revealed how children enacted their agentive power through "medium request" while interacting with adults. Medium requests refer to the practice in which younger members of the community constantly, but at the same time indirectly request the adult member to change the medium of interaction. In Gafaranga's study, children tended to initiate conversations in French in their interactions with adults. Additionally, when addressed in Kinyarwanda by adults or caregivers, children responded in French demonstrating their language preference. Adults acquiesced to children's preference, and the medium of the interaction switched to French. Gafaranga's study showed how children "push the adoption of French as the medium", (p. 243) and how this interactional pattern played a role in "talking language shift into being" (p.241) across the community. Fogle and King (2013) aimed to fill the gap regarding the lack of attention to older age children's agency and a close examination of every day interactions in transnational families, The study examined everyday interactions with children from different age groups in three transnational families. The participant

families were composed of 3 international adoptive families with English-speaking parents and Russian- speaking children, 2 English-Spanish bilingual families in which native-English speaking mothers spoke Spanish with their children as a second-language, 1 immigrant Ecuadorian family in which monolingual Spanish parents used Spanish with their emergent bilingual daughters. Data were collected through ethnographic observations and interviews over at least 6 months in each study. Data analysis showed that children affected their parents' linguistic behaviour and FLP decisions through several strategies. As in Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2018) and Kheirkhah (2016), metalinguistic comments regarding family language rules were among these strategies. In one of the English monolingual families, reference to a taboo word by an adoptive child led parents to state their language use policies more explicitly, which indicated that FLP developed "in and through interactions with children" (p. 12). Interactional strategies that negotiate or resist parents' language practices were also examples of child agency enactment. In the Ecuadorian immigrant family, the mother initiated interactions in mother tongue Spanish with her 21-month old daughter. However, the child's choice of English and the mother's accommodation to it, changed the language of interaction suggesting that even young children can impact their parents' language practices in every day interactions. Parents' response to children's growing linguistic competence and reproducing family-external ideologies of race and language were also reflections of child agency that influenced formation of FLPs.

Revis (2019) also examined child agency in the FLPs of Ethiopian and Colombian refugee families in New Zealand. Ethiopian families were speakers of Amharic and Colombian families spoke Spanish as their first language. Revis (2019) adopted a different theoretical approach and situated her study in a wider social theory (i.e. Bourdieusian framework of structure and agency). The researcher adapted Bourdieu's (1977) notions of 'nexus', 'structured structures' and 'structuring structures' to FLP in order to examine child agency. Data analysis of an ethnographic study showed that children resisted their families' FLPs and asserted their own agency via metalinguistic comments that were related to ethnic identity, children's expectations about their parents' language use and children's perceptions about their language proficiency. Ethnic identification had an impact in language choice of a 6-

year-old child in the study. The child was discriminated against at school due to speaking Amharic. This negative experience led to the child's ethnic identification as 'kiwi' and refusal of Amharic even in the home domain, which were verbally expressed by the child. In another family, a mother changed her default language from mother tongue (Spanish) to the majority language (English) after her 3-year-old boy started day care. She wanted to improve her skills in English in this way. However, the child resisted his mother's English use and wanted her to keep using Spanish with him. Lastly, one mother reported that her daughter's statements about her deteriorating proficiency in mother tongue Spanish strengthened the belief that her daughter would maintain their mother tongue only if they consistently used Spanish at home. Moreover, children in the present study were found to challenge power asymmetries and exert their agency in FLPs through contributing to their parents' socialization in the majority culture, medium requests, language brokering, sociocultural socialization and majority language teaching.

In a recent study, Degu (2021) drew attention to the scarcity of FLP studies focusing on child agency. To fill this void, he examined FLP with a particular focus on child agency in diverse family types. Participants were three Amharic-speaking Eritrean and Ethiopian multilingual immigrant families living in Sweden. He collected multimodal biographic data from children and parents through language portrait methods of body and space mapping activities, post-mapping narration and semi-structured interviews. Data analysis was carried out using Smith-Christmas's (2020) framework. Findings "provided additional evidence of the complex, chaotic, multilingual experiences among migrant families in the home domain" (p. 47). Families faced dilemmas such as giving priority to the majority language for its socioeconomic value or to the heritage language due to its sociocultural value while constructing their FLPs. Importantly, child agency was an important determinant in FLP-making. In one of the families, the three sisters used solely Swedish with each other and mostly Swedish with their parents. In this way, they formed a predominantly Swedish language ecology, in which the heritage language Amharic had little place and function in family interactions. In another family, parents had predictions about their five-year-old daughter's agentive role in socializing them in the majority language due to having more proficiency than them as a result of

schooling. The study showed that parents were not the only actors who formed FLPs. Children and their language choices had an important impact in the FLP-making process. Adopting the framework of language socialization, Said and Zhu (2017) investigated the way in which children in multilingual and transnational families utilized their languages creatively to assert agency in language use and socialization. The data comprised twelve hours of self-recorded mealtime multiparty conversations in one Arabic-English multilingual family living in the UK. The analysis of turn-by-turn interactions between children and their parents suggested that children enacted agency and affected their parents' language choice and use by switching between Arabic and English in creative and strategic ways. Partly due to the parents' flexible policy, the children could manipulate these languages and the symbolism attached to them to reach their social goals. In addition, they were aware of their parents' preference for Arabic, and they utilized that to draw their parents' attention or challenge power asymmetries. The researchers also stated that the relaxed atmosphere within the family allowed for a nearly egalitarian relationship between parents and children during mealtime conversations. This contributed to the maintenance of the home language. The researchers noted the context-specific nature of agency and concluded that "agency is a constant, on-going, and effortful notion that is understood and enacted in specific ways that suit this family." (p.23).

As shown in the studies reviewed above, recent scholarship has started to address the call of exploring agency as "a multi-actor phenomenon" (Wilson, 2020, pp. 163-164). Unlike the earlier belief viewing FLP as a one-way phenomenon shaped by the parents, children are now considered as "active and creative social agents" (Lanza, 2007, p.47). Additionally, child agency is "a blurred factor between internal and external categories" due to its connection to school culture, peer culture and mainstream culture, denoting the inherent link between factors (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang 2020, p. 179).

2.5. From Ideologies to Practices: The Role of Language Ideologies on FLP

While early studies of bilingualism centred on the parental language management strategies that generated successful bilingual outcomes, some studies also aimed to

explore the ideologies leading to these strategies. In one such study, Piller (2001) set out to explore parental decisions about raising their children monolingually in the dominant language or bilingually, and their actual language practices. Specifically, the researcher sought to investigate the effect of public discourses about bilingualism on parents' language related decisions and language practices. The researcher concluded that parents' decisions about bilingual child rearing drew on popularized literature on childhood bilingualism. Furthermore, research on this issue included various, even contradictory discourses. Based on these discourses and views of "elite bilingualism", parents viewed bilingual education as an investment for their children's future, and frequently used "one person – one language" and "home language vs. community language" strategies. Another finding was that parents' ideologies were influenced by research related to critical period in second language learning such that they believed the earlier children were exposed to the two languages the better for bilingual development because in this way children would acquire the languages unconsciously. In line with this, parents believed that simultaneous acquisition of two languages required careful planning and separating languages. Finally, parents held the widespread belief that the right choices and strategies about raising children bilingually would result in balanced bilingualism.

In her book published the subsequent year, Piller (2002) examined language planning of English-German bilingual couples through qualitative interviews. Parents believed that introducing a language early was the best for children so that they could learn that language 'unconsciously'. The parents also believed that consistent language separation by the parents was important for dual language acquisition. In that sense, they viewed mixing languages as detrimental to children's language development. Unlike Piller (2002), Purkarthofer (2017) investigated language expectations of three couples belonging to different language backgrounds and expecting their first child. The researcher adopted an ethnographic approach and employed an innovative methodological framework including various tools such as language portraits, biographic narratives, building blocks and interviews. Participants were asked about their language biographies, their envisioned futures and goals for themselves and their children. The findings revealed that parents imagined a flexible FLP open to negotiations with their child, rather than a strict one based on language separation. In

that sense, their flexible, heteroglossic ideology centering on their child's needs differed from Piller's (2001, 2002) participants' ideologies.

In addition to public discourse and popular literature, research has shown that as macro-level policies, state-language policy and language education policy have been influential in shaping parental language ideologies and choices (Curdt-Christiansen 2014, 2016; Lane, 2010; Luykx, 2005; Rindstedt & Aronsson, 2002; Seloni & Sarfati, 2013). Adopting an ethnographic approach, Bezcioğlu-Göktolga & Yağmur (2018) explored FLPs of 20 Turkish immigrant families living in the Netherlands. The researchers focused on families' the language ideologies, language practices and language management strategies. The findings revealed that the parents wanted to maintain their ethnic identity while at the same time adapt their children to the Dutch society. Both personal language experiences, beliefs about the influence of Turkish on Dutch, and societal factors shaped parents' decisions. For the participant parents, maintaining the ethnic identity was the greatest motive for Turkish language maintenance. In addition, preserving the mother tongue, sustaining contact with people in Turkey and the possibility of returning back to Turkey were sociocultural reasons for Turkish maintenance. Parents also indicated that they wanted to maintain Turkish because it would facilitate their children's learning of Dutch and other languages. Parents' preference of Dutch mainly stemmed from aspirations concerning their children's school success and future career. In other words, schools impacted families' ideology formation. As for language choices, individual family members' language preferences, interlocutors, and the context of the interaction were influential. Although the parents spoke Turkish with each other, when their children joined the conversation, they inevitably shifted to Dutch. Based on the parents' accounts, while all the children spoke Turkish, they preferred mainly or only Dutch particularly in sibling interactions. In families favouring Turkish could switch to Dutch in school related contexts. Similarly, in Dutch-dominant families, could switch to Turkish while talking about religion-related issues. Language management strategies targeting Turkish and Dutch varied based on participants' generation and educational backgrounds. While all the families reported pro-Turkish ideologies, not all of them were involved in Turkish management strategies. The main Turkish management strategy was reported as conscious use of Turkish until children started

school. The study revealed that FLPs were an outcome of various factors rather than being solely based on families' free will. Societal ideologies and expectations of mainstream institutions such as schools were particularly influential in shaping parents' FLPs.

Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) aimed to examine language ideology and language practices of the Ecuadorian Sierra community. Specifically, they wanted to explore the connections between language ideology and practices as well as the ongoing language shift from Quichua-Spanish bilingualism to Spanish monolingualism. Data came from a 15-month-long fieldwork involving intergenerational language practices and play dialogues of four toddlers. The analysis of sibling caretaking, play and adult-child interactions showed that although the community under investigation was a Quichua-Spanish bilingual community, interaction with children was mainly in the dominant language, Spanish. While parents addressed each other in Quichua and/or Spanish, they generally used only Spanish with their children for fear that they would speak half Quichua half Spanish when they start school. In that sense, the fact that the community school was a monolingual Spanish institution with Spanish teachers, and that Quichua was not visible in school contexts at all affected parental language ideologies and practices. Moreover, identity issues were involved in some children's language choice. Associating Quechua with Indianness, femininity, rural life or poverty, some children felt ashamed to speak it and spoke only Spanish, which is associated with mestizos.

Aiming to outline a research agenda centred on the language socialization of adults by children, Luykx (2005) reported how school acted as a major factor in language shift from Quechua to Spanish in Bolivia. In this context, parents felt obliged to adapt their language use in line with their children's educational need. For parents, that meant giving up Quechua or Aymara in interactions with their children in favour of Spanish, the medium of instruction. In that sense, similar to the Qiuchua-speaking parents in the Ecuadorian Sierra community, educational policies affected parental language ideologies and choices by imposing Spanish and marginalizing the indigenous language.

Lane (2010) investigated language shift in Bugoynes, a bilingual Kven community in Northern Norway, in relation to macro and micro forces. As a Kven speaker from Bugoynes herself, the researcher was engaged in fieldwork from 1996 until 2007. The study demonstrated the complex and multifaceted nature of the language shift phenomenon. The study revealed in the mid-20th century Kven community shifted from their mother tongue to Norwegian as a result of the Norwegianization process and modernity that brought along societal pressures. With the best intentions for their children, older generations chose to speak Norwegian to their children instead of the Kven language with the belief that Norwegian would enable them to obtain social integration and access economic opportunities. Although the interplay between broader social, political and historical processes and individuals' actions led to language shift, a transformation of discourse regarding the Kven language has started to occur in recent years. Realization of the presence of other minorities in similar situations and a burgeoning Kven identity resulting from the recognition of Kven as a national minority and part of Norwegian cultural heritage has caused people to challenge assimilationist policies of the past. This indicates that shift is not only a matter of cause and effect, but a complex phenomenon involving individual and larger historical, social and political forces.

In another study demonstrating the impact of broader socio-historical factors on FLPs, Seloni and Sarfati (2012) revealed how the ideology of monolingualism and national education policies impacted FLPs of a minority community. The researchers aimed to explore the declining use of Judeo-Spanish among Jews living in Turkey and the factors, ideologies and practices that led to this decline. Because of the endangered status of Judeo-Spanish today, the study adopted the life history narrative approach and investigated language practices of older generation community members born between 1909 and 1935. The study showed that the opening of Alliance schools as a result of modernization efforts during the Ottoman Empire had a great impact in the demise of Judeo-Spanish. With the spread of these schools, a language hierarchy emerged within the Ottoman Jewish community. According to this hierarchy, French was the top language followed by Turkish as a practical regional language, Hebrew the language of prayer with no functional value, and Judeo-Spanish regressing to the bottom of the hierarchy (Stein, 2004: 55-56). These

schools also contributed to linguistic imperialism by spreading propaganda that associated Judeo-Spanish with backwardness and French with progress. These ideologies started to dominate community members' ideologies, too. The modernization efforts of the late Ottoman Empire were sustained following the establishment of the Republic. The Turkification policies aiming at building an ethnically homogenous nation unified by a common culture and language led to the assimilation of ethnolinguistic minorities including Sephardic Jews. Furthermore, campaigns such as the 'Turkish-only policy' in public spheres, the Law on the Unification of Education (1924), and 'Citizen, Speak Turkish' established Turkish as the dominant language in this minority. In time, Judeo-Spanish was viewed as a block in the way of linguistic and academic success, and relegated to limited communicative functions such as secret messages, jokes or expressing emotions. In short, the ideology of monolingualism supported by several campaigns and laws that were translated into practices emerging as forced public assimilation, family planning, community policing and internalization contributed to the shift from Judeo-Spanish to Turkish among the community members.

Gkaintartzia, Chatzidakib and Tsokalidoua (2014) aimed to examine the effect of broader ideologies about schooling and education on immigrant parents' language ideologies. As part of a larger ethnographic study exploring language beliefs and practices of 20 Albanian children attending pre- and primary school, as well as attitudes of parents and teachers regarding bilingualism, the study focused on 19 Albanian immigrant parents living in Greece. The study was carried out in Greece between 2008-2010 at a primary school and a kindergarten near it. Data was collected through semi-structured individual and group interviews with parents. Discourse analysis focusing on the structure and meaning was employed to analyse participants' language ideologies. The participants were grouped into three categories based on their ideological stance. 5 mothers, who were actively engaged in promoting bilingualism in their children and resisting to hegemonic discourse supporting monolingual language ideologies, were labelled as "fighters". 11 parents were categorized as "probilingualism parents". These parents supported the maintenance of Albanian through using it at home. However, differing from "fighters", they considered it their responsibility rather than the Greek state's to

promote bilingualism. Lastly, 3 participants were categorized as “indifferent” because they did not display conscious interest or specific strategies to maintain Albanian at home. Rather, they believed they should give priority to Greek as it was the language of school and as it would foster children’s progress. The researchers concluded that parents’ ideologies about bilingualism and home language maintenance were largely shaped by mainstream language ideologies, disseminated through school, particularly teachers’ discourse targeting immigrant parents and children.

In a recent study, Sepriati, Mirizon and Silvhiany (2021) observed similar patterns. The researchers examined the role of parental ideologies in the formation of FLP in two bi-/multilingual families (the Zahra and Najwa families) as part of a larger project involving all three components of Spolsky’s (2004) tripartite model. The families were living in Palembang, Indonesia, a multicultural and multilingual setting where various languages such as English, Indonesian, Palembang and Javanese were practiced at varying degrees. Adopting a qualitative case study approach, the researchers collected data from these two families using ethnographic interviews with the parents, children and grandmother. Thematic analysis of the data showed that ideological factors that shaped these families FLPs included political factors, social factors, cultural factors, economic factors and personal factors such as parents’perceptions about language acqusition and bi-/multilingualism. Regarding political factors, both of the families valued English because they believed it opened up pathways to the global political landscapes. In addition, English would enable the children in these families to participate in English-medium educational settings. Therefore, they prioritized these languages in their FLPs. In terms of cultural factors, despite not having strong motivations to use their heritage language with their children, both mothers introduced Palembang to their children. In other words, they tried to help their children master English though not at the expense of their heritage languages. On the other hand, Zahra and Najwa parents had conflicting views about the use of their heritage languages, both associated their Indonesian with their national and religious identities rather than ethnic identities. Religious practices also had a role in shaping these familes FLPs. They wanted their children to learn Arabic to maintain their religious identity. The study showed how the participant families

ascribed varying degrees of value to the languages at their disposal, and how the ranking of these languages translated into family language practices.

Xiaomei (2017) investigated FLP management of Hakka Chinese families in Balik Pulau, Malaysia by interviewing one parent and one child in 14 Hakka families. The language ecology of the research setting included Hakka, Hokkien, Mandarin (three Chinese varieties), Malay and English. As shown in Curdt-Christiansen (2016) and Sepriati, Mirizon and Silvhiany (2021), the study revealed that these languages were ranked hierarchically within the participant families' households based on their perceptions of the value of these languages. The communicative (Hokkien, Mandarin), instrumental (Hokkien, Malay and English) and sentimental (Hakka, Mandarin) values ascribed to the languages in the linguistic repertoire of the families influenced their FLPs. The perceived economic and linguistic values of these languages in the linguistic market also affected language transmission patterns across generations. In line with parents' ideologies concerning the value of languages, there was an intergenerational shift from Hakka and Hokkien to Mandarin among the younger generations.

Eroğlu (2022) explored FLPs of 7 Kurdish families living in a predominantly Kurdish city in Türkiye. In this regard, she contributed to FLP studies carried out in an autochthonous minority context, which are fewer in comparison to immigrant or OPOL contexts (Smith-Christmas, 2016). The researcher based her exploration on Spolsky's tripartite FLP model and focused on participant families' language ideologies, language practices as well as language management strategies. Analysis of data collected through semi-structured interviews, observations and field notes revealed that in line with their pro-Kurdish ideologies, parents aimed to create language environments that could foster their children's Kurdish acquisition. Parents struggled to preserve intergenerational linguistic continuity due to associating Kurdish with their ethnic identity, and also to sustain relationships with extended family members, particularly with the monolingual grandparents. On a personal level, past language experiences also impacted parents' pro-Kurdish FLPs. In line with their ideologies, the parents tried to create a Kurdish monolingual home environment for the acquisition of Kurdish by their children. Unlike Curdt-

Christiansen (2016), the study revealed congruence between parents' declared ideologies and actual language behaviour such that Kurdish was part of the families' every day interactions with their children. In line with their ideologies parents used a variety of internal and external strategies such as Kurdish- only at home strategy or language support centres such as Kurdish playgrounds to support their children's learning of Kurdish. Unlike studies which revealed that parents gave up their language maintenance efforts when their children entered school, the parents in this family continued to embrace Kurdish even after their children started school. In other words, parents' strong language maintenance ideology surpassed interference of school as a powerful external factor.

Pointing to the scarcity of FLP studies in an endangered language context, Dağdeviren-Kırmızı (2023) explored family language policy of immigrant Gagauz mothers living in Türkiye. The researcher interviewed 14 first-generation Gagauz mothers living in Türkiye about their language ideologies, practices and management strategies. All the participants reported being able to speak Gagauz, Russian and Turkish, and reported Gagauz and Russian as their first language. Thematic analysis of data revealed that the participant mothers held various beliefs concerning Russian and Gagauz. Mothers ascribed economic and educational value to Russian. On the other hand, they acknowledged the importance of Gagauz due to its role as a marker of ethnic identity and in-group membership. In other words, parents' aspirations about their children's speaking Russian were tied to socioeconomic factors while aspirations concerning Gagauz were related to socio-cultural factors. Moreover, mothers' perceived linguistic functionality of Russian and Gagauz also shaped their language choices. Mothers valued Russian for its lingua franca status in the post-Soviet context as well as its high functionality in different domains. In contrast, parents held Gagauz in lower esteem in terms of functionality due to its lack of utility outside the home domain. In this regard, these choices reflected a language hierarchy which drew on broader level factors. The study also suggested that both grandparents visiting their family in Türkiye and those living in Gagauzia ATU had an indirect role in maintaining the heritage language Gagauz. As the language associated with the elder generation, Gagauz was functional in interacting with family members, particularly the elderly such as grandparents.

İstanbullu's (2024) study also implied how ideologies about a local variety of Arabic spoken in Antioch (Antakya) shaped by broader ideologies influenced non-transmission of that local variety. The researcher explored the language ideologies of Arabic-Turkish-speaking Turkish citizens living in Antioch, Hatay, the province in which the current study was also carried out. She examined ideologies in relation to the effect of language policies of the Republic of Türkiye from the past to present, and also the effect of changing status of Arabic following its introduction in schools as a foreign language in the late 1990s and 2000s. The researcher focused on ethnically Arab families belonging to non-dominant groups such as Alawites, Christians and Jews. Through extensive fieldwork and interviews with Arabic-Turkish bilingual families from various backgrounds in Antioch, the researcher revealed that participants held conflicting ideologies about the Arabic variety they spoke. Some participants demonstrated positive feelings about the local variety and expressed its utility in terms of creating job opportunities (particularly those related with translation or working in Arab countries). Some participants, on the other hand, held negative attitudes towards the local variety. Some participants believed that Arabic affected their Turkish adversely, therefore they chose to speak Turkish with their children to ensure that they'd have a proper Turkish. Participants' ideologies were affected by broader national ideologies that assign standard Turkish with a high prestige whereas associating dialectal Arabic with a bad image. Comparison of the local variety with other varieties deemed more prestigious (Syrian-Lebanese or MSA) demonstrated how participants labelled their variety as 'bad' or 'flawed'. Past experiences of schooling and military service during which participants reported to face discrimination also shaped their ideologies. The researcher noted that although Arab minorities still have a bad image in Turkey, this image has started to change in recent years due to reconciliation with close Arab countries (especially rich Gulf states) as part of Turkey's foreign policy. Based on intergenerational language choices, the researcher suggested that despite this changing image and the recent popularity of MSA in Turkey, language shift is still underway in Antioch.

Yalım-Ege (2019) who conducted a study on bilingualism in Döver Mahallesi, one of the neighbourhoods of Defne district, also reported mixed attitudes to Arabic. While some second generation informants had negative attitudes towards Arabic and

refrained from transmitting it to their children for fear that they may have a bad Turkish accent, some others advocated language maintenance for sustaining their linguistic, cultural and religious identity. Some informants shunned speaking their mother tongue out of their neighbourhood due to the relationship between language and ethnicity. They reported being marginalized because of their identity, and that resulted in avoiding the use of the mother tongue which is a marker of identity. Yalım-Ege (2019) observed variations in the use of Arabic and Turkish across three generations. While the first generation used Arabic predominantly and had difficulty in speaking Turkish, the second generation could communicate comfortably in both languages, and some of these tried to pass Arabic on to their children, who made up the third generation. At the same time, there were some third generation community members who spoke only Turkish. Some informants reported that the first generation had to learn Turkish to be able to communicate with the third generation members (their grandchildren). Gender based differences in the use of Turkish and Arabic have been reported by some informants. Women over middle age were not as proficient in Turkish as men of their age. One reason was that unlike their male counterparts, women were not sent to school. Another reason was that they have not left their neighbourhood except for going to the city centre for shopping. However, men have left their hometown for longer periods due to military service, trade or visiting friends, and that led to more contact with Turkish on their part. It was also stated that elderly females usually took their grandchildren with them as language brokers while going to the city centre for shopping, drawing their pension etc. Languages were compartmentalized based on spaces, too. Whereas Turkish was the preferred language in public (Antakya), Arabic was chosen for the private area (the neighbourhood). Yalım-Ege (2019) stated that despite the general decline in the rate of transmission, in recent years there has been a revival of interest in Arabic with the influx of Syrian refugees. The wave of refugees has increased the functional value of the language. In that respect, many people in the neighbourhood started to attend Arabic courses for pragmatic purposes to meet the increasing demand for Arabic in business and other settings.

Adopting Spolsky's tripartite FLP model, Koç Güzelcan (2023) examined FLPs of nine Turkish immigrant families living in Belgium. Situating FLPs in the context of

migration and integration to a multilingual society, the researcher explored FLPs of the families from the parents' as well as the adolescent children's perspectives. Analysis of a demographic background questionnaire and semi-structured interviews with 15 parents and 9 adolescents revealed the evolving nature of the participant families' FLPs. The FLPs adopted by the families varied based on the socio-economic environment and the regional requirements of the host country. In other words, the initial inclination to French in some families shifted to Flemish due to its local economic and social utility. Participants' ideologies were effective in determining their FLPs. While all the participants were strongly dedicated to sustain Turkish as a marker of their cultural identity, they were also aware of the importance of the local languages for integration into the Belgian society. The families employed various strategies such as direct intervention and more passive, supportive methods to preserve Turkish in the home domain. The study revealed that cultural celebrations created a space for families to maintain their Turkish culture and traditions. At the same time, living in a foreign country, the families tried to create a balance between Turkish and Belgian cultural traditions, experiencing aspects of both. The study revealed that FLP of the families lied at the intersection of socio-economic, educational and cultural factors.

Kirsch (2012) investigated language ideologies and language planning of seven multilingual Luxembourgish mothers who were trying to raise their children bilingually in Luxembourgish and English in an environment prevailed by monolingual discourse. Data was collected through episodic and semi-structured interviews and observations concentrating on five families. Content and discourse analyses demonstrated that all the participant mothers had positive attitudes towards Luxembourgish viewing it as a vessel for expressing their emotions and national identity. Additionally, all viewed multilingualism as an essential feature of Luxembourgers. The findings suggested that although the mothers had a strong sense of attachment to their mother tongue Luxembourgish and had a supportive stance to bilingualism, these were not sufficient to promote bilingual development. The interplay between mothers' language ideologies, planning and practices shaped by individual and social factors, and the clash between the monolingual English ideology prevalent in England and multilingual ideologies possessed by the mothers

resulted in dominance of English in mother-child interactions in these families and decreased chances of bilingual development.

2.6. The Role of (Lack of) Parental Agency

Romanoswki's (2021) study of FLPs of Polish families revealed parallel results with Kirsch's study (2012) concerning the insufficiency of positive attitudes to the home language. Employing a mixed-methods approach, Romanowski (2021) examined FLPs of Polish families residing in Australia through Spolsky's (2012) tripartite FLP framework. The findings showed that preserving the Polish language and identity, contacting relatives in Poland, preserving Polish customs and traditions and advantages of becoming bilingual were the most common reasons for language maintenance among families. Concerning heritage language practices, the speakers, their language preferences, the topic and context of interactions determined language practices in families. The researcher stated discrepancies between what the families reported and their actual language practices. Although all the interviewed parents indicated that they used Polish with their children, three modes of communication (OPOL, dual-language use, code-switching) emerged from data analysis. Language management efforts differed depending on families' backgrounds, education, employment and length of stay in the host country. Older employee parents with secondary education level were more engaged in sustaining and developing the heritage language. High-educated younger parents, on the other hand, were less involved in language management. Romanowski concluded that fostering positive attitudes for heritage language among children would not suffice. Without establishing Polish as the default home language and/or supporting it, children's heritage language development would be undermined in terms of productive skills.

Curdt-Christiansen & Wang (2018) investigated how Potungha, fangyans and English are perceived by a group of Chinese middle-class parents, and their FLPs regarding fostering or hindering their children's development of these languages. The study focused on the agentive role of parents in constructing language ecologies for their children's multilingual development. It also examined how public discourse about these languages and their perceived value affected families' FLPs. 8 Chinese

families with children aged 5-11 took part in the ethnographic-oriented study. Data was collected through children's family language audits, observations of children's language/literacy practices, and conversations about parental language ideologies. The findings revelaed that whereas in all families, parents and grandparents interacted in fangyans (local dialects of Chinese), parents displayed lack of agency in promoting fangyans with their children. They believed fangyans were not useful for their children because of their restricted locality and lack of environment to foster it. On the other hand, they associated Potunghua, the national language of China, with their identity, and used it as the default means of interaction among themselves and with their children. They believed that Potunghua was essential for their children to be able to communicate with people across China. As a consequence, parents prioritized Putonghua over fangyan in their interaction with children due to ascribing greater value and utility to Potunghua. In addition, parents declared aspirations for their children to learn English, the global lingua franca, and demonstrated agency to support their children's English development. In short, parents' ideologies pertaining to the value and utility of fangyan, Potunghua and English resulted in either lack of or active agency towards these languages in negotiating their FLPs. While they did not adopt any language management strategies to support their children's fangyan, they invested in their children's English development by adopting conscious strategies.

Shen and Jiang (2023) examined FLPs of three Chinese immigrant families in Australia in relation to the role of parental agency on FLP. The researchers employed storytelling as a narrative inquiry method. They interviewed mothers and three children aged 10 and 11 about their FLPs. The three families in the study implemented varying degrees of parental agency. In the first family who adopted a pro-heritage language FLP and accordingly invested time and effort to help their children grow up bilingually, child agency to learn and maintain the heritage language was the highest. In the second family, although the mother was cognizant of the increasing value of Mandarin in the linguistic market, the focal child had been immersed in a mainly monolingual English environment from a very early age. Although she was very good at English, she was not fluent in Mandarin. When the child shifted to English completely at primary school, the mother decided to send her

child to weekend Chinese school when she was five upon advice from friends. Nevertheless, parental efforts in this family were targeting oral communication; heritage language (HL) literacy practices were lacking. In the third family which had the least parental agency regarding transmitting HL and culture, the child was growing up as a monolingual English speaker. The home environment lacked the resources such as literacy and culture-oriented practices related to HL transmission. The parents did not exert conscious efforts to pass their HL on to their child. Accordingly, in this family, the child displayed least agency and commitment regarding HL learning and maintenance. In sum, the research showed that the level of parental involvement and commitment regarding HL and culture transmission was reflected in children's level of agency as well.

Based on earlier research that provides evidence for spontaneous and implicit FLPs (Curdt-Christiansen 2018; Li et al. 2022), Rose, Armon-Lotem & Altman (2024) investigated the FLP planning styles (overt vs. covert) of immigrant families. Participants were English-Hebrew speaking immigrants living in Israel, and data was collected through questionnaires from parents and their children. The findings demonstrated that all the participant families showed dedication to promote bilingualism. However, planning style appeared to influence children's home language environment. Families who adopted an overt planning style were more invested in heritage language development, and hence they used strategies to promote English at home and among siblings. In contrast, families with a covert planning style tolerated use of the societal language at home. The study did not reveal significant links between children's home language use, vocabulary knowledge in Hebrew as well as English and planning style.

Gharibi and Mirhavedi (2024) focused on an under-studied immigrant group to investigate their FLPs. The researchers interviewed 18 Iranian mothers living in the UK about their language practices, ideologies, and management targeting the acquisition and maintenance of Persian. The findings revealed that participant mothers had strong pro-Persian ideologies. Acquisition and maintenance of Persian by their children was very important in terms of fostering and preserving Iranian cultural identity, to maintain contacts with the homeland to preserve family unity. In

particular, the participants attached great importance to Persian as the marker of their cultural and ethnic identity. The researchers pointed to the role of strong pro-heritage language ideologies in the success of bilingual outcomes. Parents who held such strong ideologies adopted conscious strategies and efforts to socialize their children into Persian from early ages rather than assuming a laissez-faire attitude. Furthermore, despite parental efforts for early exposure to Persian, schooling and integrating with the mainstream culture changed the dynamics of FLP. Children developing their own bilingualism and identity challenged parental ideologies and practices in time. Overall, the study underscored the importance of socializing children in the heritage language at home throughout early childhood to obtain development in that language. This suggested the importance of conscious efforts to create a suitable environment for home language development while suggesting the reverse about lack of parental agency.

Wang and Zheng (2015) aimed to explore France-based Franco-Chinese families' FLPs in relation to the maintenance or loss of Chinese dialects. It also aimed to examine the complex interaction between parental management efforts concerning Chinese dialects in mixed marriages and the national language policies of China and France. Participants were four Franco-Chinese families consisting of Chinese-speaking mothers, French-speaking fathers and children. Observations, home visits, recordings of family interactions and interviews with both parents and children constituted data sources. Findings displayed that both mothers and fathers had similar negative social representations related to the transmission of Chinese dialects. While the mothers' negative evaluation of the Chinese dialects was rooted in national language policy of China promoting Putonghua, as well as their experiences related to China's education system and public social life, French fathers' representations were shaped by the monolingual language ideology fostered by the French national language policy. As a result, they ascribed greater value to Putonghua for its associated socioeconomic status and less value to Chinese dialects due to their low prestige. The study showed how these negative representations by the parents translated into the practice of non-transmission of Chinese dialects. However, while mothers, whose negative representations were overt made explicit decisions about non-transmission of the dialects, fathers, shaped by implicit biases rooted in France's

monolingual and purist ideologies adopted a laissez-faire attitude to the transmission of dialects. This study demonstrated how negative social representations of dialects are shaped by national language policies from different settings and consequently lead to their non-transmission.

2.7. Grandparents' Role on the Negotiation of FLP

As FLP research started to encompass a wider variety of family constellations, FLP studies turned their attention to extended families as well as nuclear ones. In line with that some studies have highlighted the role of grandparents in FLP-making. In his Master's Thesis, Ojha (2020) touched upon grandparents' role in the maintenance of Nepalese as a heritage language in two transnational immigrant families in the US. Ojha explored FLPs of two Nepalese families based on Spolsky's tripartite model. One of the participant families was a six-member extended family including the parents of the father. Based on observations and interviews, the researcher indicated that the presence of grandparents in this family had a positive influence on children's learning of Nepali. Grandparents created a practical reason for grandchildren to use Nepali. For instance, explaining his son's language choices, the father in this family stated that the only time his son used Nepalese was to communicate with his grandparents during dinner. This contrasted the child's English preference with the parents. In that sense, grandparents acted as guardians and transmitters of the heritage language in the home domain.

In their study aimed at exploring the role of FLP in the maintenance of Malaca Portuguese Creole, an endangered language, Pillai et al. (2014) interviewed five families living in the Portuguese Settlement in Malaca. They interviewed all family members from three generations to understand the extent of language transmission to younger generations. The findings suggested that although MPC was considered a marker of ethnic and cultural identity, it was not transmitted to younger generations. In addition, whereas first generation community members spoke mainly MPC, the second and third generation speakers mostly shifted to English. Ojha (2020) noted the role of grandparents in creating a site for language transmission and maintenance. In the same line, Pillai et al. (2014) highlighted the role of grandparents and parents

in creating a genuine need for the use of the heritage language on the part of the children. They maintained that if the first and second generation created a constant need for the use of MPC, the language would be a functional one. Furthermore, the researchers assumed that with the passing of the elder generation, dynamics related to the maintenance of the heritage language would change, particularly if not consciously used by parents in the home domain. Additionally, MPC might undergo attrition and change.

Based on a larger scale study about intergenerational learning among Bangladeshi families in East London, Ruby (2012) focused on grandparents' role concerning teaching of the language and culture to children as well as language maintenance. She drew her data from one of the three families in the other project. She collected data through field notes, participant observation, semi-structured interviews with teachers, grandmothers and mothers as well as video recordings of the child (Aisha) putting a puzzle together with her mother, grandmother and teacher. The findings revealed that during the puzzle activity, Aisha's mother and teacher used English with her. However, Aisha's grandmother was able to engage with her in Bangla by encouraging her to use her existing Bangla skills with confidence and fluency. The grandmother's calm and relaxed manner during the activity, which came naturally from years of experience in raising her own children, created a low-pressure environment. In this way, Aisha could freely explore her use of Bangla without feeling any pressure to achieve. The study underscored the key role of grandparents in maintaining the language and cultural identity of the third generation in a monolingual English dominant immigrant context.

Ishizawa (2004) aimed to explore whether living with grandparents in a transnational context influenced maintenance of the minority language among grandchildren. The researcher employed the Census 2000 Supplementary survey and revealed that living with non-English speaking grandparents increased the likelihood of grandchildren's use of the minority language. This pointed to grandparents' role in 'ethnic' socialization of the third generation in multigenerational households. Grandmothers were particularly effective in their grandchildren's use of the minority language, probably stemming from their caregiver role and engagement of grandparenthood.

Furthermore, children living with their paternal grandparents tended to use the minority language more than those living with their maternal grandparents. Ishizawa (2004) attributed this to the association between ethnicity and paternal side with regard to the maintenance of ethnic identity. The study shed light on the over-simplistic nature of the three-generation language shift model (Fishman 1972). Based on this model, language shift among immigrant populations takes place over three generations moving from one generation to the next. The first generation is generally monolingual with very little knowledge of English. The second generation is bilingual in English and their home language but preferred English. The third generation is monolingual in English, therefore illustrates language shift to the societal language. The study indicates that in multigenerational households, language transmission or shift can occur among multiple generations; not in a linear fashion contrary to what was suggested by the three-generation language shift model.

In sum, FLP studies involving grandparents revealed that grandparents contributed to younger generations' development of the home language, and thereby contributed to language maintenance.

2.8. Language Contact and Language Shift in Autochthonous Communities

Curdt-Christiansen and Sun (2022) and also King (2016) noted that FLP studies carried out in initial phases mainly focused on Western middle-class households where children were acquiring two high-status European languages. Additionally, King (2016) pointed to the lack of diversity in family, language and context configurations which are dealt with in FLP. In this regard, studies that explore an autochthonous minority (e.g. Kulick 1992, Makihara 2005; Meek 2007) and/or a stigmatized variety (e.g. Garrett 2005; Paugh 2005) have broadened the scope of research in family multilingualism. These studies have contributed to child language socialization ideologies diverging from certain beliefs and practices associated with mainstream languages. In turn, this has helped to understand how language shift happens at the level of family as well as the reflexive relationship between language shift within the family and across the community (Smith-Christmas, 2014). In his seminal ethnographic study, Kulick (1992) examined the ongoing language shift in

the Gapun village of Papua New Guinea where a bilingual community was moving towards monolingualism. Taiap (the local vernacular of the community) and Tok Pisin (a creole widely used as a lingua franca) were the languages used in Gapun. Kulick (1992) focused on children's language practices and the responses to or interpretations of their linguistic skills by their parents or adults. He observed how increased missionization and contact with a global market led to a shift from Taiap to Tok Pisin. Language ideologies related to Christianity, modernity and education led the community to associate Tok Pisin with masculinity, goodness and collectivism whereas Taiap was linked with ideas of femininity, badness, paganism and backwardness. In this regard, the ideological transformation leading to association of Taiap and Tok Pisin with different social representations reinforced the use of Tok Pisin within the community through changing adults' linguistic expectations. Adults started to subconsciously encourage children to speak Tok Pisin, and in this way socialized them into language shift from the vernacular Taiap to Tok Pisin.

In another study, Meek (2007) also showed the influence of ideological transformation on the shift away from an autochthonous minority language. The researcher engaged in fieldwork for two and a half years between 1998 and 2000 in a Kaska community in Watson Lake area in the Yukon Territory, Canada. She particularly focused on children's linguistic experiences to account for the ongoing shift within the community. In addition to Kaska dialects, a standard Canadian English variety and a Kaska English variety were spoken by the community members. Within the community, the distribution of Kaska and English were linked with age or generational as well as status differences. In addition to the language ideologies associating language choices with age and hierarchy, children's observations and experiences related to these choices were determinant in the shift from Kaska vernacular towards English among children. Elders were observed to alternate between English and Kaska and to provide English translations of their Kaska utterances during interaction with children, and this type o interaction positioned the elderly as Kaska experts and teachers. These typical interactions shaped children's conceptualization of their socio-linguistic context. The discourses prevalent within the community that associated respect with passive listening of the elderly by the children and the authority holding position of the elderly as the only

legitimate users of the Kaska language led children to associate Kaska with the elderly, leadership and respect. The sanctions on active use of Kaska by non-elders, prevented children from utilizing possible opportunities of using Kaska until they were of an appropriate age. This resulted in little comprehension and almost no fluency in Kaska by children. The study showed that as a consequence of the prevailing discourse around the use of Kaska and its association with age and status (the elderly), an ideological transformation happened in children such that children reconceptualised the discontinuity of Kaska not in terms of lack of competence, but as respect to the elderly due to their age-graded status.

Kendall and King (2000) investigated conflicting and diverse Quichua language ideologies among the Saraguros, an indigenous group of southern Ecuadorian Andes. It specifically focused on two communities undergoing shift like nearly all communities in Saraguros: Lagunas and Tambopampa. The study aimed to enhance understanding of language attitudes and language behaviour in relation to language shift. It also provided insight into the link between community language ideologies and success of language revitalization efforts. The two communities expressed loyalty to Quichua for various reasons such as the beauty of the language, its usefulness in communicating with elders and its being a marker of Saraguro ethnicity. Like similar communities in Peru (Hornberger, 1998), community members chose to use Quichua in informal, private and humorous situations, and in traditional settings. Moreover, the aesthetic value and sentimental attachment to the language also had a role in favouring Quichua. The community viewed Quichua as a bridge linking them to the past generations and traditional practices. Different from indigenous communities in Peru, the sample in this study, particularly those from Lagunas, also valued their language for marking their ethnic identity. In contrast to these pro-Quichua ideologies, community members also held negative beliefs regarding Quichua. They associated Spanish with economic, educational and social success whereas they ascribed an inferior status to Quichua. Thus, the researcher observed that the implicit and explicit ideologies about Quichua were in conflict, and she concluded that despite articulation of pro-Quicha ideologies, revitalization efforts required overcoming the deeply rooted ideologies about Quichua.

Makihara (2005) investigated the shifting language practices in the Spanish-Rapa Nui (Polynesian) bilingual community in Easter Island, Chile with a particular focus on the evolving Rapa Nui speech styles. The researcher adopted ethnographic and linguistic analyses of face-to-face verbal interactions to analyse the development and social significance of Rapa Nui Spanish varieties and situated them within the process of language shift. In this community, political and demographic changes had paved the way to shift to Spanish. Although language shift to Spanish had been underway in the community for a while, syncretic ways of speaking Rapa Nui were developing and gaining prevalence due to language contact. Makihara (2005) observed that although children were Spanish dominant, they were exposed to syncretic Rapa Nui at home both indirectly from adult talk and directly when they were addressed in Rapa Nui and responded in Spanish. In that sense, children developed passive knowledge of the vernacular language. Moreover, children spoke neither Chilean nor Rapa Nui Spanish, but a variety of their own creation that included Rapa Nui elements. In this regard, drawing on the symbolic value of Rapa Nui, they creatively transformed the ideologies and practices of the adults to express a Rapa Nui ethnic identity. Makihara (2005) claimed that this situation may be seen as a sign of language decline particularly by supporters of language purism; however, she maintained that it could actually slow down the total replacement of Rapa Nui as a consequence of the "ideology of inclusiveness" (p.754). Overall, the study revealed the complex relationship between language contact, the wider contextual factors and evolving linguistic and ethnic identities in a language shift situation.

Garrett (2005) explored language shift in the Caribbean Island of St. Lucia. Garrett noted that Kweyol (a French-based Creole) or Patwa lost its ground to English through time; however, it persisted in a specific genre (cursing) in children's language use. Caregivers encouraged children to learn English or Vernacular English of St. Lucia before Kweyol due to its assumed negative effect on English acquisition. However, they sometimes encouraged children to use Kweyol to curse as this code was associated with this genre and is considered as a tool for socializing children into self-assertiveness. In this regard, despite consolidating negative ideologies about Kweyol and despite being restricted to the specific genre of cursing, use of Kweyol in this way contributed to the maintenance of the creole.

Paugh (2005) investigated socialization practices and language ideologies that may simultaneously prevent or foster maintenance of particular functions of Patwa. In Dominica, the research site, English was the official language of government, school and urban settings whereas a French-based creole called Patwa had been used in rural parts for centuries. Parents and other adults were encouraging children to use English with the concern that Patwa would undermine children's English acquisition and restrict their social mobility. This situation brought about a shift from Patwa to varieties of English in rural areas. However, adults could use both Patwa and English, and in fact valued Patwa for a range of expressive functions. For instance, adults' use of Patwa indicated their control and authority over children. The study indicated that rather than parental aspirations related to school, local ideologies related to child-rearing were shaping parents' language choices with their children. Local ideologies of personhood, and expectations from children to comply with control and authority led parents to encourage children to use English as opposed to Patwa by. The study also showed that as children started to spend more time with their peers over the years, they adopted Pawta in their plays to enact adult roles and activities. In this regard, the study showed the effect of peer socialization in developing some degree of proficiency in Patwa.

2.9. Theoretical Framework

Against this backdrop and review of the relevant literature, the present doctoral dissertation adopted Spolsky's (2004) Tripartite FLP Model, which is commonly used in FLP studies as well as Ochs and Schieffelin's (1984) Language Socialization Theory as theoretical frameworks. Details about these two frameworks and how they related to the current study are presented below:

2.9.1. Spolsky's Tripartite FLP Model

Classical language policy primarily addressed language related issues of new nations in the post-colonial period of the 1950s and 1960s and aimed at developing a central policy in support of a new national language. In other words, classic language policy centered around the nation-state overlooking the vital role of the family in

determining language maintenance (Spolsky, 2012). In order to gain a firm grasp of language policy, Spolsky (2012) argued for considering the various domains (nation, family, school, workplace and religious domain among others) constituting a speech or political community (p. 3). Each domain within a linguistic environment has its own specific language policy, and both exerts influence on and is influenced by all the other domains. Moreoever, each domain has its typical participants, each of whom may hold different beliefs about language choice. In the family domain, central figures are parents, children and significant others such as grandparents, domestic servants and close neighbours. Each of these participants will display varying language behaviours, have different beliefs about the varieties in their language ecology and each may try to control or influence the language practices and beliefs of others (Spolsky, 2012). Research in the field of language maintenance and shift has highlighted the crucial role that the family has in intergenerational language transmission. The newly emerging field of family language policy (FLP), which "provides an integrated overview of research on how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families" (King et al., 2008, p. 907), provides a theoretical framework for the present study. FLP research involves the analysis of *language ideology*, *practice* and *management*, as classified by Spolsky (2004) in an attempt to develop a systematic approach to the study of language policy. He proposed these three independent but interrelated components for investigating the language policy of a speech community. Spolsky (2004) distinguished between these components as "… language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management." (p.5). King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008) underscore the importance of family language policies as they shape children's developmental trajectories, affect children's formal school success, and collectively influence the direction and preservation of minority languages. As Schwartz (2010) states "Using this model at the family level enables us to integrate the separate components within a structural, flexible, and expandable framework" (p.172). In this regard, this framework provides a useful tool in addressing the research questions in the present study.

2.9.2. Language Socialization Theory

Language sociazliation (LS) research originated from the work of Schieffelin and Ochs in the 1970s. Ochs (1975-1977) and Schieffelin (1978-1979), explored language acquisition and socialization of Samoan children and Kaluli children, respectively. Adopting linguistic and ethnographic methods, they collected and analysed spontaneous speech data and recorded their observations about sociocultural beliefs, ways of thinking, worldview and behaviours that structured and governed their social order. In this way, they could gain an in-depth understanding of how children acquire skills for community membership, learn to engage with the community's culture, and use the language in accordance with social conventions. They also observed that children's language acquisition and integration into the culture were not distinct processes, but fused into a single one (Guardado, 2018). As Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) maintained language acquisition and LS are closely interconnected processes. While gaining linguistic competence is heavily influenced by becoming a competent member of the society, the process of becoming a competent member is largely realized through an understanding of how language works, the different social contexts in which it is used, and the different interpretations it gains in and across culturally defined situations. In other words, LS deals with "*socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language*." (emphasis in the original, Schieffelin & Ochs 1986, p. 163). LS research aims to gain an insight into how individuals become competent members of social groups and how language mediates this process.

Routine verbal interaction is a powerful means of socialization in that repeated verbal routines create opportunities for children to engage in and discern sociocultural contexts (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). A novice gains linguistic and cultural competence as a member of her/his community through repeated communicative interactions with the more knowledgeable members of their community. These members engage with novices in culturally-specific ways enabling them to understand how language functions, as well as develop their sense of identity and sensibilities, and ways of behaviour that converge with social norms. LS research has enabled researchers to gain an understanding of individuals'

everyday mundane activities and interactions. A close analysis of individuals' routine life and interactions has made it possible to recognize the implicit knowledge that guides and organizes social activity, yet is seldom explicitly stated (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002).

Within the LS framework, routines are both structured and open to change. LS draws on Bourdieu's (1980) notion of "habitus'" and Gidden's (1979) notion of "duality of structure". While the former highlights the deeply ingrained habitual tendencies that produce everyday practices, the latter refers to the co-constructive nature of the relationships between social structures and individual agency. In other words, both social structure and agency play a role in shaping daily actions. Moreover, whereas everyday practices contribute to the reproduction of social structures, they also have the potential to transform them (Garrett and Baquedano – Lopez 2002).

LS is often portrayed as a one-way transmission of knowledge from the expert to the novice. In contrast, LS is the result of a reciprocally influential process between novices and both human and non-human sources of knowledge (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2017). Diverging from Boas (2004 [1932]: 144-5) who laid the foundation for the belief that enculturation is one-way process whereby children conform to habits of speaking, acting and thinking in an automatic and instinctive way, Ochs and Schieffelin's conceptualization of language socialization derived insight from Sapir's seminal work titled 'Language' (1933). In his article, Sapir (1933, p. 159, cited in Ochs & Schieffelin, 2017, p.6) pointed out that "Language is a great force of socialization, probably the greatest that exists." Although it's acknowledged that parents and other adults play a key role in socializing children, LS is dynamic, context-dependent, multidirectional and agentive (Guardado, 2018). Based on language socialization, the child or the novice (in the case of older individuals) actively shape their interactions with as well as the result of these interactions with other individuals in a social group. In other words, LS is an interactive process (Schieffelin & Ochs & 1986). LS is a collaborative and dynamic process. "Active and selective in her acquisition of skills, identities, and ideologies, the novice may resist being socialized." (Moore) The importance of agency comes to

the fore while considering how individuals form identities, deal with power issues, respond to, interact with or resist beliefs and values (Ochs &Schieffelin, 2017).

Language ideologies and LS are inherently embedded. In other words, language ideologies shape the sociocultural contexts in which LS occurs, while at the same time language ideologies include cultural elements that are socialized by means of the language. Members of a community may hold different language ideologies. Research on LS has contributed to the field through displaying that "ideologies are not uniform within any given social group, but rather are multiple, situated, and "interested," i.e., rooted in individual experiences of the social order that vary with class, age, gender, etc." (Garrett and Baquedano – Lopez, 2002, p: 354). Language ideologies may be particularly salient in multilingual settings (Ochs &Schieffelin, 1995). Various ideologies related to language and its relationship with cultural and individual identity may circulate across and sometimes within the same community. Local ideologies of language, attitudes to code-switching and notion of linguistic purity frame and structure everyday practices, and these in turn may lead to certain linguistic and sociocultural outcomes, which are partially or wholly unnoticed by members of the community whose practices give way to these outcomes (Garrett and Baquedano – Lopez 2002).

LS also has connections with language shift. In language shift, a community of speakers gradually forsake their language in favour of another one, often without active awareness or decision. They give up their community language or language of ethnic identity in at least some domains, and may eventually lose it if they do not transmit it to the next generations. The language towards which the shift take place is usually the majority language or one that offers or assumed to offer some considerable benefits such as socioeconomic and political advantage, social prestige, sheer survival or a combination of these benefits. Language shift in most cases takes place in contact situations (Garrett, 2004; Thomas, 2001) that may arise due to various reasons such as invasion or migration. This implies language shift often happens amid conditions of severe inequality. Language shift research, should therefore, consider the dynamics of power expressed within and via language. Based on research in communities where language shift is in progress, Garrett (2012)

concluded that the presence of multiple linguistic codes in a community is seldom a neutral, uncontested phenomenon. It often becomes a focal point for metapragmatic, discursive and ideological debate, and in many cases a persistent source of social conflict (Heller, 2007). In the process of LS, children come to internalize the local norms around language using, such as the contexts in which to use a particular language, the importance of preserving language maintenance and language purity, and enhancing competence in a given language as a way of dealing with established social hierarchies. It's exactly these practices that lead to language shift often without conscious decision or awareness of the community members.

LS provides a robust framework for the systematic description, analysis and interpretation of language acquisition and enculturation processes (Guardado, 2018). Based on language socialization, the child or the novice (in the case of older individuals) actively shape their interactions as well as the outcome of these interactions with other individuals in a social group. In other words, LS is an interactive process. The process of language and culture learning encompasses both social dimensions of language and also the culture. As a research approach, LS constitutes a multifaceted tool for exploring the various factors that influence linguistic interaction and social engagement within a certain speech community. More specifically, it helps researchers to examine both the micro-linguistic processes and the larger socio-cultural ideological factors involved in the process through which individuals acquire the skills to participate as full members of their communities (Guardado, 2018). LS research is an endeavour which involves ethnographic and interactional discourse analytic approaches to explore individuals' learning process and development. Mundane interactions between novices and more knowledgeable community members are recorded and analysed to gain an insight into the linguistic and social structure of these interactions as well as how these structures influence novices' socialization as linguistically and culturally competent community members. Micro-analytic analysis of discourse makes it possible to discern the interplay between daily interaction and community beliefs and values.

Following the seminal work of Ochs and Schieffelin at the end of 1970s, early language socialization research dealt with family language and literacy practices in

monolingual contexts with the aim of revealing the firm link between language learning and culture. The scope of research expanded to include bi-and multilingual language socialization in the family by the 1990s. The focus of these studies was the ideological and social components of competence development in childhood in bi- or multilingual communities. These studies elucidated the multi-faceted processes related to language maintenance, language shift, heritage and second language learning. They also highlighted the dynamics of hybridity and cultural transformation, and also the role of children and other novices as active participants in language socialization processes (Fogle & King, 2012). For instance, Luykx (2005) argues that children are not "blank states" who adopt their parent's language practices. Rather, they have an active role in negotiating meaning and relationships in the acquisition of new linguistic competencies (p. 1407). In relation to that Gafaranga (2010) showed how children living in the Kinyarwanda-French bilingual Rwandan diaspora in Belgium exerted their agentive power using "medium requests". In this community, when adults initiated conversations with children in the home language, Kinyarwanda, children implicitly requested adult interlocutors to switch from Kinyarwanda to French, their preferred language. By accommodating to children instead of sticking to Kinyarwanda as the compliant code, adults socialized the children in this mode of conversation. This in turn meant "talking language shift in being" (p.241).

Based on the aforementioned account, the present study adopted family language policy and language socializing approaches as a theoretical framework. Data gathered for the present study was analysed based on the components of the FLP model (Spolsky, 2004) as well as LS theory (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). Whereas the FLP framework centers on the explicit or implicit language ideologies, language practices and language management strategies, the LS framework offers insight into the processes through which family members co-construct linguistic norms, identities and cultural knowledge through everyday mundane interactions. It highlights the emergent and dynamic nature of language learning and emphasizes the role of social interaction and agency in shaping linguistic practices. As a result, using these two frameworks in tandem can provide a comprehensive understanding of FLPs.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Chapter Presentation

In this chapter, firstly research paradigms and approaches that were adopted for the purposes of the present study are explained. Then, the research design, the research setting, the changes that happened in the research context due to a major earthquake, and the effects of this on researcher's approach to the study are explained. After that a detailed religious and socio-historical background of the community under investigation is presented to help the audience understand the distinctive traits of the community, and also the incidents that have been influential on the formation of a collective community identity. Following that the participants, data collection tools and procedure and analysis are presented. The chapter concludes with the researcher's positionality, trustworthiness criteria and ethical considerations.

3.2. Research Paradigm and Approach

This dissertation adopts the qualitative research approach within an Interpretative/Social Constructivist paradigm to address the research questions. As opposed to quantitative research that aims to determine cause and effect, predict or describe frequency of some attribute among a population, qualitative research is "an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world." (Van Maanen, 1979, p.520). In fact, laying emphasis on context, existence, experience, perspective, meaning and subjectivity, qualitative research constitutes a unique way of exploring and interpreting complex social phenomena. In that sense, it contrasts

with quantitative research, not in a contradictory, but in a complementary manner because each have their own strengths and operational scopes (Lim, 2025).

Qualitative researchers aim to understand “how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences.” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p.6) As a result, with its multimethod focus, qualitative research assumes “an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world” and tries to explore phenomena within their natural settings by considering the subjective interpretations people assign to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.3). Qualitative research is fundamental in exploring and understanding the depth and complexity of social phenomena. The absence of qualitative approach may lead to oversimplified and misinterpreted social reality, resulting in narrow or distorted understandings (Lim, 2024).

Merriam and Tisdell (2016, p. 15) identify four characteristics of qualitative research. The first one is *the focus is on process, understanding and meaning*. Overall, qualitative research aims to gain an *understanding* (emphasis in the original) of the way people make sense of their lives, describe the process of meaning-making rather than the outcome, and narrate the way people interpret their experience. In that sense, an *emic* (emphasis in the original) or insider’s perspective related to the phenomenon of interest is sought rather than the *etic* (emphasis in the original) or outsider’s view. The second one is *the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis*. Since understanding lies at the heart of qualitative research, the human instrument, which has the ability of immediate responsiveness and adaptation, is an ideal means for data collection and analysis. Furthermore, the researcher can understand the phenomenon of interest better through verbal and non-verbal communication, immediate data processing, clarifying and summarizing material, checking for the accuracy of interpretation and exploring unexpected or unusual responses. However, the human instrument may have biases and shortcomings that can affect the study. Rather than attempting to eliminate the biases and subjectivities, it’s important to identify them and consider how they may impact the study. The third one is *the process is inductive* in that researchers do not collect data to build concepts, hypotheses or theories. Rather, they aim to move from the

data (interviews, observations, documents) toward theory. Finally, the fourth one is *the product is richly descriptive,* meaning words and pictures rather than numbers are utilized to convey the understanding of the researcher about the phenomena.

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) point to the importance of philosophically positioning qualitative research among other forms of research. To do so, a researcher should articulate their assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology), what counts as knowledge and how knowledge claims are justified (epistemology), the role of values in research (axiology), and the process of research (methodology) (Creswell, 2013). Such philosophical foundations affect the way researchers formulate the research problem, the research questions and the way they seek information to answer the questions (Huff, 2009). These assumptions are embedded in interpretative frameworks (also referred to as paradigms) that researchers use while conducting a study (Creswell, 2013).

Paradigm refers to the researcher's worldview which is based on a set of beliefs, assumptions and values (Johnson and Christensen, 2010). This worldview guides the researcher about what will be studied, how the research will proceed, and how the data will be interpreted (Bryman, 2008; Guba and Lincoln, 1994). In other words, a research paradigm affects "every decision made in the research process, including the choice of methodology and methods" (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017, p. 26).

The theoretical paradigm that was adopted in the present doctoral study is the Interpretive/Social Constructivist paradigm. As noted above, this paradigm primarily aims to understand human experience from a subjective perspective (Guba and Lincoln, 1989) because it assumes that "individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences" (Creswell, 2013, p. 24). As such, these meanings are multiple and varied, and the researcher seeks to explore the complexity of these meanings rather than narrow them into a few categories or ideas (Creswell, 2013). Within this paradigm, reality is socially constructed (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998; Williamson, 2002), and hence, it is context-dependent (Williamson, 2002). As Creswell (2013) indicates subjective meanings develop out of interaction with others "and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives". In other words, they

are a product of social construction (p. 25). Similarly, Kumar (2022) indicates that knowledge, which derives from social interaction, is situated within a social, cultural and historical context. The interpretivist/social constructivist paradigm is underpinned by a relativist ontology, a subjectivist epistemology, naturalistic methodological procedures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017; Kumar, 2022), and a balanced axiology (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017; Kumar, 2022). A relativist ontology posits that there are multiple subjective realities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) rather than fixed, objectives realities. A subjectivist epistemology assumes that the researcher interprets data through cognitive processing of data informed by interactions with participants. The researcher is assumed to construct knowledge socially through personal experiences of real life in the natural study setting (Punch, 2005, cited in Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017, p.33). At the same time, the researcher aims to reflect the participants' views of the phenomena under investigation as much as possible (Creswell, 2013). A naturalistic methodology denotes that the study will take place in natural world using naturalist data collection tools (e.g. interviews, discourses, text messages etc.), which allows for an in-depth understanding of social meaning and processes. A balanced axiology means that research outcomes will reflect the researcher's values, trying to present a balanced report of findings (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017, p.34).

3.3. Research Design

In the present study, I utilized ethnographic case study design, which blends ethnography and case study approaches. Case study research has gained currency as an effective methodology to explore and understand complex phenomena in their real world context. Having its antecedents in anthropology, sociology, and psychology (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), this approach has been widely used to answer a wide range of research questions across various disciplines, particularly the social sciences, education, health, business, and law (Harrison, Birks, Franklin & Miles, 2017). Case study simply refers to "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p.37) in its real-life (natural) context (Gal et al, 2003; Yin, 2014), "from the perspective of the participants involved in the phenomenon" (Gal et al., 2003, p.436). Creswell (2013) provides a comprehensive

definition encompassing the main tenets of case study as he defines case study research as "a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a *case*) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving *multiple sources of information* (e.g., observations, interviews, audio-visual material, and documents and reports), and reports a *case description* and *case themes*" (p. 97; emphasis in the original).

In sociology, case study examines social phenomena through the detailed analysis of the case, which may be a person, a group, an episode, a process, a community, a society or any other unit of social life by gathering all data related to the case and organizing that data in terms of the case (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). Case study entails studying individual cases in their natural context over an extended period of time. The case can be culture, society, community, organization or phenomenon, such as beliefs, practices or interactions (Harrison et al., 2017). Case study involves an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon, or social unit. As a particularistic, descriptive and heuristic research design, case study is primarily based on inductive reasoning (Merriam, 1988). As an interpretive, inductive type of research, case studies aim at exploring the intricacies and meanings of experiences rather than testing pre-defined hypotheses. The researcher tries to distinguish significant patterns and themes in the data (Chapelle & Duff, 2003). Case study approach is often chosen to answer how, what or why questions (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2014). Furthermore, it is employed when the researcher intentionally wants to cover contextual factors that are significantly relevant to the phenomenon being studied (Yin, 2003).

The history of ethnography can be traced back to late 19th century anthropologists who were engaged in participant observation in the "field". Today, researchers from many fields and disciplines may take on ethnographic research (Angrosino, 2007; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Simply and broadly defined, ethnography is "the description and interpretation of a culture or social group" (Holloway et al., 2010, p. 76). In other words, the aim of ethnography is to describe and interpret cultural behaviour (Wolcott, 1985). Ethnography is built upon the researcher's sharing time and context of the researched (Riain, 2009). As a form of social and educational

research, ethnography underscores the significance of first hand observation of people's actions and conversations within particular contexts (Hammersley, 2006). First hand interaction with individuals in their daily lives can provide a deeper insight into their beliefs, motivations and behaviours (Tedlock, 2000). Gaining first hand observation typically requires a prolonged engagement through participant observation in a setting and/or open-ended interviews geared to understand people's viewpoints. It may also involve the analysis of various types of documents such as official, publicly available, or personal records (Hammersley, 2006).

Whereas observation/participant observation secure their position as the characteristic feature of an ethnography (Atkinson, et al. 2000), a variety of tools such as interviews, focus groups, archival research and artefacts can be employed for data collection (Angrosino, 2007; De Costa and Gajasinghe, 2022; Jones & Smith, 2017; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Ryan, 2017). Ethnographic approach examines the relationship between individuals and various aspects of their lives, including socio-political components, culture and history. The primary aim of ethnography in social science is to gain an understanding of the relationship between individuals and their social surroundings (Hallet & Barber, 2014, cited in Harwati, 2019, p.151). The distinctive feature of ethnography approach is the close relationship between the researcher and those researched (Harwati, 2019, p. 151).

Ethnography focuses on people as a collective entity rather than individually. For this reason, as a form of study, it explores people in organized, enduring groups such as communities or societies. What distinguishes such a group from others is its distinctive way of life- that is, its culture (Angrosino, 2007). In a similar vein, Wolcott (2008, p.22) states that the key distinguishing feature of ethnography is culture, which "refers to the various ways different groups go about their lives and to the belief systems associated with that behaviour". The study of culture entails an exploration of the learned and shared behaviours, beliefs and customs of the group (Angrosino, 2007). The focus on human society and culture is the factor that unites all forms of ethnography. While culture has been defined in different ways, it primarily pertains to the beliefs, values and attitudes that govern the behaviour patterns of a specific group of people (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p.29). Considering

the various definitions of ethnography, Hammersley (2017) identifies the following distinctive characteristics of ethnography:

- relatively long-term data collection process,
- taking place in naturally occurring settings,
- relying on participant observation, or personal engagement more generally,
- employing a range of types of data,
- aimed at documenting what actually goes on,
- emphasises the significance of the meanings people give to objects, including themselves, in the course of their activities, in other words culture, and
- holistic in focus (p. 4).

Ethnography enables the researcher to gain an insight into an insider's perspective of reality, and it can provide rich meaningful data. In addition, it helps the researcher collect data related to both verbal and nonverbal behaviour in a natural setting where individuals act naturally (Wolcott, 1999). Ethnography is a suitable approach to describe the way a cultural group operates and to examine its beliefs, language, behaviours and challenges such as power, resistance and dominance that the group is facing (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, ethnography is appropriate for researchers aiming to spend a significant amount of time with the people/society they are investigating. Ethnography also proves useful in cases in which a researcher has developed trust with a specific community locally (Swanson, 2014).

Ethnography is widely used in language planning and policy (LPP) research. Ethnography of language planning and policy (ELPP) provides a valuable approach to understand the way people create, interpret and sometimes resist language planning and policy across diverse ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Hornberger and Johnson (2007) urged language users, educators and researchers to take up ethnographic research of LPP to create space and open pathways for different languages, literacies, and practices to flourish rather than fade away or disappear. The context of such studies involves home and family settings, worship, youth group activities in religious congregations and social communities, workplaces and markets, institutions and government agencies, online and social network sites, education and the like (Hornberger et al., 2018). According

to Hornberger and Johnson (2007, 2011), the study of language planning and policy (LPP) from an ethnographic approach has at least four possible benefits. First, it allows for thick description (Geertz 1973) of language planning in local contexts and helps understand the way people engage with and interpret policies. Second, unlike critical approaches that highlight macro-level policies, ethnography of LPP goes beyond macro-level analysis through exploring relationships across various levels of language planning activities. Third, ethnography of LPP can unveil hidden motivations, ideologies or unintended consequences of LPP. Finally, ethnography of LPP can shed light on and shape both implementational and ideological spaces as they are opened or closed by policy texts and practices at every level of LPP.

As Merriam and Tisdell (2016) put it "at the heart of an ethnography is *thick description* —a term popularized by Geertz (1973)" (emphasis original, p.30). Thick description refers to a comprehensive and detailed account of field experiences where the researcher elucidates the patterns of cultural and social relationships through situating them in context (Holloway, 1997). Geertz (1973) equates good ethnography with thick description. According to Geertz (1973), observing and describing cultural practices does not suffice. The researcher should also explain what these practices mean by situating them within broader context. While attempting to provide as many details as possible about their subjects in their field notes, ethnographers produce notes not only 'thick' with description, "but also with underlying inferences and implications" (Thompson, 2001, p. 66). In that sense, as Denzin (1989) states thick description generates verisimilitude, which Clarke and Chevrette (2017) explain as "statements that, in their truth-like quality, produce a feeling of recognition for readers, enabling a deeper, experiential understanding of the events described" (p. 1).

Ethnographers are highly sensitive to participants' perspective, often called the emic perspective (McCarthy & Liu, 2015). In an emic perspective, researchers focusing on a culture tend to organize their findings into schemes emerging from the data. In other words, they adopt an insider's rather than an outsider's perspective (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Hahn et al. (2011) adopt Hymes' (1955, 1964, 1969, 1974) dialectic view of etic and emic perspectives as complementary rather than two opposite

dichotomies. Hornberger (2013) indicates that “Both standpoints are necessary and it is the movement back and forth between them that takes our understanding forward” (p. 113).

With its situatedness, ethnography is “intimately related” to, even “has long been synonymous with case studies” (Riain, 2009, pp.290-291). As qualitative research designs, both ethnography and case study approaches seek to illustrate the complex uniqueness that define every cultural context through “thick description” (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999). However, although case studies allow an in-depth exploration of a phenomenon, they may neglect the cultural context because case studies do not primarily concentrate on cultural attributes of a community. Adding an ethnographic dimension-a cultural component to identify or explain beliefs, values and traditions that influence the case- may compensate for that (Jones-Hooker & Tyndall, 2023). An ethnographic case study combines ethnography and case study approaches. This combination enables the researcher to use the best of each design and counterbalance the weaknesses of each approach (Fusch et al., 2017). For the purposes of the present study, an ethnographic case study design, which blends ethnography and case study approaches to “[…] use the best of two worlds” (Fusch et al., 2017, p.926) was employed. Ethnographic case study is defined as “prolonged observations over time in a natural setting within a bounded system.” (Angers and Machtmes, 2005, pp.777-778). Ethnographic case study refers to a case study “employing ethnographic methods and focused on building arguments about cultural, group or community formation or examining other sociocultural phenomena” (Schwandt & Gates, 2018, p.344).

What distinguishes an ethnographic case study from other types of case studies is its focus, methodology and duration which is typically long, as required by the ethnographic approach (Armstrong et al., 2019). Ethnographic case study design combines traditional ethnographic data collection tools such as participant observation with case study design. In this regard, the researcher can focus on one or multiple research sites or cases. Although the time for the ethnographic case study is still prolonged, it focuses on a clearly identified event or phenomenon, on an individual, group of individuals or a community (Chen and Rhoads, 2016, cited in

Bayeck, 2023, p.2). Ethnographic techniques are used, but within a bounded system (Bayeck, 2023, p.2). Bounded by time, space or activity (Bayeck, 2023, p.2), ethnographic case study allows for more flexibility (Fusch et al, 2017). What's essential in a case study approach is the focus, as it requires careful selection of participants, setting, process to be examined, and the timeframe of the study (Harrison et al., 2017; Yin, 2014, cited in Bayeck, 2023, p.2). Furthermore, it's crucial to understand local contexts to be able "to understand broader cultural and social structures because contexts are the sites where these structures are produced, maintained and transformed." (Riain, 2009, p.291).

Blending ethnography and case study approaches in this doctoral study enabled me to explore the FLPs of the five participant families, as a culture-sharing group by observing them in their natural setting over a prolonged period of time. It also enabled me to bound the observations in time and space through the case study characteristic of the research. As an ethnographic case study, the present study aimed to investigate family language planning and language socialization in an Arabic speaking minority community in Defne. More specifically, by focusing on five Turkish-Arabic bilingual families, the study attempted to examine these families' language ideologies, language practices and language management strategies, which constitute elements of their FLPs (Spolsky, 2004). According to Miles and Huberman (1994), the case is, "in effect, your unit of analysis." (p.25). In the present study, the unit of analysis was defined as five Arabic-Turkish bilingual families living in Hatay and their language practices, beliefs and management strategies.

Ethnographic case study design provided me with a multi-layered lens in that the case study design made it possible to gain in-depth, contextualized understanding of family language planning within specific family units. On the other hand, the ethnography approach enabled to me get immersed in the participants' lives and observe their interactions in their natural environment. In this way, I was able to gain locally and culturally grounded first-hand experience of families' language policies as they unfolded in their everyday lives. As such, ethnographic case study allowed for a holistic and rich understanding of the participant families' language policies.

Considering the overlap between the assumptions of the Interpretivist/Social Constructivist research paradigm and the purposes of the present study, the Interpretivist/Social Constructivist paradigm guided the present research. The participant parents' views about the minority (Arabic) and majority (Turkish) languages, their attitudes to these languages, their language choices and language practices in both languages reflected multiple realities rather than unitary concepts valid across all the participants (a relativist ontology). Moreover, the primary focus was on accessing participants' subjective views, and making sense of the data that arise from the study depended on an interactional relationship between me as the researcher and the participants (a subjective epistemology). Due to the importance of the context and naturalist methodologies, family members' interactions were captured in their home settings using natural data collection tools such as participant observation, video-recordings of daily interactions, reflexive journaling and interviews. In other words, the subjects' perspectives and lived experiences were explored in situ, giving the researcher an opportunity to understand participants' practices and the meanings they brought to them **(**Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p.21). Furthermore, families do not live in a vacuum, but rather are connected to the wider social, historical and cultural contexts in which they are situated. In that sense, language ideologies, practices and management strategies, and children's influence on families' FLPs were also explored as a product of social construction.

3.4. Research Setting

The research site of the present study is Defne district of Hatay province. Specifically, the neighbourhoods of Gümüşgöze and Harbiye were chosen to carry out the research. The reasons were both practical and methodological. As a community member living in Gümüşgöze, I had been observing decreasing use of the mother tongue among younger generations, which has actually been attested by research in similar contexts in Hatay (Cengiz, 2006; Smith-Kocamahhul, 2003). This situation urged me to take up the present study in my own district. Furthermore, the study required immersion in participants' daily lives in their home environment. I believed that being a community member would facilitate my access to participants' private home domains. Additionally, I assumed that the inclusion of other Arabic

speaking districts or ethno-religious communities like Arab Sunnis or Arab Christians could lead to methodological problems related to the dialectal variations among the communities.

Defne District is located in southwest of Hatay with Altınözü located to the east, Samandağ to the west, Antakya to the north and Yayladağı to the south of it (Çiçekçioğlu, 2017). The following map shows the location of Defne in Hatay:



Figure 6. The map of Hatay province (Source: Çiçekçioğlu, 2017: 10)

Under Law No. 6360, which came into effect in 2012, metropolitan municipalities were established in 13 provinces, and 26 new districts were formed in these provinces in addition to already existing ones (Duman, 2020). In Hatay, which became a metropolitan municipality under this law, internal municipal borders were changed. In accordance with the law, across the province 64 towns (Tur. *belde*) and 362 villages lost their legal entity status, and were reclassified as neighbourhoods (Tur. *mahalle*) (Dinç, 2022). Antakya, the central district was divided into two parts; the south end was named as Defne District while the northern part retained the name Antakya (Çiçekçioğlu, 2017). With this change, Defne became a new administrative area, and some of the previous towns of Samandağ and Antakya districts became neighbourhoods of the newly formed Defne District (Üçeçam Karagel, 2018). The

picture below demonstrates the southern border of the district and the neighbourhoods of Harbiye and Gümüşgöze:

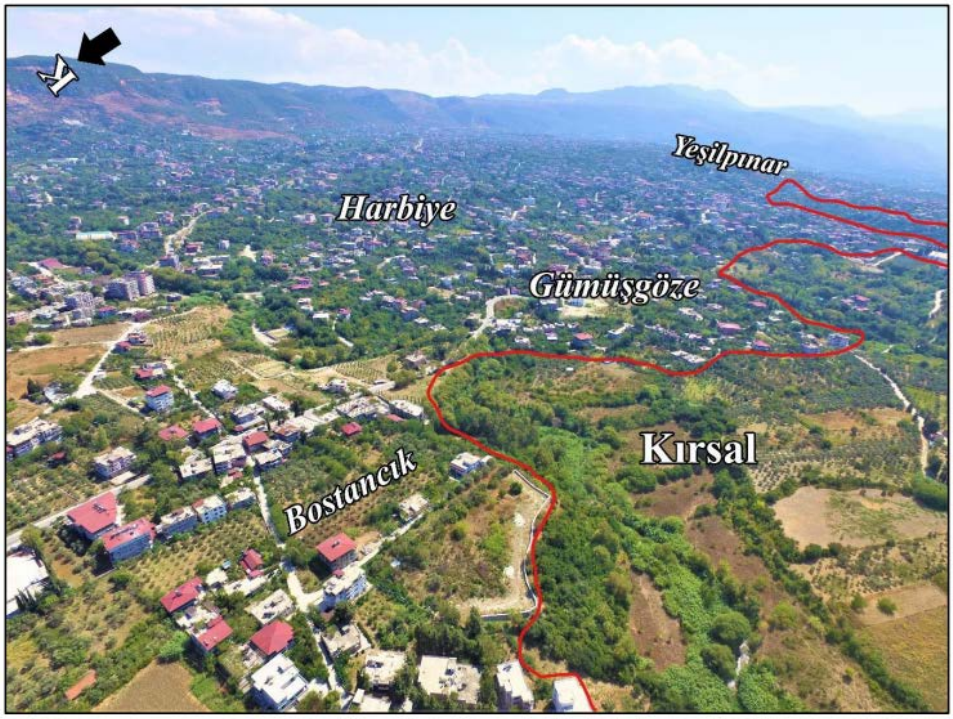


Figure 7. Southern borders of Defne (Source: Dinç, 2022, p. 205)

At present, the district has 37 neighbourhoods including Harbiye and Gümüşgöze, the research site of the present study. Harbiye, which dates back to the ancient times as a settlement, is located 9 kilometres to the south-west of Antakya. Along with its surroundings, Harbiye constitutes the central hub of settlement within the Defne District. Harbiye gained municipal status in 1939, and it displayed spatial development as a distinct settlement form, entirely independent from the urban zone of Antakya. However, with the growing population and developing transportation facilities in recent years, Antakya has grown to the south and Harbiye has grown to the north. In this way, the two settlement areas have been merged morphologically. Harbiye sustained its municipal status until 2012, and when the metropolitan municipality law came into effect, it gained a new status as a neighbourhood administratively linked to the Defne District (Dinç, 2022). Gümüşgöze, which has borders with Harbiye, was a former town linked to Antakya Municipality, as well. Under the Metropolitan Municipality Law, Gümüşgöze was also transformed into a

neighbourhood of Defne District. According to the data retrieved from the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUİK), as of 2024, the population of Defne District was 140.950, with a gender distribution of 70.669 males and 70.281 females. With this population, Defne constitutes 9.02 % of the total population of Hatay, and ranks as the third largest district within the province.

Covering an area of 16.54 km², Harbiye has a population of 25.977 with 13.013 females and 12.964 males as of 2024. Gümüşgöze, which covers a much smaller area of 0.71 km² has a total population of 3.699 with a gender distribution of 1796 females and 1903 males (Defne Municipality Strategic Plan 2020-2024 https://defne.bel.tr/upload/icerikdosyalar/DJzjY7HoYl3mh2q.pdf). The majority of the Defne District population is composed of Arab Alawites. Only in several neighbourhoods (e.g. Ballıöz, Çökek, Hüseyinli) Turkmens are also reported to live (Çiçekçioğlu, 2017).

3.5. The Changes in the Research Setting: Effects of a Natural Disaster

During the implementation of the present study a major earthquake happened in Türkiye affecting 11 provinces. Hatay was among the provinces that was affected the most. Regrettably, tens of thousands of people lost their lives, thousands were injured and a big portion of the survivors were forced to migration. It's a great relief that all of the participants in the present study survived the catastrophe. Unfortunately, two families lost their houses. However, due to the severity of the conditions, all of the participant families had to be dislocated in the aftermath of the earthquake like the majority of the survivors. The change in the context of the study, which impacted the study and me as a researcher are presented below. Particularly, as a survivor of the earthquake who was forced to migration like the majority of the survivors, my experiences as a researcher led to evolving stances to the present study, which I reported in section 3.5.2 below.

3.5.1. The February 6 Earthquakes (2023 Kahramanmaraş Earthquakes)

On February 6, 2023, Türkiye and the world witnessed an unprecedented disaster, later referred to as "The Disaster of the Century". Two major earthquakes with

epicentres in the Pazarcık and Elbistan districts of Kahramanmaraş occurred on February 6, 2023, at 04:17 and 13:24 local time in Türkiye. The first earthquake had a magnitude of Mw 7.7. (focal depth: 8.6 km), and the second had a magnitude of Mw 7.6 (focal depth: 7 km) (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, Directorate of Strategy and Budget [DSB], 2023). The earthquakes affected a vast geographical region encompassing 11 provinces and caused severe damage and destruction (Kaygalak, 2023). A state of emergency was declared in the provinces affected by the earthquake including Kahramanmaraş, Hatay, Gaziantep, Malatya, Diyarbakır, Kilis, Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Osmaniye, Adana and Elazığ, which was subsequently added as the eleventh province. Following an additional decision, the provinces of Bingöl, Kayseri, Mardin, Tunceli, Niğde and Batman were also declared as disaster zones (Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Interior, AFAD, 2023). After the February 6 earthquakes, on February 20, 2023 at 20:04 local time, another devastating earthquake measuring Mw 6.4 occurred along the Dead Sea Fault with its epicentre in Hatay, Yayladağı (Vapur et al., 2023; Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Interior, AFAD, 2023).

Among the affected provinces, Hatay stands out as one of the most profoundly affected by these earthquakes (Vapur et al., 2023). The loss of the beloved ones (friends, acquaintances, colleagues and students in my case) as well as the tens of thousands of people whom we did not know caused immense grief and pain. The loss of the familiar (homes, neighbourhoods, streets, and Antakya as we knew it), and the images of these replaced by ruins, left us with a sense of unfamiliarity and detachment. Our lives changed overnight in a way that we could have never envisioned. The collective trauma we experienced as the city residents affected (and still affects) our lives. As a survivor and researcher, I was deeply affected by these earthquakes, and the effects of the disaster also influenced my stance to and the execution of the present study.

3.5.2. A First-hand Account of the February 6 Earthquakes

As both a survivor and a researcher, I would like to narrate my first-hand experience of the February 6 earthquakes. It is not easy for me as it evokes the worst memories

I've ever had. Just as a rainy night, or the earthquakes that happen now and then trigger the fear, grief and anxiety that I felt on that night. However, this disaster and the experiences I had in its aftermath affected the way that I view and approach the present research, as well. Therefore, I feel the need to provide an account of my first-hand experience of February 6, 2023 and what I went through afterwards.

On February 6, 2023 my family and I experienced the worst day of our lives. At 04:17, my husband and I suddenly woke up the earthquake, and shouted "It's an earthquake!"

We got out of the bed and waited for it to stop. Meanwhile I could hear the rain outside. We thought the earthquake would stop just like the earlier ones that had been frequently happening around that time. But it wouldn't. Since we were living in high-risk earthquake zone, and a major earthquake was expected in our city, we had talked about what to do/not to do in case an earthquake happened. I told my husband to get our daughter who was still sleeping in her bed. He took her, and we got out of the room to the spot, which we had previously determined as safe. Meanwhile, I had fetched my phone from the bedside table. Although the electricity was still on, I turned on my phone's flashlight in case we would need it. I didn't use to take my mobile phone to the bedroom, but around that time lots of earthquakes were happening. So, I started to put it on the bedside table next to the bed in case an earthquake happened. My husband was sitting on his knees holding our daughter, who was half-awake and fidgety. I was sitting on my knees beside them hoping the earthquake would stop. It slowly subsided. We thought the earthquake had completely stopped when suddenly the house started to shake violently with the terrifying roar of the earthquake. The electricity went out. I was holding my phone's flashlight so that my daughter would not get scared of the dark. Half-asleep, she was crying. Luckily not out of fear but because of the discomfort of being taken from her bed and the confusion about what was going on. The terrifying roar of the earthquake grew louder and it mixed with the clatter of the dishes falling and shattering in the kitchen. In the flashlight, I could see the thin cracks appearing on the wall across me. The furniture was being thrown around. The lid of the coat stand fell and blocked the hallway. The photo frames on the walls in the hallway were falling and getting

shattered. My husband was trying to cover our daughter's head and my head. I was bending over our daughter trying to protect her. While the eerie roar and the relentless shaking continued, my fear intensified. My hope of survival was fading. During those endless seconds, a rush of thoughts flooded my mind: "Will we be able to survive this horrible earthquake?", "What if I and my husband die and my daughter survives? Who will take care of her?", "What if we lose her? How could we carry on without her?" "My parents, my brother, my relatives, my friends… What if I lose them?" The only thing I could do was pray that it would end, and we would survive: "**Yā Rabbī, daḫīlek**!" ("My God, we seek refuge in You. Please protect us!"). The roar and the shake started to subside, and it finally stopped. I felt a great relief, and wanted to get out of the house immediately. My husband holding our daughter moved the lid of the coat stand and cleared the way saying "Let's go out!" in panic. We rushed to the door to get out of the house trying not to step on the broken glass. Just we were about to leave, the house shook again and I thought the nightmare was beginning again. It was an aftershock. My husband was going down the stairs with my daughter. Due to panic and fear, it hadn't occurred to him to grab the coats. It was cold, it was raining heavily. I grabbed the coats and my husband's bag, in which he had the key to the car. I followed them hurriedly. While we were on the stairs, one of the water tanks on the roof of our family apartment fell on my brother-in-law's terrace. His daughter was rushing towards us to go down the stairs with us, but when her mother called to her she went back. Thank God, she narrowly escaped being hit by the falling water tank. My husband's parents, brothers and their families and we were all panicked trying to leave the building. When we finally arrived to the main entrance of our family building I felt so thankful and relieved. My daughter was crying in her father's arms, she was getting wet in the rain. I covered her with a coat and tried to soothe her. It was raining, we were all getting wet. We and our neighbours rushed to the road, took our cars to safe open areas. Meanwhile I was trying to reach my parents, but I couldn't. There was no signal. My brother was eventually able to reach me. Due to bad signal and the rain, it was so difficult to hear each other. But the two words that mattered then were "We're all fine." He and I were relieved to hear that. My brother-in-law told us all to get into the van his workplace had given him. We piled into the van, trembling with fear and cold. All our clothes wet. We had no socks, no shoes.. We all had slipped into the

slippers we saw by the doors and rushed to leave the building. Waiting in the van, we were trying to shake off the shock. I was holding my daughter wrapped in a blanket that my brother-in-law gave to me. Our clothes were all wet. I was squeezing and rubbing her to keep her warm. The children were all awake now. The little ones were crying, trying to process what had just happened. The older ones seemed tense snuggling in the back row to keep warm. My mother-in-law's house was the most severely damaged. Living with her husband, daughter and grandchildren in our family apartment, she had to lift a falling wall from her grandchildren's legs with their mother. They barely escaped the collapsing walls. She was praying and thanking God that we all survived and were safe. While waiting in the van for dawn, we were frequently being shaken by aftershocks which lasted for months. In the morning, we could see the horrible state of our family apartment and some of our neighbours houses from outside. Luckily, no building had collapsed in our neighbourhood, but there were lots of severely damaged ones. Unfortunately, news about acquaintances trapped in wreckage in our neigbourhood started to come, but no one could do anything. As the phone networks across the city had collapsed, we lost connection with the outside world. Therefore, we did not know that the earthquake had affected such a vast area, and we were not aware of the gravity of the situation. Those who were going to Antakya for some reason, were returning crying saying the entire city had been destroyed. That morning, our neighbours living across from us told us to go down to the basement of their newly built house, which had minor damage. They told us that we could stay there with them as we had little children. We all went there and joined three families. Nearly thirty people including our neighbours and us had taken shelter in that basement, trying to grasp the situation we unexpectedly found ourselves in. That was the beginning of dislocation for me. I no longer had a safe home, and I was swept from one place to another by the circumstances. After staying with our neighbours for a few days, I went to my grandparents' house with my daughter where my grandparents, parents, uncle and his family, aunts and their families had taken shelter in a one-storey warehouse my grandparents had built in their garden. We lived there for a few days. No electricity, no water, no bathroom, limited food… Our lives, our living standards had changed irrevocably in a few seconds on February 6, 2023. Meanwhile, security and order issues started to arise. Most of the people in our neighbourhood had left the city;

there were few families who did not immediately leave the city including us. In the evenings, we could hear gunshots outside. Some of them were from the neighbours, who wanted to intimidate thieves or strangers. Rumours about thieves and organ mafias coming to the city were circulating. Days had passed after the earthquake, but we were still in darkness because electrical lines had also been damaged. So, my grandparents, parents, me and my daughter, my uncle and his family, my aunts and their children went to Arsuz, to an acquaintance's summer house. That district was not seriously damaged. After a long and tiring journey due to damaged roads and heavy traffic caused by people trying to leave the city, we arrived at the house. It was a great a luxury to have basic facilities like electricity and a bathroom in a house again. However, that feeling of comfort did not last long. The same night, my husband called me and told me to join my brother-in-law, who was taking all the family to Aksaray. Unfortunately, my husband wasn't able to leave the city because from the second day following the earthquake, he had to work as a municipality staff working in the Department of Water Supply. Like everything else, the water supply networks and water reservoirs were also damaged. Since public health was at stake, his department had to work with an extraordinary effort subsequent to the earthquake.

When we arrived in Aksaray after a long journey, at the entrance of the institution which entertained us, I couldn't hold back my tears. I felt both relieved and safe and also desperate because of being torn away from my home and my hometown. They provided us with clean clothes and slippers at the institution. The gave us food. It was the first time we ate home-made food instead of canned ones that we got from the aid trucks. After days, we could take a shower. I remember untying my daughter's hair and seeing the bits of paint and dust that had dropped from the ceiling during the earthquake. I couldn't hold my tears. Once again, I realized that we had barely escaped death. After that, we went to Konya and spent a few days at a KYK (Kredi ve Yurtlar Kurumu Eng. Credit and Dormitories Institution) Dormitory. Then, one of my brothers-in-law decided to stay there with his family and parents while the rest of us decided to go to Mersin believing that it would be better for the children in terms of climate. Being used to living in temperate Mediterranean climate, our children were not used to cold weather. Furthermore, the conditions

after the earthquake weakened them as well as us, adults and made us vulnerable to diseases. As a result, we believed that moving to a place with temperate climate.

In Mersin, we moved from one district to another when we were finally settled in a flat in the family apartment of my brother-in-law's close friend. The family who hosted us belonged to the long-established Arab Alawite community in Mersin. They were very kind to us and did their best to make us feel home. After enduring days marked by power cuts, shortage of water and a pervasive sense of insecurity, we were finally at a safe place. But it was nothing like home. The hospitality of our hosts, sharing the same ethnic roots with them was not sufficient to relieve my unease and longing for home. The first time I felt home was when our host, the grandmother, started to speak Arabic with us. I recall smiling involuntarily as well as the happiness that came from that sudden feeling of familiarity. At that moment, I realized that Arabic was not solely a means of communication for me. It was my roots; it was home to me.

Despite the fact that I had no home anymore because both our family building and Antakya in its entirety was severely damaged, I couldn't go back to Mersin when I came to Antakya to vote for the elections. I could see that I was not the only person who felt uprooted, and many people who were dislocated were trying to find ways to come back. I could hear elderly women lamenting that the community scattered. They were in grief due to the losses and because nothing would be the same again. They were praying "**Allāh iyrəd ilmāy lamcorīyyā**" literally meaning "May the water come back to its spring". Being uprooted by a horrible disaster, everyone was wishing to be able to return to their place of origin, and also to be able to see their city rebuild again and come back to life.

In short, the earthquakes and the state of dislocation it forced us into had a great impact both on my and the other survivors' lives, and also on the way I approached the present study. In the midst of so much death, destruction and tragedy, I found myself questioning the necessity of this work at first. I had lost my motivation, indeed. However, my outlook changed along the way. Due to the things I experienced during my forced migration, my earlier feelings evolved into something

that made me cling to my study emotionally. Something that gave me a sense of purpose and resilience. It was not just an ordinary topic anymore- it was related to my roots, identity and sense of belonging. And I had to complete it not just as a personal goal, but as a responsibility, a debt I owed to those whom we lost and those who remained.

3.5.3. The Effects of the Earthquakes on the Research Setting

Between 1900 and 2023, a total of 269 earthquakes which caused fatalities and destruction happened in Türkiye. In terms of loss of life and severe structural damage, the most significant earthquakes were the 2023 Kahramanmaraş earthquakes, the 1939 Erzincan earthquake and the 1999 Marmara earthquake, respectively (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, DSB, 2023). The 2023 Kahramanmaraş earthquakes resulted in more than 50 thousand fatalities and damage in 11 provinces (Ateş & Karataş, 2023). Based on the Ministry of Interior, 53.537 people lost their lives, and 107.213 people were injured in these earthquakes. According to official records, half of these tragic losses were recorded in Hatay (Boz, 2024; Duruel, 2023; Mıstıkoğlu, 2024). Moreover, even three to four months after the earthquake, there were missing people who could not be located (Duruel, 2023). Regrettably, although two years have passed since the February 6 earthquakes, there are still hundreds of people missing due to the earthquake whose whereabouts remain unknown. Families have been looking for them since that day in every way possible (Antakya Gazetesi). They have been trying to find the missing individuals through DNA matching in unmarked graves, by checking hospital records in various cities in Türkiye, by contacting Ministry of Family and Social Services, by contacting witnesses, or through the “Association for Solidarity with Earthquake Victims and Relatives of the Missing (Tur. Deprem Mağdurları ve Kayıp Yakınlarıyla Dayanışma Derneği [DEMAK])” established by themselves as relatives of missing individuals. They have been expecting the authorities to find the missing members of their families and bring an end to that tormenting uncertainty. Unfortunately, the families’ demand for the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye to establish a commission to reunite earthquake victims with their families had been turned down. Similarly, IYI party’s motion to bring forward the agenda and discuss

the research on children missing in the earthquake was voted down by AKP-MHP coalition (Evrensel.net).

According to the 8th month evaluation report issued by the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB, 2023) while the number of severely damaged or destroyed buildings totalled 36.932 across the 11 provinces affected by earthquake, 13.883 of these were located in Hatay alone. In other words, of all the buildings destroyed in the earthquake, nearly 38 % were in Hatay (TMMOB, 2023, cited in Mıstıkoğlu, 2024, p. 1211). The four pictures below illustrate the magnitude of the destruction in Hatay:

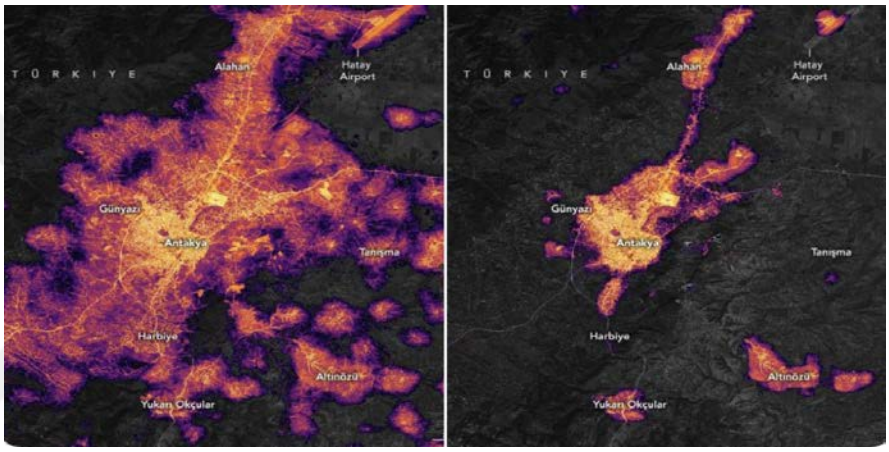


Figure 8. The amount of light emitted by Antakya's city centre and surrounding neighborhoods before and after the earthquake

(Source: https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/151029/dark-nights-in-antakya)



Figure 9. Satellite images showing the same part of Antakya before and after the earthquakes

(Source: https://www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/hatayda-depremin-yikici-etkisi-uydu-goruntulerine-yansidi-778568.html)

Based on the initial damage assessment studies carried out after 6 February and 20 February earthquakes, the most extensive structural destruction and damage in the earthquake zone occurred in approximately 100.000 buildings in Hatay, particularly in the districts of Antakya, Defne, Samandağ and Kırıkhan. Many of the buildings which were damaged on February 6, collapsed on February 20th. In addition, those which had minor damages suffered significant damage (DSB, 2023, cited in Tezer, 2025, p. 124). The highest number of collapsed buildings was recorded in Antakya as 6369. Kırıkhan followed that with 1886 collapsed buildings, and Hassa with 1046. In Defne, that number was 982. In terms of buildings that needed urgent demolition, Defne and Altınözü followed Antakya whereas for severely damaged buildings, Defne and Samandağ followed Antakya (https://bianet.org/haber/hatay-deprem-tespit-raporu-en-agir-yikim-antakya-da-277027). The buildings that were demolished or severely damaged by the earthquake included historical and cultural structures, schools, administrative buildings, hospitals and hotels in addition to houses (DSB, 2023). The significant number of damaged and collapsed residences led to severe housing problems. Some of the homeless population were relocated to tent cities which were established on lands allocated under emergency temporary land seizure orders. The earthquake survivors initially struggling with harsh winter conditions, cold, mud and flooding, had to cope with extreme heat, dust generated by destruction, pests, scorpions and snakes as temperatures rose. The erroneous decisions taken in the choice of sites for container cities, the temporary seizure of people's lands, and relocations administered without considering the demographic structure caused various difficulties for the survivors living in these areas (TMMOB, 2023)

In the regions affected by the earthquakes, there are approximately 4.1 million students at all levels, including higher education. This makes up 21.4 % of the total number of students in Türkiye (DSB, 2023). According to the Education Monitoring Report 2023 (Tur. Eğitim İzleme Raporu 2023), in Hatay, the number of classrooms were 14.724 prior to the earthquakes whereas this number dropped to 8045 after the earthquakes. In other words, in Hatay, the province where the earthquake had the greatest impact on education settings, 45.4 % of the classroom could no longer be used due to the damage. According to the data provided by the Provincial Directorate

of National Education, the number of students which totalled 434.446 before the earthquakes, dropped to 313.000 in June 2023 due to the migrations. The 2023-2024 academic year started with 1100 schools. Repairs were carried out in 420 schools. The number of students rose to 400.000 as some of those who had migrated to other cities returned. Schools were opened in container cities. Some of the primary and secondary schools were relocated to container cities to reduce the cost of student transportation. Some of the schools which were not demolished shared their buildings with schools that had been destroyed. In other words, double-shift schooling had to be implemented such that the students of one school attended classes in the morning while the students of another school attended in the afternoon (https://egitimreformugirisimi.org/uzun-hikaye-depremin-birinci-yilinda-hatayda-egitimin-durumu/). Furthermore, as a result of the destruction of most public institutions, administrative buildings such as the Governor's Office, District Governor's Office and Police Department kept providing services in undamaged school buildings. Hence, education activities could not be maintained in these schools. Additionally, housing problems of the teachers were not solved by the 8th month (TMMOB, 2023).

In the 17 universities located in the provinces affected by the earthquakes, 9 services buildings with a total enclosed area of 7.714 m² were destroyed. 111 service buildings with a total enclosed area of 273.293 m² were severely damaged. 51 service buildings with a total enclosed area of 338.805 m² were moderately damaged. Finally, 358 service buildings with a total enclosed area of 1.894.152 m² had minor damage. 7 of the total 9 buildings which were demolished were buildings at Hatay Mustafa Kemal University. 24 buildings were recorded as severely damaged, 2 buildings as moderately damaged and 1 as having minor damage.

In Iskenderun Technical University, another university in Hatay, no building was demolished. 2 were recorded as severely damaged, 2 moderately damaged and 10 had minor damages The number of severely damaged dormitories in Hatay was 11.639. 44.940 were moderately damaged and needed structural reinforcement procedures. 12.669 dormitories had minor damages and required minor repairs.

Due to the earthquakes, the education and teaching activities were suspended to 20.02.2023 nationwide. Based on the structural integrity report of the schools in the 11 provinces, education and teaching activities were resumed on different dates. In Kilis, Diyarbakır and Şanlıurfa education and teaching activities started on 01.03.2023 across all districts. In Gaziantep, Adana and Osmaniye, these activities were resumed on 13.03.2023. In Adıyaman, Kahramanmaraş and Hatay, the three provinces with the most severe damage, the suspension of education and teaching was extended until 27.03.2023 (DSB, 2023). In Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, education resumed on 27.03.2023 through distant education. Nevertheless, housing problems and the lack of internet facilities led to minimal participation. 4th, 5th and 6th year students enrolled in applied courses in the faculties of medicine, dentistry and veterinary medicine were particularly affected. These students were allowed to continue their studies as guest students at universities in the cities where they resided following the earthquakes. Sadly, many students had to either suspend their education or opted not to attend classes, and therefore they could not complete their education. The initial plan was to resume face-to-face education in Hatay Mustafa Kemal University in October. However, education and teaching activities had to be carried on online due to the ongoing challenges both at the university and at other educational institutions across the city (Aykut, 2025).

Based on the damage assessment data released in 2023, a total of 42 hospitals were severely and moderately damaged, 27 of these belonging to the Ministry of Health, 6 to universities and 9 to the private sector. The number of hospitals having minor damage and affiliated with the Ministry of Health was 75. 12 university hospitals and 7 hospitals in the private sector were also reported to have minor damage, amounting to a total of 94 hospitals with minor damage (DSB, 2023). In a report issued by the Turkish Medical Association (Tur., Türk Tabipler Birliği [TBB]) shortly after the earthquakes (on March 2-3, 2023), it was stated that most of the health institutions in Hatay collapsed or damaged despite the fact that they were built after 2001. As a result, the health system throughout Antakya-Defne had collapsed. Health services organized by the Ministry of Health were carried out in tents under very difficult conditions. Efforts were made to carry out health services in the three largest hospitals: Hatay Training and Research Hospital, Hatay Mustafa Kemal University

Faculty of Medicine Hospital and İskenderun State Hospital. Emergency medicine and triage services were carried out in these hospitals, with patient transfers to Adana were primarily coordinated through helicopters and ambulances. Immediate healthcare delivery for all tent settlements and temporary dispersed living areas was imperative. Although a total of 20 Medical endpoints (Tur. Tıbbi Uç Nokta-TUN) including 16 main centres were established, their organization remained significantly insufficient relative to the urgent needs of the affected population (TTB, 2023). According to the 8th month report of TMMOB 2023, particularly Defne and Antakya were deprived of fully equipped hospitals. The maternity wards and operating rooms were not functioning. There was no hospital in this area apart from the Defne State Hospital, which hastily built with o proper planning. The hospital lacked sufficient technical equipment and healthcare personnel. Therefore, it could not provide services at full capacity, and it flooded during every heavy rain.

One of the greatest problems the people in Hatay faced following the earthquake was transportation. The transportation system in the entire city, particularly in the districts most severely affected by the earthquake, was almost completely destroyed. The ongoing destruction across the city, and the establishment of temporary container cities and markets along the ring road resulted in heavy traffic congestion. The high number of trucks carrying debris and metal caused the traffic to nearly come to a standstill almost every hour of the day (TMMOB, 2023). Due to the earthquakes, the runway at the Hatay Airport was damaged, and a collapse occurred at the dock of the İskenderun Port, which was followed by a fire (Vapur et al., 2024). Furthermore, both road and railway infrastructure was significantly impaired, resulting in severe disruptions to the transportation system. The collapses and deteriorations on the roads leading to the port caused delays in firefighting operations (Boz, 2024).

In the aftermath of the earthquakes, serious disruptions occurred in infrastructure as well as above-ground facilities and services in Hatay. The earthquake adversely affected basic facilities such as electricity, water, natural gas and internet, and these services could not be provided over an extended period. Additionally, basic human needs could not be provided for a long time in the aftermath of the earthquakes (Boz,

2024). The unfavourable conditions caused by the earthquakes made it almost impossible to stay in the city. As one of the reasons of forced migration, earthquakes could lead individuals to abandon their places of residence involuntarily. Earthquakes often trigger large-scale migration movements, and these movements shape both internal and international migration trends. The destruction and uncertainty experienced after earthquakes lead individuals to relocate to safer areas. The February 6 Kahramanmaraş earthquakes, which caused thousands of people to lose their lives and to get injured, affected millions of people (Yenilmez, 2023). A total of 13.4 million individuals were living in the provinces affected by the earthquakes (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2023; Yenilmez, 2023). The earthquakes happened in the provinces where almost half of the Syrian immigrants (1.7 million) lived (Syrian Barometer Tur. Suriye Barometresi, 2024). Syrian immigrants, who had been living in Hatay since 2011 due to the conflict and war in their countries, were also affected from the earthquakes (Duruel, 2023). It's estimated that at least 2.7 million people living in the earthquake zone were forcibly dislocated due to the earthquakes (IOM, 2023; Karatay & Çilmi, 2024; Özerim, 2023; Yenilmez, 2023).

As the accounts above reveal, the conditions of the provinces affected by the earthquakes were unsuitable for sustaining human life. As a consequence, high rates of outward migration occurred in these provinces. Survivors of the February 6 earthquakes had to leave their cities of residence because of various reasons such as the harsh life conditions, the severe winter conditions prevailing at the time and the ongoing aftershocks in the affected areas. As in other earthquakes, individuals tended to migrate to the countryside in Kahramanmaraş earthquakes. Nevertheless, as opposed to other earthquake zones, migration to cities which were deemed safer was more common in 2023 Kahramanmaraş earthquakes. Individuals generally migrated to provinces such as Mersin, Diyarbakır, Antalya, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir (Yenilmez, 2023). The table below illustrates the comparisons of migration to and out of the provinces affected by the earthquakes. As clearly seen, in 2023, in all of the provinces there was a sharp rise in the number of out migration rates due to the earthquake. With 164.247 individuals subjected to forced migration, Hatay had the highest rate of emigration among the provinces affected.

Table 2. Immigration Figures of the 5 Cities Mostly Affected by the Earthquake (2021-2022-2023)

Yıl	İl	Aldığı Göç	Verdiği Göç	Net Göç	Net Göç Hızı
2023	Kahramanmaraş	31.582	82.119	-50.537	-44,2
2022	Kahramanmaraş	29.319	34.501	-5.182	-4,3
2021	Kahramanmaraş	27.246	35.647	-8401	-7,1
2023	Gaziantep	65.524	73.835	-8311	-3,8
2022	Gaziantep	50.192	55.699	-5507	-2,5
2021	Gaziantep	50.203	57.475	-7272	-3,4
2023	Hatay	37.068	164.247	-127179	-79,0
2022	Hatay	39.530	47.597	-8067	-4,7
2021	Hatay	35.929	49.001	-13072	-7,7
2023	Malatya	34.414	102.621	-68207	-87,8
2022	Malatya	28.684	30.104	-1420	-1,7
2021	Malatya	28.521	31.737	-3216	-3,9
2023	Adıyaman	23.294	48.372	-25078	-40,6
2022	Adıyaman	18.780	23.359	-4579	-7,1
2021	Adıyaman	17.598	24.860	-7262	-11,4

(Source: Özdemir & Engin, 2024, p. 23, obtained from TUİK, 2024)

In this regard, the earthquakes that occurred on February 6, 2023 with epicentres in Kahramanmaraş profoundly impacted the demographic structure in the earthquake zones (Demirbilek & Gökkaya, 2025). The following table displays the change of populations due to fatalities as well as forced migration in the affected provinces:

Table 3. 2022 and 2023 Populations of the Provinces Affected by the Earthquake and Changes in the Populations

İller	2022 Nüfus	2023 Nüfus	Nüfus değişimi
Adana	2.274.106	2.270.298	-3.808
Adıyaman	635.169	604.978	-30.191
Diyarbakır	1.804.880	1.818.133	+13.253
Elâzığ	591.497	604.411	+12.914
Gaziantep	2.154.051	2.164.134	+10.083
Hatay	1.686.043	1.544.640	-141.403
Kahramanmaraş	1.177.436	1.116.618	-60.818
Kilis	147.919	155.179	+7.260
Malatya	812.580	742.725	-69.855
Osmaniye	559.405	557.666	-1.739
Şanlıurfa	2.170.110	2.213.964	+43.854

(Source: Demirbilek & Gökkaya, 2025, p. 287, obtained from TUİK, 2025)

As displayed on Table 3, the change of population in Hatay was far greater than the other provinces where the number of population dropped in the aftermath of the earthquake.

3.6. The Arab Alawite Community and Their Socio-historical Background

Arab Alawites are one of the ethnoreligious communities within the multicultural structure of Türkiye. Arab Alawites are known as a heterodox Islamic community settled around the Mediterranean Region for centuries. This community, which identifies itself as ethnically Arab, and Alawites in terms of religion, has been dispersed across modern nation-states following a four-hundred-year of Ottoman rule. Today, some of the community members live in Syria, some in Lebanon and the remainder live in the Republic of Türkiye (Mertcan, 2013). Those living in Türkiye are settled in southern Türkiye in Adana, Mersin and particularly in Hatay. This community can be identified as an ethnolinguistic and ethnoreligious community due to the distinct linguistic and religious traits that distinguish it from outgroups. Arab Alawites speak a variety of Arabic that is associated with Syrian Sedantary Arabic (Ağbaht, 2014; Jastrow, 2006) as their mother tongue. However, the community uses that language as an oral medium. In other words, Arabic literacy is very limited or non-existent.

Various nomenclature[5] has been used to refer to the community members. They are usually referred to as "Fellah" or "Arap Uşağı" by outgroup members. The former means "farmer" in Arabic, and it refers to the fact that the community has a long history of working as farm labourers or handmaids in service of squires. The latter denotes community members' ethnic Arab origin. The word "Nusayri" is not used by the community to self-define themselves. Rather it's used in academic work (Türk, 2018). It has been documented in literature that community members do not prefer to self-define as Nusayri due to the numerous negative connotations associated with it

[5] In the present study, the phrase Arab Alawite will be used to refer to the community because this is the common way that community members self-define themselves. In addition, it clarifies both the ethnic and religious identity of the community, which is another reason for my preference. Other nomenclature will be used just while citing work that employed them.

historically (Arslan, 2016). Instead, they prefer to define themselves as “Alawite” or “Arab Alawite” (Can, 2011; Kineşçi, 2010; Mertcan, 2013; Yalım-Ege, 2019).

Nusayrism emerged in the region of Iraq in the 9th century, a period marked by the weakening of central authority in the Islamic world (Arslan, 2016). It was founded by Muhammad ibn Nusayr (Batur, 2013), who is the closest disciple of the 11th Imam Hasan al-Askari and considered as the “gateway” to the Imam’s knowledge and wisdom. Upon the occultation of the 12th Imam named Imam al-Mahdi, Muhammad ibn Nusayr is believed to have transmitted the knowledge of the Imams to a succession of figures. These figures successively carried the mission of the general leadership of the Alawite community (Mertcan, 2013). While Muhammad ibn Nusayr is regarded a prominent leader in the history of the community, Hamdan el-Hasibi is accepted as the real founder of Nusayrism. El-Hasibi, who received the knowledge and values transmitted by Mohammad ibn Nusayr through el-Cunbulani, systemized that knowledge, and managed to unify the scattered forces around him into a community (et Tavil, 2021; Mertcan, 2013).

According to et-Tavil (2021), Gadir-Hum Allegiance and the Karbala Incident marked the beginning of Alawism as a sect. While returning from Mecca to Medina on his last pilgrimage called the “Farewell Pilgrimage”, Prophet Mohammad delivered a sermon to his followers in the valley of Ghadīr Hum[6] in 632 (Mertcan, 2021) in the tenth year of Hijra. Prophet Mohammad declared that Imam Ali would be his successor (Tur. vasi) and the spiritual authority (Tur. vali) after him by the command of Allah (et-Tavil, 2021). While some of his followers pledged allegiance and recognized Imam Ali as Prophet Mohammad’s successor, known for their hostility against Imam Ali, the Umayyad did not follow Prophet Mohammad’s will (Et Tavil, 2021). Following the death of the Prophet, one fraction of Muslims argued that the caliphate was the legitimate right of Imam Ali because he was chosen as the successor of the Prophet. On the other hand, another group believed that the Prophet did not explicitly appoint a successor to lead the community after his death. As a

[6] Today, Ghadīr Hum is the most important day of Nusayris and their biggest religious holiday (Can, 2011; Türk, 2018) because Nusayris believe that the incident in Ghadīr Hum verifies their beliefs and assertions regarding the leadership of Imam Ali (Türk, 2018). Nusayris believe that the religion was perfected and completed on this day (Can, 2011).

consequence, after a contentious process, this group was influential in appointing Abu Bakr as the caliph instead of Imam Ali. Following Prophet Mohammad's will, Imam Ali did not demand the caliphate. Rather, he insisted on receiving a collective call from the Muslim community and a formal offer of the caliphate before accepting it (Mertcan, 2013). Nevertheless, that was not possible due to the hostility of the Umayyads, his opponents, and also the overwhelming number of his enemies (et Tavil, 2021). During that time, Omar and Abu Bakr tried to exclude Imam Ali from the sphere of power, and the Umayyads continued the caliphate. However, during the caliphate of Uthman (Osman), according to the Alawites, everything deteriorated significantly, and the concepts of equality and justice in Islam were deeply shaken. The chaotic climate in the Islamic community worsened after the assassination of Caliph Uthman in 656 CE (Mertcan, 2013). After that Ali became the caliph upon the request of the Muslims in Medina (et Tavil, 2021). Nevertheless, he was unable to completely end this chaotic period.

Imam Ali's assassination ultimately solidified the Sunni-Shia division, reaching a point that perhaps cannot be fully reconciled (Mertcan, 2013). Imam Ali's son Imam al-Hasan al-Mucteba was appointed as the caliphate following his father's assassination. However, he was forced to quit for the benefit of Muawiya and was eventually killed (et Tavil, 2021; Mertcan, 2013). Imam Ali's son Hüseyin was martyred along with his companions in Karbala by the army of the Umayyad Caliph Yazid ibn Muawiya. Zeynel Abidin, the son of Imam Hüseyin, was the only male survivor of Karbala. He maintained the lineage of Twelve Imams, all of whom were members of Ahl al-Bayt (Prophet Mohammad's family). Nevertheless, almost all of these Imams were subjected to oppression and injustice. Furthermore, except for one of them, all were killed. It's believed that the 12th Imam al-Mahdi is in a state of occultation, and will return as the awaited survivor before the Day of Judgment.

Batur (2013) reported two views regarding the emergence of Nusayrism. According to one perspective, Nusayrism emerged as a religious tendency involving individuals and groups who initially gathered around Ahl al-Bayt with good intentions, but later deviated from Islam and Ahl al-Bayt teachings due to excessive love and reverence. The second is a tendency comprising of individuals of different religious and

ideological backgrounds who exploited internal conflicts among Muslims as an opportunity to destroy Islam, driven by their vested-interest. According to Mertcan (2013), the main axis of the external definitions concerning the religious identity of Arab Alawites are grounded in the concepts of “heresy” and “extremism”. Mertcan states that, initiated by orthodox Islamic circles including not only Sunni Islam but also some Shia groups, this view is adopted by various religious communities as well as both traditional and some modern writers and researchers to evaluate Arab Alawites. In this regard, Arab Alawites are considered as extremist who came to be known as the Ghulat al-Shia, thus stigmatized with the negative label of “ghulat”. According to Mertcan (2021), Alawites, who adopt quite a different religious creed and practice, hold a rather different vision of Islam and interpretation of Islamic principles than the hegemonic view. In that sense, prayer, fasting, concealment, pilgrimage and jihad have different meanings than in the orthodox Islam. For instance, prayer is turning to God and it does not have to be in certain forms. Fasting is remaining true to one’s own word. The concealment refers to safeguarding the trust. Pilgrimage involves the journey to God and jihad refers to struggle with ego. Alawites do not adhere to the heaven-hell and fate belief unlike Sunni Islam. Reincarnation constitutes an important part in their belief system. Alawites generally carry out their religious ceremonies in the *ziyarats* (emphasis in the original) or houses that are considered as sacred places. In Alawism, religious education process is subject to special conditions and differs considerably from Sunni Islam. Reverends who have the title Sheikh, inherited by lineage, are responsible for religious affairs. Examining the historical background broadly, Arab Alawism emerges as a religious structure with heterodox and esoteric character.

3.7. Sociohistorical Events Shaping the Identity of the Arab Alawite Community

Throughout its long history, the Alawite community has faced great oppression and persecution (Arslan, 2016; et Tavil, 2021; Mertcan, 2013; Türk, 2018). Starting from the Ummayyad period, Alawites had to endure injustices. According to et Tavil (2021), there have been two major catastrophies in Alawite history. The first one is the Crusades and the second one is the Ottoman Empire Yavuz Sultan Selim’s mass killing. Detailed accounts about the pressures and persecution that Alawites faced in

history are beyond the scope of the present study (refer to Arslan, 2016; et Tavil, 2021 and Mertcan, 2013 for further information). Within the present study, these were mentioned because of their influence on the formation of a collective Arab Alawite identity.

According to Mertcan (2021), Selim I's (Yavuz Sultan Selim) mass killing was imprinted on the memory of Alawites, thus became an important element of the Alawite identity. Selim I is mentioned as a major Alawite enemy similar to Muawiya and Yazeed. Religious education of Alawis include teaching their children of their own historical/religious leaders, religious rituals and practices as well as their historical enemies. Religious practices also involve cursing the enemies. In this way, the collective memory of Alawites is constituted, and the group identity is maintained (Mertcan, 2021). Can (2011) indicates that the cultural memory reconstructs "the other", and in this way it facilitates the community's construction of its own meaning. While constructing "the other", accounts about the traumatic experiences in the past come to the fore for Nusayris. Among Nusayris specifically, this "trauma" mostly includes the incidents that happened in the Ottoman period. Citing Aslan (1998), Can (2011, pp. 55-56) reported that in the 600-year Ottoman era, Alawites (all Alawites of Türkiye) faced 46 mass killings. Although on a smaller scale compared to the Ottoman era, Alawites were exposed to mass killings a dozen of times during the Republican period as well. According to Aslan (1998, p. 67), these acts of mass killings were not coincidental, but rather deliberate acts of the dominant power structure. The belief that these acts were deliberate, and the constant feeling of threat from external groups stemming from this belief has taken its place in the collective memory of Nusayris. (Can, 2011). This history of oppression has also led the community to develop an insular, inward-looking identity. Arab Alawites have been forced to adopt a more cautious stance to the external world, avoiding openly practicing their faith due to the social and political conditions. Internalizing this mind-set further over the years, they created a rich esoteric worldview (Mertcan, 2013).

During the Ottoman period, Nusayris were considered as a heretical community and were marginalized. They were not subjected to the jizya (poll tax), which used to be

collected from non-Muslims. In other words, they were not officially viewed as a non-Muslim group. Unlike Yezidis, if Nusayris accepted the Sunni belief, they were subjected to a process called tashih-i i'tikad meaning "correction of belief". During the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, state propagandists were sent to the region. As a result, Nusayris living in Antakya and İskenderun underwent the process of correction of belief. After that, a decision concerning opening schools in the region was made by the Council of Ministers (Ortaylı, 1999, cited in Aksoy, 2010). During the period of Abdulhamid II, mosques were built in Nusayri regions as part of the policies of Sunnification (Uluçay, 2003). According to Mertcan (2013), Arab Alawites accommodated to these policies to be able to secure a minimal degree of relief and they tried to benefit from some of the modest opportunities offered by the civic life such as schooling and employment. This stance of accommodation, characterized by a willingness to align with state policies, persisted in the Republican period as well.

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the declaration of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his followers implemented a series of reforms to build a modern nation-state. Diverging from the Islam-oriented culture and world-view of the Ottoman monarchy, Atatürk aimed to transform the society from religious conservatism to a western-oriented modern, secular and democratic republic. Despite the ethnolinguistic and religious diversity prevailing during that time, the Ottomans aimed to achieve unity through religious commitment to *oneness* (italics in the original), suggesting that all Muslims are part of the same larger united whole. Alternatively, Atatürk aimed to build a nation around Turkish-national identity emphasizing Turkish-ness. As a consequence, he introduced reforms such as the Turkish Language Reform, which involved conversion from Arab to Latin alphabet and renovation of vocabulary through language purification. In other words, he aimed to achieve unity among the various ethnicities in Türkiye through *linguistic unitarianism* (italic in the original) based on the Turkish ideology of "one nation-one language" (emphasis in the original) (Yağmur, 2001).

Like other ethnic groups, Arab Alawites' identity formation has been influenced by socio-historical and socio-political developments that took place in the Republican

period. After the annexation of Hatay to the Republic of Türkiye, the founding elites of the Turkish Republic aimed to create a homogenous nation-state. This nation-stated was based on Turkishness and was named as the "Turkish Nation" (Mertcan, 2013). The new governmentality adopted a gradual nationalization process to reach their aim of nationalization. In order to integrate Hatay to the Republic, the slogan "Hatay (Antakya), 40 centuries old homeland" was often used. This discourse was also prevalent in Antakya media in 1938. The nation building process also drew on the Turkish History Thesis, which claimed that contemporary Turks were inheritors of the remarkable legacy of the ancient Sumerians, Egyptians, Greeks and the early Hittite civilization in Anatolia. (Doğruel & Leman, 2009). In this regard, a notion aiming to project Turks as a civilized nation-building community was developed. It was also argued that Turks who have built numerous civilizations across different parts of the world under various names, were the original founders of the Hittite civilization in Anatolia (Mertcan, 2013).

Like other minorities, Arab Alawites were also subjected to assimilationist policies during that time. One of these policies centred around the ethnic roots of the Arab Alawite community. In line with the Turkish History Thesis, politically active historians of the Kemalist regime claimed that the region where Arab Alawites were living had always been Turkish and that Alawites were not Arabs, but Turks who had forgotten their Turkishness (Akyol, 2015). Arab Alawites were identified as Eti Turks (Tur. Eti Türkleri) (Önder, 1999; Tankut, 1938; Türkmen, 1939). In this regard, Arab Alawites were accepted into the Turkish nation with the claim that they had the same origin as Turks. The national identity encompassed acceptance of the Turkish identity (secularism) and the Turkish language. Another assimilationist policy targeted at the Arab Alawites concerned their mother tongue. Language homogenization played a significant role in the nation-building process of Türkiye. Under the theory of "Sun Language", it was argued that the Turkish language is the root of all other languages. As an entity which protected the special features of the Turkish nation, speaking Turkish was an indispensable condition of belonging to a Turkish race. Under a system of stringent Kemalism, from 1939, Turkish became the compulsory language of education and official documents. Under single-party rule, enforcement of using only Turkish in public spaces began to be implemented starting

from 1928. Language was considered as the central component of Turkifying non-Muslims, Kurds and Arabs. As a consequence, the campaign of "Citizen Speak Turkish!" began to be disseminated. In the meantime, the media of Antakya circulated articles concerning the Turkish cultural identity of Antakya. As a result of these developments and with the aim of social integration people started to gradually abandon their Arab identity. Instead, they embraced their recently acquired Turkish identity granted through citizenship and started to focus more on religion as a marker of identification (Doğruel & Leman, 2009).

The efforts of nation-building around Turkish identity were also carried out through Hars Committees. These committees were founded under the supervision of Republican People's Party and the People's Houses in Çukurova Region between March 12-April 28 1937. These committees functioned to spread the Turkish language and culture among the Nusayrites. Against the backdrop of a history in which they were oppressed and levelled with false accusations, the Nusayris for the first time had the opportunity of redefining their position within the society. The annexation of Hatay to the Republic of Türkiye in 1939, and the secularization process of Türkiye by Atatürk enabled the community to manage this (Türk, 2018). Arab Alawites embraced and supported Kemalist secularization because it provided heterodox communities with a space to be recognized as equal citizens (Doğruel & Leman, 2009). Adopting the modernist principles and the secularism principle of the Republic, Arab Alawites went through a voluntary assimilation process unlike some of the other ethnic minority groups (Kineşçi, 2010). As a consequence, despite the oppression they faced during that time albeit at a smaller scale compared to the past (Türk, 2018), Arab Alawites reconciled with the Kemalist regime during this early period of the Republic, which brought along consequences such as linguistic and cultural assimilation in the long run.

3.8. Participants

Five families constituting distinct cases as members of a culture-sharing group were chosen as the sample for the present ethnographic case study. Both convenience and purposive sampling was utilized to determine the sample. As I had mentioned in

Chapter 1, my interest in the present research arose from my personal experiences pertaining to my mother tongue and identity as well as my observations regarding decreasing transmission of the community language (Arabic) from generation to generation. The basis of these observations were my immediate surroundings. As a result, I wanted to undertake a study that would explore FLPs of the families in the community. I selected the cases from two neighbourhoods (Gümüşgöze and Harbiye) of Defne District. The ethnographic dimension of the study required immersion in the participants' home domains as well as video recorded data. As a result, I assumed that gaining access to the participants' private home domain would be easier for me within my own neighbourhood due to my insider position. In fact, when I informed the participants about the data collection procedure, three families, one of whom had familial ties with me, were hesitant. They were suspicious about the use of video recordings. I ensured all the participants that I would not share their data with anyone and would use them only for the research purposes (Further detail is given in Ethical Considerations section). Ultimately they all agreed to take part in the study.

As per purposive sampling, the sample was determined through criterion sampling. Three criteria were determined for sampling in line with the research aims:

(1) One or both of the parents in each family had to be a bilingual native speaker of Turkish and Arabic because the study was interested in bilingual families' FLPs
(2) The families had to have a child or children (school age- optional)
(3) The families had to be from two neighbourhoods (Gümüşgöze and Harbiye) which were in Defne District and shared the same dialect features to minimize dialectal variation and ensure linguistic consistency.

Initially, during the sampling process, 2 of the participant families were from my extended family, and the other three were those whom I contacted through acquaintances. However, one of these families started not answer my calls although I tried to contact them several times. Then I contacted another family from my extended family as they met the sampling criteria, and they agreed to take part in the study.

Table 4 displays details about the participants' background:

Table 4. Background Information of the Participants

Family Number	Name & Ages of parents	Education level	Occupation	Languages spoken by parents	Children (In order of birth)	Ages of children	Grade	Languages spoken by children
Family 1	Gaye: 43 Mustafa: 42	Bachelor's degree Associate degree drop out	Nurse Painter	Turkish-Arabic Turkish-Arabic	Berk Derya Mehtap Ayça	15 10 7 2	10th grade 5th grade 1st grade NA	All children-Receptive bilinguals (D better at and more apt to use Arabic)
Family 2	Esra: 34 Murat: 37	Bachelor's degree Bachelor's degree	Primary School Teacher Electrical and Electronic Engineer	Turkish-Arabic Turkish-Arabic	Ceren Nil	7 5	1st grade Kindergarten	Both children receptive bilinguals (C better at and more apt to use Arabic)
Family 3	Meltem:33 Ufuk: 33	Bachelor's degree Bachelor's degree	English Teacher Math Teacher	Turkish Turkish-Arabic	Burak Buse	4 newborn	NA NA	Son-Receptive bilingual Daughter-preverbal
Family 4	Sevgi: 31 İrfan: 40	Associate degree Associate degree	Housewife Driver	Turkish-Arabic Turkish-Arabic	Aslı Arda	8 5	2nd grade NA	Both children receptive bilinguals
Family 5	Yelda: 42 Ulaş: 46	Primary School Primary School	Housekeeper Welder	Turkish-Arabic Turkish-Arabic	Seren Yaprak Ahmet Melda	17 16 11 6	S: Preparing for university entrance exams 10th grade 6th grade Kindergarten	All children receptive bilinguals (Y and A better at and more apt to use Arabic)

* NA: Not applicable

3.8.1. Family 1

Family 1 included 6 members- the mother (Gaye), the father (Mustafa), three daughters (Derya, Mehtap, Ayça) and a son (Berk). Both of the parents defined themselves as Turkish-Arabic bilinguals. The mother was from the neighbourhood of Harbiye, and the father was from the neighbourhood of Gümüşgöze. They had been living in Gümüşgöze in a flat in the same apartment building as the father's parents since they got married. Gaye held two university degrees. She had an associate's degree in anaesthesiology, and a bachelor's degree in nursing. At the time of data collection, Gaye was 43 years old and she had been working as a nurse for 11 years. The father was 42 years old, and he was self-employed. Their eldest child Berk was 15 years old. He was at 10th grade at high school. Their second child Derya was ten years old, and she was at 5th grade at secondary school. Mehtap, their third child, was seven years old, and she was a second grader at primary school. Their youngest child, Ayça was two years old.

Based on Gaye's accounts, Arabic was her first language and until 6 years of age, she spoke only Arabic. She acquired Arabic in the home domain as that was the language she had been exposed to since birth. However, she was not literate in that language, and she did not have any attempts to learn Arabic literacy. During that time, her mother spoke only Arabic because she was not sent to school like most of her peers, and Arabic was the only language at her disposal. On the other hand, Gaye's father, who was a driver, could speak different dialects of Arabic in addition to the local variety because he travelled to different Arabic-speaking countries due to his job. He also spoke Turkish because he had attended primary school. In addition, as a result of going to other cities for work, he had the opportunity to improve his Turkish. According to Gaye, her father was abroad most of the time because of his job. As a result, she and her siblings spent most of their time with their mother in a home domain where the default language among family members was Arabic.

The first time Turkish encroached upon the home domain was when Gaye's elder sisters and brothers started school. Gaye stated that her eldest sister failed at Grade 1 and had to repeat it because of her low proficiency in Turkish. Based on Gaye's

accounts, her sister told them that there was no one speaking Turkish at home, and at school she spoke Turkish timidly with her teacher and classmates due to her low proficiency. Hence, she could not learn it properly and could not understand school subjects, which resulted in failure. Gaye's elder sister also told her siblings that they were luckier because at home they could speak Turkish to her, and in this way they could improve their Turkish proficiency. Gaye said she met Turkish at school like her siblings, and described Turkish as her 'second language'. Based on her accounts, initially she had a great difficulty in understanding Turkish; however, by Grade 2, she had learnt it. In time, Turkish replaced Arabic as the language of interaction among siblings. Gaye stated that her mother learnt Turkish from them during that time.

Previously, Gaye's mother did not speak or understand Turkish, but after her children became Turkish dominant, she started to learn it. She added that although her mother's Turkish was rudimentary, they could understand her. Gaye stated that her mother had enhanced her Turkish in recent years, though. After three daughters-in-law and a son-in-law, who could not speak Arabic joined the family through exogamous marriage, she improved her Turkish because she had to use that language with them. She also mentioned that her youngest brother became Turkish dominant unlike them as a result of the shift towards Turkish due to school and sibling effect. She explained that there were 7 elder siblings who spoke Turkish with each other after starting school, and the mother was the only person who used Arabic at that time. Therefore, unlike his siblings, her youngest brother already spoke Turkish when he started school. In addition, he was less competent in Arabic than his elder siblings.

Gaye self-assessed her Arabic proficiency as very good. Based on her accounts, she felt herself more confident while speaking Arabic because it was her mother tongue. She could express herself easily in Arabic and could speak it fluently. As for Turkish, she believed she could use it well, and stated that her accent was not as distinct as that of older speakers because she learnt Turkish at school. On the other hand, as a result of learning Turkish subsequently, sometimes it took her a little longer to formulate sentences in Turkish.

Like his wife, Mustafa was surrounded by an Arabic dominant environment and acquired Arabic as his first language in the family domain. He also learnt Turkish when he started school. Mustafa reported that although his elder sisters spoke Turkish in addition to Arabic, the language of interaction among siblings was Arabic 90% of the time. Moreover, Mustafa went to Quran[7] course and learnt to read and write in Arabic when he was a child. However, although he could still read Arabic, he could not write it well at the time of data collection due to lack of practice. As for his self-assessment in Turkish, Mustafa indicated that he did not have difficulties in expressing himself in Turkish. However, due to learning Turkish as a second language, sometimes he thought in his mother tongue Arabic while speaking Turkish. Furthermore, Mustafa stated that as a community, they did not speak standard Turkish. Rather, they spoke a mongrel Turkish dialect influenced by Arabic. He reported that when he went to another city, once he spoke, people would ask him whether he was from Hatay. In other words, his dialect revealed his identity. He considered himself better at Arabic and reported that his Arabic vocabulary knowledge was better than his wife's because he had attended a course in the past.

Mustafa's parents spoke Arabic as their mother tongue. His mother's default language was Arabic, and based on Mustafa's accounts she understood few words in Turkish. The paternal grandfather, on the other hand, spoke Turkish, Arabic and German. Arabic was his dominant language, but he also spoke Turkish because he had been sent to primary school. Mustafa stated that according to his father's accounts, he improved his Turkish when he was doing his military service. Furthermore, after doing his military service, he went to Germany as a worker and learnt German while living and working there.

As for children, both Gaye and Mustafa stated that the first language that their children were exposed to in the family domain was Turkish. The children had receptive knowledge of Arabic, but they could not use it for communicative

[7] During Mustafa's childhood, Quran courses were delivered by *sheikhs (called khoja)*, the religious leaders of the community. Some parents would send their children to those courses (also called '**ḫūcā**' –khoja-) so that they would learn to read the Quran and write in Arabic. In other words, parents were motivated by religious aspirations, but as a natural corollary to this, children who attended these courses could learn to read and write in Arabic.

purposes. The parents also mentioned individual differences in children's attitudes to and aptitude for Arabic.

3.8.2. Family 2

This family consisted of the mother, Esra, who was a primary school teacher, the father Murat, who was an electrical and electronic engineer and their two daughters, Ceren and Nil. The mother was from Gümüşgöze, and the father was from Harbiye. At the time of data collection, they were living in an apartment in Harbiye. Esra was 34 and Murat was 37 years old. Ceren, the elder daughter was 7 years old and she was at first grade. The younger one, Nil was 5 years old, and she was a student at nursery school.

Esra was a subsequent bilingual; she learnt Arabic in the family domain, and Turkish at nursery school. She reported that she was born in Saudi Arabia and could not speak Turkish when she started school. In her childhood, as a family living in Saudi Arabia, Arabic was the dominant language of interaction in their family. After they returned to Türkiye, their language choices were the same because her mother understood Turkish, but had limited usage of it. Her father was good at both Turkish and Arabic; however, he worked abroad and could not visit his home country very frequently. As a result, Arabic constituted Esra and her siblings' language ecology in their early childhood. However, due to school and her job, Turkish became Esra's dominant language in the following years. Esra considered herself good at both Turkish and Arabic in terms of expressing herself. However, she was not literate in Arabic.

Similarly, Murat, the father, reported that he acquired Arabic as his first language in the family domain because his mother and father spoke Arabic as their default language. Like his wife, Murat wasn't literate in Arabic, but he was a fluent speaker. He had learnt Turkish before he started school because his elder sisters were attending school and using Turkish with him. Besides, his paternal uncle was living with them, and he used Turkish with Murat and his siblings. In other words, Turkish was in his language repertoire before he started school due to his elder sisters' and

uncle's influence. Furthermore, Murat reported that he knew a little vocational English due to his job.

Both of Murat's parents spoke Arabic well, and that was their preferred language. His mother was not literate in Arabic, but his father could read and write in his mother tongue. Murat's parents could understand Turkish, but in terms of speaking they could not go beyond communicating the basics.

Both Esra and Murat stated that their daughters were very good at Turkish. However, both parents agreed that their elder daughter's comprehension and production of Arabic was better than that of their younger daughter's.

3.8.3. Family 3

This family consisted of four members- the mother Meltem, the father Ufuk, a son, Burak and a daughter, Buse. Meltem was from another city, and she was not a community member. Therefore, unlike the other families, this couple's marriage can be characterized as exogamous. Both of the parents were university graduates. Ufuk had a bachelor's degree in Mathematics. Meltem held two bachelor degrees, one in German Language Teaching and another in English Language Teaching. She got her ELT degree after moving to Hatay between 2017 and 2020. At the beginning of video data collection, she was 33 and had just finished university. Ufuk was also 33, their son was 4 and their daughter was a newborn baby. The couple were living in another province where Ufuk had been appointed as a Math teacher. Later, he was appointed to Hatay, and the family had been living in Gümüşgöze since 2016. They had a flat in a family apartment where the paternal grandparents and uncles also lived with their families.

Meltem's parents were monolingual Turkish speakers. Therefore, her first language was Turkish, and she evaluated herself as good at that language. She also spoke English and German, but did not consider herself proficient in the latter. Meltem stated that she could not speak Arabic, but had very little receptive knowledge of it. She knew few words and could only understand basic imperatives like 'Bring X',

‘Take X’ or ‘Come’. Due to the difficulties regarding pronunciation, she shunned speaking Arabic.

Ufuk was an Arabic-Turkish bilingual. He acquired Arabic as his first language in the home domain and learnt Turkish when he started primary school, which means he was a subsequent bilingual. He stated that until university, Arabic was his dominant language. However, at university and after he started working as a teacher, he started to use Turkish more frequently. Ufuk stated that although speaking more than one language is considered as an advantage by most people including him, it had a disadvantage, too. He indicated that as a speaker of L1 Arabic, he had problems while speaking Turkish because sentence structures in Arabic and Turkish differed from each other greatly. For instance, he thought in his mother tongue Arabic while speaking Turkish and had to explain his statements when his addressee didn’t understand him. In addition, when there was a talk going on, he either responded late or formed inverted sentences. He stated that, in that sense, he felt a great disadvantage of speaking two languages. Based on his accounts, when he was studying at university, this situation led some of his friends from the so-called elite circles to ridicule him because of his speaking and accent. Ufuk said he was openly despised by these people, but he did not care about it because he had accepted himself as is and did not want to be part of their group or be accepted by them. However, at that time, he gained consciousness about his distinct speaking and Turkish accent and decided that he should correct his Turkish. Although he did not take any speech training, he started to use Turkish more frequently and in a more conscious way. Based on his accounts, his Turkish has been better since then. Ufuk also stated that his dominant language became Turkish when he was appointed as a teacher to a different province. His linguistic milieu changed, and he started to speak Turkish constantly. There was no Arabic in his life because no one spoke Arabic there. At the same time, when he was appointed as a teacher to his hometown after a few years, he could not find the same environment; the new generation spoke less Turkish and this also affected his shift to Turkish. Despite his shift to Turkish after attendance to university and starting to work in another province, he mentioned that Arabic was still his language of preference, his ‘automatic’ language, and he used it unconsciously if he was not cognizant of the context of interaction. In contexts where

everyone spoke Arabic, he spoke Arabic. Even at his workplace, he and other Arabic-speaking teachers spoke Arabic with each other. However, in the presence of a person or people who did not speak Arabic, he switched to Turkish out of respect, and so that there would be no misunderstanding.

Ufuk attended a Quran course in his childhood, so he was literate in Arabic. He had not been reading or writing in Arabic since 2005, though. However, he believed he could start reading and writing with a little practice in case he needed to. He self-evaluated himself as good at both Turkish and Arabic. He stated that he could express himself easily in both languages.

Ufuk's parents were Arabic-Turkish bilinguals. His mother learnt Arabic as her first language in the family domain and was dominant in Arabic. She had a drop out at elementary school, so she could not learn Turkish there. Ufuk said his mother did not understand or speak Turkish in the past; however, in the last 5-6 years she had made a good progress, and now she could speak Turkish. To be able to communicate with her daughter-in-law was the driving force behind that progress. According to Ufuk, his mother could have developed her Turkish by watching TV series and programs, as well. Meltem stated that when she was first engaged, her mother-in-law did not speak Turkish well. However, in line with Ufuk, Meltem indicated that in the past few years, her mother-in-law had made a great progress in Turkish whereas Meltem herself could not make any progress regarding Arabic. She indicated that although her mother-in -law did not admit it, she spoke Turkish really well albeit with a distinct accent. She used idioms and could converse with Meltem's Turkish monolingual family members very easily. Meltem reported that her mother-in-law told them that when she first started to use Turkish she was ridiculed by people. Meltem believed her mother-in-law shunned speaking Turkish for that reason. Like her husband, Meltem mentioned the influence of TV on her mother-in-law's proficiency in Turkish. She believed her mother-in-law improved her Turkish through watching TV programs. Ufuk's father was an Arabic-Turkish bilingual. He acquired Arabic at home and learnt Turkish at school. He had the opportunity to improve his Turkish because he worked with teachers and principals as a school bus

driver. He also worked as an intercity and international bus driver, so had a contact with people from outside the community.

Meltem and Ufuk stated that their son, Burak, was Turkish dominant. In addition, he had very limited comprehension in Arabic, and did not speak it. Buse was a preverbal baby, and she was exposed to Turkish in the home domain because that was the language of the nuclear family members. The parents stated that Burak was exposed to Arabic more when he was Buse's age. However, due to the pandemic, they did not visit grandparents, so interaction between grandparents and children was limited. Turkish constituted the children's linguistic milieu at that time.

3.8.4. Family 4

This family consisted of İrfan, the father, Sevgi, the mother, their daughter Aslı and son Arda. The family and the paternal grandmother had their own flats in a family apartment building in Harbiye; however, since the grandmother was living alone as a widower, the family was living with her. The mother was from another district near downtown and was 31 years old at the time of data collection. The father was from Harbiye and he was 40. Both of the parents were university graduates; however, the father was working as a driver and the mother was a housewife selling various homemade foodstuff like dairy products and dried fruit from home. Aslı was 8, and she was a student at Grade 2. Arda was 5 years old, and he wasn't attending school yet.

Sevgi defined herself as Turkish-Arabic bilingual. Based on her accounts, in her childhood her home domain was a Turkish dominant one. Sevgi's elder siblings and father, who was a secondary school graduate, spoke Turkish with her. In addition, since they were living near downtown, they often had Turkish-speaking guests, and Sevgi would interact with them in Turkish. Nevertheless, Sevgi's mother was not sent to school, and she spoke Arabic predominantly. Sevgi stated that when she was a little child, her mother used mostly Arabic with her. When Sevgi did not understand, her mother would try to speak Turkish with her. However, Sevgi's preferred language was Turkish whereas her mother's was Arabic, and by default,

each of them used their preferred languages. Hence, their interaction could be characterized as parallel discourse.

When talking about her language environment, Sevgi also mentioned that her paternal grandmother looked after her cousin, who was the same age as her. As a result of her caregiver's being a monolingual Arabic speaker, Sevgi's cousin spoke only Arabic. Sevgi reported that she would visit her grandmother and cousin frequently. Based on Sevgi's accounts, her mother told her about a difference in her Arabic use in time. According to her mother, Sevgi acquired new Arabic words and expressions from her grandmother and cousin. She also started to use a little Arabic with her mother at that time. Although her preferred language was still Turkish, and her Arabic was rudimentary, she would try to use Arabic mostly with her grandmother and cousin. Sevgi's mother also told her that she improved her Turkish as a result of Sevgi's Turkish preference.

Sevgi reported another change related to her Arabic proficiency and mentioned the importance of context in her Arabic production and use. Based on her accounts, her fluency in Arabic increased after she got married and moved to Harbiye. Up to that time, she was not a fluent user of Arabic because her preferred language was Turkish, and she used Turkish most of the time. Having started to live in an Arabic dominant environment with Arabic dominant people, she started to use Arabic more frequently and fluently. She indicated that her Arabic developed to a great extent after marriage.

According to Sevgi's accounts, her husband İrfan was also an Arabic-Turkish bilingual. However, he was not literate in Arabic. Sevgi reported that her late father-in-law had a great influence on her husband's Turkish proficiency. He was literate in Turkish, and he liked to read a lot. Sevgi indicated that her mother-in-law went to primary school for only two years and learnt a little Turkish there. She was more competent and fluent in Arabic, but she was not literate in that language. Sevgi reported that both of her children were Turkish dominant. She added that they could understand Arabic, but they could not use it for communicative purposes.

3.8.5. Family 5

This family consisted of the mother [8](Yelda), the father (Ulaş) and their children Seren, Yaprak, Melda and Ahmet. Both of the parents were primary school graduates. The mother was a housekeeper aged 42, and the father was a welder aged 46 at the time of data collection. All their children were students. At the time of the study their ages and grades were as follows: Seren 17, preparing for university entrance exams; Yaprak 16, grade 10; Ahmet 11, grade 6; and Melda 6, kindergarten.

The mother was from Harbiye, and the father was from Gümüşgöze. The family was living in Gümüşgöze in a family apartment where the father's parents, his two brothers and their families also lived. Each family lived in their own flat. Based on the father's accounts, his mother and mother-in-law spoke Arabic, and that was their dominant language. They also understood Turkish a little bit. His father spoke both Turkish and Arabic, but his dominant language was Arabic. When asked about whether his parents went to school, he stated that in the past there were Turkish literacy courses in the primary school of the village for those who were past school age, but he was not sure whether his parents attended these courses. Seren commented that her paternal grandfather's Turkish was good probably because he was a driver and worked outside the province. On the other hand, her grandmother never left the town, and the language of the town was Arabic, so she couldn't learn Turkish.

Both of the parents were Arabic-Turkish bilinguals, but they were not literate in Arabic like most of the participant parents. According to Ulaş, he and his wife had similar language environments in their childhood. They acquired Arabic as their first language in the home domain. Ulaş stated that his parents always spoke to him in Arabic. In addition, their house was very close to his paternal grandparents' house, and he spent a lot of time with them. His grandparents, who were monolingual Arabic speakers, spoke only Arabic with him. His wife also acquired Arabic at home

[8] Unfortunately, after the video data collection period was over, the mother was diagnosed with cancer, and passed away. Therefore, one parent was interviewed and the information given here was based on his accounts. The eldest daughter was also present during the interview, and she informally contributed to it at some points. Her accounts were also included in this part.

because that was her family's default language. Ulaş indicated that he and his wife understood a little Turkish when they started school, but they improved their Turkish at school.

Based on the father's accounts, the children's dominant language was Turkish, and they all understood Arabic. However, none of them were literate in Arabic. The children learnt Turkish in the home domain, and that was the dominant language of interaction among family members. He also said his children learnt Arabic through interaction with him and his wife. Nevertheless, Seren indicated that they learnt it mostly from their grandmothers because that was the only language her grandmothers could speak. On the other hand, her parents spoke both Turkish and Arabic, but Turkish was the main language of interaction between parents and children. She stated that if her parents had always spoken to them in Arabic, they probably would have had to learn Turkish at school, too. The father added that his children sometimes tried to speak Arabic with their grandparents because that was the elderly's default language. However, his first and fourth children had difficulties in speaking unlike their two siblings, who had better Arabic speaking skills.

3.9. Data Collection Tools and Procedure

Qualitative data encompasses quotations, observations, excerpts from documents, and social media entries. Qualitative data describe experiences by taking the reader into the time and place of the observation to help readers feel present in that moment. By means of thick description rich in contextual details, qualitative data share a story in the participant's own words (Patton, 2015, p. 107). As required by the case study method, data was collected through *multiple sources of information* (emphasis in the original, Creswell, 2013, p. 97). Video recordings of family interactions, field notes, interviews, and a reflexive journal constituted the data sources in the present study.

Upon obtaining ethical approval from the Human Subjects Ethics Committee at Middle East Technical University, I initiated the participant recruitment process. Based on community connections, firstly I contacted families who seemed to be suitable participants in accordance with the research aims. Following that I

determined the sample based on a combination of purposeful and convenience sampling. In line with ethical requirements, I obtained the consent of the participant families who agreed to take part in the study.

Following entry into the field, I initiated the data collection process. As a first step in data collection, I immersed myself in the participants' real-life context, specifically their home environment based on their convenience and COVID-19 restrictions. This enabled me to gain an in-depth and contextualized understanding of participant families' FLPs. Meanwhile the families were also recording their mealtimes and other activities representative of their daily interactions as I had instructed them. Collecting the video recordings after the observations and fieldwork ended, I analysed them in a systematic and consistent manner through topic transcription sheets (Eröz, 2003). This helped me to construct themes based on the recordings as a whole, rather than being limited by early assumptions. Following that, I generated interview questions based on the observation and video-recorded data. While analysing the interviews, I kept going back and forth between various data sources like observation, video-recorded data and reflective notes to identify consistencies and discrepancies among the emergent themes.

3.9.1. Video Recordings of Family Interactions

Using video recorded data in qualitative research has several advantages. As a less intrusive data collection method, video recorded data helps avoid the observer effect. Furthermore, it enables the researcher to capture complex interactions in their natural setting over a prolonged period of time (Asan & Montague, 2014). In this way, it offers more nuanced linguistic information than field notes because it allows the researcher to record every word. Taking field notes, on the other hand, is restrictive because the researcher can only write down the gist of what participants said. Similarly, the researcher can only note down brief interactions consisting of few short turns due to memory constraints as well as the slower speed of writing as opposed to speaking (Beebe and Takahashi, 1989). Additionally, it also provides visual interactional cues such as gestures and facial expressions, which constitute important information about the negotiation of meaning and affect (Gass & Houck,

1999). Finally, by creating a permanent and complete record, video recorded data allows the researcher to analyse interactions repeatedly and retrospectively with no loss of richness (Asan & Montague, 2014).

Families were provided with cameras and asked to record family meal-times and any other activities such as play time that were representative of the family members' daily interactions. Family mealtimes were chosen because they are important events during which all family members come together (Blum-Kulka, 1990). At mealtimes, (in most middle-class families) family members gather around a table as a daily routine and exchange their experiences of the day, their feelings, values and norms. In that sense, family mealtimes constitute settings where intergenerational interactions take place, playing a significant role in the language socialization process (Blum-Kulka, 2002) and language maintenance (Blum-Kulka, 1997, Pitton, 2013, p. 510, cited in Kheirkhah, 2016, p.20).

Five of the families were provided with cameras and instructed about how to use them. They were asked to place the cameras at an angle where all the family members joining the mealtime or other activities would be recorded. Four families agreed to use the cameras, but Family 3 wanted to record themselves on one of the parent's mobile phone. They gave me the recordings via an external hard drive at the end of the video data collection. Since the video-data collection coincided with the Covid-19 restrictions, I could not visit the families on a regular basis. In other words, home visits were scheduled according to the restrictions and families' convenience. Furthermore, some visits had to be cancelled due to children or other family members getting ill.

In Family 3, there was a new-born baby; therefore, the parents told me they would not be able to allow me to visit them for observation regularly. Nevertheless, I had the opportunity to observe them when I visited them to hand in and give instructions about the camera. All the family members were at home, and the visit lasted almost an hour. I could also observe the family interactions when I went to pick up the camera. This visit took almost an hour, too. This means, an understanding and interpretation of the FLP of this family mainly relied on video data and the interviews.

The video recording spanned a period of 6 months starting on December, 2020 until May, 2021, and there was a total of 26 hours 44 minutes of video recording data. As I stated before, home visits did not take place during COVID-19 restrictions such as lockdowns; however, at that time families kept recording themselves.

3.9.2. Observation and Field Notes

Patton (2015) holds that fieldwork is fundamental to qualitative inquiry. *Going into the field* (emphasis in the original) involves having first-hand engagement with participants in their real-life settings "to personally understand the realities and minutiae of daily life" (p. 109). The researcher gets close to the participants both through prolonged physical presence in their own environment and through establishing close social relationships via shared experience, empathy and rapport (Patton, 2015).

Fieldwork involves observations, which are common in many qualitative research approaches such as case study, ethnography, and action research. Observations are pivotal in ethnographic research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In fact, as De Costa and Gajasinghe (2022, p. 430) state "observations are a staple of ethnographies". Field notes are often taken alongside observations even when the observations are digitally recorded because recordings may not capture every detail (De Costa et al., 2022). The researcher is more likely to obtain accurate documentation of what people do, how and/or why they do it through direct observation as opposed to relying solely on people's own accounts (Sangasubana, 2011). Observation enables the researcher to record behaviour as it is happening. In addition, it helps to triangulate emerging findings as they are used along with interviews or document analysis to corroborate findings (Merrian & Tisdell, 2016).

Observational data is essential to the trustworthiness of cultural findings because it enables triangulation (Denzin, 1989). In the present study, I engaged in participant observation. Participant observation entails immersion in the research setting and observing the language, behaviours and values of the participants (Jones & Smith, 2017). I visited the families to be able to observe them in their natural environment

(home setting) with regard to their language practices, language ideologies and language management strategies (i.e. their FLPs). I visited and observed four of the families four times each. During my visits, I was engaged in participant observation and joined the family while they were eating, or playing.

De Costa and Gajasinghe (2022) stated that field notes may be written only after the site visits depending on the social context. Assuming such a covert approach would minimize the researcher's visibility and facilitate immersing into the participants' context. Although my initial plan was to note down my observations on site during the fieldwork, my experience led me to adopt a more covert approach as described by De Costa and Gajasinghe (2022). In my first visit to a family, I had a notebook to write down my observations, and I occasionally wrote down observational notes in it. However, I realized that this caused distraction and discomfort in the father. I explained that I was noting down my observations in relation to the study and showed my notes to him. Based on this experience, in the other home visits (both to this family and the other families), I did not note my observations in a notebook. Instead, I utilized the note-taking application in my phone and wrote short notes with words or phrases that would help me remember the details of the interactions and anything else related to my observations. As soon as I left the research site, I voice recorded my observations (mostly in the car) on my phone via the voice recorder. I also looked at my notes to make sure that I didn't miss anything. When I got home, I immediately converted the audio recordings to written text on a word document. This yielded 21 pages of field notes which included details like the type of interaction observed, the setting, the participants, the date and time of the observation.

3.9.3. Interviews

Interviews are among the most common data elicitation methods in the social sciences. (Karatsareas, 2022). Interviewing involves directing a conversation to collect information (Angrosino, 2007). Interviewing is essential when we cannot observe behaviour, feelings or the way people interpret the world around them. Additionally, interviewing is necessary when we are interested in past events that are impossible to replicate (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The purpose of interviewing, is to

enable us to enter into the other person's perspective (Patton, 2015). In ethnography, observations are often complemented with interviews (Jones & Smith, 2017). Interviews, which are generally conducted after some observations, aim to corroborate what was observed as well as seek additional information from the participants. Similar to observations, interviews can be structured, semi-structured, open-ended, formal, or informal (De Costa et al., 2022). In the present study, semi-structured in-depth interviews "anchored" in observations (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 139) were utilized. Interviews were carried out after video data analysis and observations because besides questions which addressed all the families' backgrounds and FLPs in general, some of the interview questions were formed considering the family-specific recurrent patterns noted in the observations and video data. For instance, while analysing the video data in Family 3, I had noted recurrent one-word codeswitches in the speech of the four-year-old son whose default language of interaction was Turkish. The father similarly used one–word codeswitches in his interactions with his son. In the interview, I asked the father about why such codeswitches were persistent in his son's speech despite the fact that his default language was Turkish. He accounted for his son's use of these codeswitches in a detailed way, which included important information about the child's early exposure to Arabic due to immersion at his grandparents' house prior to the pandemic and also the change in his language preferences with the lockdowns during the pandemic (Details related to this are presented in the findings section). Similarly, during my observations and while viewing the video recordings I noticed that parents preferred to use Turkish as a means of communication with their children. However, both parents and grandparents tended to use expressions of endearment and affection in Arabic. These observations and recurrent patterns in the video data enabled me to formulate questions that inquire deeper into participants' practices, which might not have been possible with generic questions. Apart from family-specific interview questions, the participants were asked about the languages that the family members spoke, in what contexts they learnt the languages at their disposal, family members' language choices with each other, family members' attitudes to and beliefs about the languages at their disposal, family members' language preferences in different domains/for different activities and their perceptions about community language transmission both within their families and

across the community (See Appendices A and B). The interviews were carried out with parents. The mothers and fathers were interviewed separately. In three families, both parents were available for the interviews. As stated earlier, in one family, only the father was interviewed because his wife sadly got diagnosed with cancer, and passed away shortly after the video data collection period. In another family, only the mother was interviewed because the father was busy, and hence, not available. After several attempts to arrange an interview with him, his wife stated that he would not be able to participate the interview due to his busy schedule. Four of the participants were interviewed in their houses based on their preferences. Two were interviewed at the researcher's house because that was more convenient for them. With one participant, a face-to-face interview could not be arranged due to his heavy work schedule, so he agreed to be interviewed through phone. I asked for his permission to record our interview, and he agreed.

Although I was planning to schedule the interview in two sessions due to its length, I held them at one session at the participants' request. When I offered to meet twice for the interviews, the participants suggested that a single session would be more convenient for them because of the difficulty of scheduling a suitable interview date given their busy daily schedules. However, I sustained contact with them and whenever I needed to ask something, they were available and helpful.

During the interviews, seven of the participants preferred to use Turkish. I mostly used Turkish, too. Only one participant preferred both Turkish and Arabic, mostly alternating between them. Although the participants were Arabic-Turkish bilinguals, we had not discussed language choice regarding the interviews. My as well as most of the participants' choice of Turkish may be attributed to the formal nature of the interview, which can naturally prompt structured language use. In addition, it could stem from the participants' and my own habitual use of Turkish in daily interactions independent of the research context.

3.9.4. Reflective Journal

Reflexivity is "a disciplined practice of critically interrogating what we do, how and why we do it, and the impacts and influences of this on our research" (Braun &

Clarke, 2021, p. 51). Reflexivity emphasizes “the importance of deep introspection, political consciousness, cultural awareness, and ownership of one’s own perspective” (Patton, 2015, p. 130). Engaged in reflexivity, the researcher critically reflects on how their disciplinary, theoretical and personal assumptions and their choices of design determine and limit the knowledge they produce (Braun & Clarke, 2021). Critical reflexivity also requires the researcher to reflect on their own ideological biases and the sociohistorical structures shaping the research setting (Hornberger, 2013).

One of the core assumptions of Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA) is that “researcher subjectivity is the primary tool for reflexive TA” (Braun & Clarke, 2021, p. 56). In RTA, Subjectivity is not conceptualized as a problem that should be managed, contolled or eliminated; it is viewed as resource, a vital element in gaining analytical depth and an integral part of the analysis. In this regard, subjectivity is not equated with researcher bias that jeopardizes the quality of the study in the postpositivits sense. In fact, due to its situated nature, knowledge is unavoidably influenced by the researcher. In reflexive analysis, knowledge construction occurs at the intersection of the data, the researcher’s subjectivity as well as the academic and societal context in which the research is embedded. As such, the data are not the final or exclusive determiners of analytical truth.

Although the value of researcher subjectivity is acknowledged in RTA, good qualitative research extends beyond simply acknowledging subjectivity. It entails the researcher to interrogate it (Braun & Clarke, 2021). One way of achieving this is to keep a reflexive journal. A reflexive journal provides the researcher with “a space to reflect on and interrogate expectations, assumptions, and research practices, and how these, alongside design choices, shape their research.” (Braun & Clarke, 2021, p.411). Writing personal impressions and feelings from the researcher’s perspective can facilitate identifying personal bias that may affect interpretation of the data (Sangasubana, 2011). The journal includes, researcher’s thoughts, opinions, musings, discussion, and reflections on the process and the participants. It constitutes a written representation of the researcher’s personal *lens* about the study (emphasis in orginal, Fusch et al., 2017, p.929)

Throughout this study, I noted my reflections, thoughts and emotions related to study in the form of memos or as reflections in a journal. In this way I tried to ensure that my biases, emotions or thoughts would not jeopardize the robustness and validity of the study. My reflections involved personal, functional, disciplinary and research topic levels (See Appendix C for an excerpt from personal reflexivity).

In addition to these data sources, I was planning to collect artifacts from the research site. However, only two families provided relevant artifacts.

Details of the data base with the various data sources used in the study are presented in the table below:

Table 5. Data Base

	Video Data (From December 2020 till May 2021)	**Interview Data**	**Field Notes**	**Artifacts**
Family 1	327 min (5h27min)	Mother: 60.02 Father: 58.30	Field notes from four home visits	Photos of children's Turkish and English story books and one story written by D.
Family 2	341 min (5h41min)	Mother: 62.89 Father: 67.09	Field notes from four home visits	None
Family 3	335 min (5h35min)	Mother: 131.08 Father: 76.13	Field notes from one home visit prior to data collection and another visit at the end of video data collection.	None
Family 4	260 dk (4h20min)	Mother: 60 min	Field notes from four home visits	None
Family 5	341 min (5h41min)	Father: 114.29	Field notes from three home visits	Pictures of Elif Ba Arabic alphabet book and Turkish story books
Total	**26h44min**	**10h31min**	**21 pages**	

3.10. Data Analysis

The present study included various data sources such as video recordings, interviews, field notes and a reflexive journal. For the purposes of data management and easy

retrieval, these data types were organized and stored separately for each family in a chronological order. In addition, necessary precautions were taken to protect participants' confidentiality and data loss. For this purpose, all the data were stored in the researcher's personal computer to protect them from unauthorized access. In addition, participants were assigned pseudonyms in all the files when the audio and video data were transformed to textual data. Furthermore, backup copies of data sources were stored in an external hard drive and in memory sticks which belonged to the researcher.

In data analysis, I utilized Saldana's *Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (2013) for organizing and preparing data for analysis, and for coding. Comparable to "warming up" that begins before more detailed work, preparing data for coding enables the researcher to be familiar with the data they had collected and, through basic analytic processes, lays the foundation for in-depth analysis (Saldana, 2013, p. 17). I also employed Braun and Clarke's (2021) RTA. At a very basic level, Thematic Analysis (TA) is a method for analyzing, interpreting and developing patterns across a qualitative dataset, and it involves a systematic process of coding to identify and develop themes. Creating themes is the ultimate analytic purpose of the researcher.

Different from other types of TA, Braun and Clarke's (2021) RTA involves reflexivity throughout the analytic process. Reflexivity requires the researcher to critically reflect on their role as a researcher, all the decisions related to their research practice and process, and also the influences of these on their research. Within reflexive research, knowledge is situated and is shaped by the processes and practices involved in its production, including the actions of the researcher. Hence, in RTA, researcher's subjectivity is not viewed as a problem. Rather, it's conceptualized as key to successful reflexivity in research. According to Braun and Clark (2021, p. 62), "who we are, and what we bring to the research, ranging from our personal identities and values, through to our disciplinary perspectives – is an integral part of the analysis." In that sense, as Nowell et al. indicate (2017, p.2, cited in Braun and Clarke, 2021, p.62), "the researcher becomes the instrument for analysis". This suggests that researcher's subjectivity surely influences the research

process. At that point, being aware of the possible influences of researcher subjectivity and continually reflecting on this is essential for good RTA.

In this dissertation, I followed all the steps suggested by Braun and Clarke (2021) to reflect on various aspects of myself as a researcher and the research process as a whole. I kept a reflexive journal where I noted down my reflections, memos and any ideas that developed during data collection or analysis. Reflexivity and writing memos helped me to acknowledge my own perspective, background as well as prior experiences and their possible influence on the interpretation of the data.

I also followed the six steps of RTA for data analysis:
Phase 1: Familiarizing yourself with the data set
Phase 2: Coding
Phase 3: Generating initial themes
Phase 4: Developing and reviewing themes
Phase 5: Refining, defining and naming themes
Phase 6: Writing up

Details about the analysis of the data set are presented below:

3.11. Analysis of Video Data

Analysis of video data started with repetitive viewings of the video recordings. This phase allowed me to be familiar with the data. While I was watching the videos, I noted down everything that was relevant to the research questions of my study such as repetitive language practices, talk related to language ideologies among family members and language management efforts. In other words, the three components of Spolsky's (2004) language policy framework guided the video analysis. The video data basically facilitated understanding of family language practices such as who uses what language with whom and for what purposes. It included little data related to language ideologies because these are in the participants' minds rather than observable behaviors. In order to be able to capture language practices, ideologies and management strategies in the video data in a more comprehensive way, topic

transcription sheets adapted from Eröz (2003) were employed **(**See Appendix D). The topic transcription sheets included daily interactions of participant families. In addition, they included information such as the date, participants, setting and activity in the recording. Time of the interactions (in minutes and seconds), the direction and language of interactions, and the content of the interactions including linguistic and paralinguistic features were included in the topic transcriptions. That helped me to examine video recordings closely, and thereby reveal recurrent patterns particularly in relation to family members' language practices (See Appendix E for a sample topic transcription).

3.12. Analysis of Field Notes and Interview Data

Analysis of field notes and interview data started with preparing these two data sets for manual (i.e. paper and pencil) coding and analysis. As suggested by Saldana (2013), I arranged transcripts of field notes and interviews in double-spaced format, placing them on the left two-thirds of the page, leaving a wide margin on the right side for writing codes and notes. Following that, I read the field notes and interview transcripts and also listened to the interview audio files at least twice. I was not engaged in systematic coding at that phase; I was just trying to be familiar with the data. To achieve this, I was engaged in pre-coding (Layder, 1998) by underlining, circling, or highlighting any part that drew my attention in relation to the research questions (See Appendix F). This phase also helped me to familiarize with the data by means of immersion (Braun and Clarke, 2021). Familiarization also involves reading/listening to the data critically as an active reader or listener. In other words, it requires the researcher to read and interpret the data so that she/he can go beyond the surface-meaning and gain deeper insights. Meanwhile I jotted down the ideas that surfaced during the initial phase of familiarization. At the end of this phase, I had notes related both to each individual interview data (See Appendix G), and as a whole (See Appendix H). The overall notes involved the common and repetitive issues that the data included. After the familiarization phase, I started the first-cycle coding manually because that was what I had been used to, and I felt as if I would be able to focus on the coding itself rather than trying to figure out how to do coding through a software. In addition, I believed coding manually would provide me with a

better understanding of the data by allowing a more nuanced interpretation as a result of physically handling the data. For the second and third cycles of coding, I utilized MAXQDA (See Appendix I). I systematically identified segments that relate to the research questions and assigned codes to them. The codes that I generated were mostly semantic; however, I also generated latent codes particularly while coding segments about language ideologies because participants' ideologies were mostly linked to the wider social context, and the participants did not always explicitly express the underlying thoughts behind their beliefs. Use of the software in the second and third cycles of coding helped me arrange my codes and identify shared meaning across the data set in an efficient way. Thus, it helped me see the relationship of between the codes and helped me to generate possible themes by organizing related codes easily. After I generated the initial themes, I reviewed them by going back to the full data set to evaluate whether they aligned with the data. I utilized the Smart Coding Tool on the MAXQDA software while doing this. At the phase of refining, defining and naming themes, I assessed whether the themes were clearly defined and centered around a central concept or fundamental principle. I utilized the Creative Coding Tool to arrange themes and subthemes in a hierarchial order, and I also evaluated the feasibility of the entire analysis. In the write up section, I integrated related extract to the narrative to tell the reader a clear and convincing story about the study.

3.13. Researcher's Positionality

Positionality reflects a researcher's worldview and standpoint when conducting research. Researcher's positionality shapes the choice of the topic for investigation, the way the research is conducted and also the results (Rowe, 2014). Positionality entails the researcher to acknowledge and reflect on their views, values, and beliefs about the research design, process and findings. Self-reflection and a reflexive approach are both a necessary critical initial step and an ongoing process for the researcher. Reflexivity is integral to positionality (Holmes, 2020). Aware of the fact that research is value-laden and that subjectivity is an inherent part of qualitative research, I acknowledge the possible influence of my background, beliefs and

positionality as a researcher. Reflexivity enabled me to trace my thoughts, ideas, emotions and biases.

My status as an Arabic-Turkish bilingual individual, in other words my position as an insider researcher, as well as my familial ties with three families, helped me have easy access to the particpants' home domain. In addition, it enabled me to build deep trust and rapport with the participants. This encouraged them to be open and cooperative, which in turn yielded richer, more nuanced data, and a deeper layer of understanding. However, despite familiarity, my experiences during my first home visit to one of the families from my kin group led me to revise my filed note writing. I had taken a big notebook with me, and was noting down my observations. I could feel that the father was disturbed. So I explained to him that I was taking field notes and showed my notes to him. Respecting participants' comfort and ethnical boundaries, after that experience I started to voice record my observations as soon as I left the research site. In this regard, my role as a researcher as opposed to my role as a family member caused tension that affected the dynamics of data collection. Accordingly, I adjusted my observation and fieldwork data collection procedures.

Based on the backdrop I presented in Chapter 1, having strong ties with my mother tongue Arabic and believing that it should survive were influential in my decision to take up this study. This emotional and strong tie affected my stance to community members who seemed distant or reluctant to pass on Arabic to their offsprings. Inwardly, I felt anger towards them. However, my position as a mother trying to raise her daughter bilingually and the challenges that I had during this journey enabled me to understand the participant parents' challenges and concerns. My husband and had been actively involved in supporting our daughter's Arabic acquisition since her birth. I was also invested in helping her acquire English, in the same way through natural exposure. We had strategies like singing to her Arabic lullabies, playing Arabic nursery ryhmes, reciting Arabic stories and using only Arabic in our interaction with her on Sunday because it was the only off day of us both. In addition, we used to call my parents' house "the house of Arabic". I encouraged my parents and brother to speak only Arabic to my daughter when we were in their house. I often had to repeat this because my parents eventually switched

to Turkish, but it worked well with my brother, who collabrated with me. My husband and I also told my husband's parents and single brother to talk to our daughter in Arabic. My brother-in-law and mother-in-law were cooperative but my father-in-law kept switching to Turkish like my parents. In addition, there were times when my daughter told me "Benimle Harabi (her way of pronuncing 'ᶜarabe', which means Arabic) konuşma", exerting her agentive power and undermining my efforts. However, the greatest challenge we had in enacting our family language policy was the February 6 earthquake. The next day after the earthquake, sheltering in our neighbor's basement, my brother-in-law brought books for the children from their house. There were also flashcards among them. My sister-in –law, an English teacher, had talked to her daughter in English since birth, as a result she grew up bilingually. Five-year-old then, her daughter started to say the things on the flashcards using English. My daughter was watching them holding her backpack. When her cousin wanted to take the backpack, my daughter, who was almost 3 then said "This belong me." One of her favorite Turkish statements was "Bu bana ait" around that time, and obviously she wanted to say it in English. I was shocked because although her Arabic and English receptive langauge was very good, she hadn't formed an English or Arabic sentence up to then. I was so happy, but I was deeply emotional at the same time. Seeing my efforts come to fruition was wonderful. However, these were the result of months of dedication and routines. After the earthquake we lost our home and we were dislocated. When we came back to Antakya, we had no home. We stayed in a tent, then in a shack, which was relatively better. After that, I and my daughter stayed in my parents' house which was lightly damaged. In other words, the earthquake took our routines among many other things. Under severe conditions in which we were on survival mode, making extra efforts to develop our daughter's Arabic and English was not possible. It was not even something that we could think about at that time. All these experiences regarding my husband's and my bilingual child-rearing journey before and after the earthquake made me realize the challenges, dynamism, complexity and emotional strain involved in FLPs. I could relate to the participants' experience with regard to their FLPs. However, to avoid being trapped in my own interpretations and project my own experiences onto those of the participants, I was engaged in reflexivity as well as member checks. Trying to maintain analytical distance, I kept reflecting on

my thoughts as well as attempted to make sure I had interpreted data correctly by doing member checking after the fieldwork and the interviews. In the next section, I present the measures of trustwothiness I utilized in greater detail.

3.14. Ensuring Trustworthiness

Qualitative research has been criticized for lacking scientific rigor and generalizability, as well as for being "anecdotal, impressionistic, and strongly subject to researcher bias" (Koch & Harrington, 1998, pp.883-884). As a consequence of the differences between the conventional and naturalistis paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 1986), qualitative and quantitative research diverge in the approaches they adopt to ensure reliability and validity (Ayton, 2023; Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Seale & Silverman, 1997). Due to its subjective nature, achieving trustworthiness in qualitative research is more complex than in quantitative research (Haq et al., 2023). Indeed, qualitative studies are expected to be conducted with meticulous attention to rigor because they involve subjectivity (Cypress, 2017). According to Morse and colleagues (2002), in the absence of rigor, "research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility" (p. 14). As a consequence, a great deal of attention is applied to reliability and validity in all research methods. Irrespective of the paradigm (qualitative or quantitative), rigor is a desired goal that is met through specific verification strategies (Morse et al., 2002). In fact, rigor lends credibility to a study (Patton, 2015) Obtaining thrustworthiness is fundamental in establishing the credibility and reliability of qualitative research findings (Ahmed, 2024). In the present study, I utilized Lincoln and Guba's (1986) criteria for trustworthiness (a term they use parallel to rigor). Lincoln and Guba (1989) proposed criteria that can answer the four basic questions of truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality within the naturalistic approach. They developed the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as opposed to their counterparts -internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity- in the conventional paradigm. According to Lincoln and Guba (1986), credibility involves prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis and member checks. Transferability embraces thick descriptive data while dependability and confirmability include external audit trials.

3.14.1. Credibility

Prolonged Engagement: According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), prolonged engagement plays a key role in identifying patterns, understanding perspectives and establishing familiarity between the researcher and participants. It also enables the researcher to gain an understanding of the research context, values, social norms as well as their own biases, perceptions and also participant biases (Haq et al., 2023). My dual positionality both as an insider and a researcher facilitated my access to the participant families' private home domain. In addition, my relational ties with some of the participants meant entering the field with pre-established rapport and trust. While this familiarity provided the participants with a level of comfort to disclose information (Creswell & Miller, 2000), I paid great attention to remaining vigilant of my biases and preconceived judgements. Immersion in the research context through prolonged engagement, persistent observation in the field and my reflective practice helped me to balance my dual role by maintaining reflective distance as well as acknowledging my familiarity. Prolonged engagement also helped me to verify evidence by comparing observational data with interview, and thereby realize discrepancies and consistencies. Finally, prolonged engagement made it possible for me to check out the data and my hunches regarding frequently emerging patterns during the fieldwork (Creswell & Miller, 2000). For instance, I generated some of the interview questions based on my observations and hunches. This enabled me to delve deeper into some of the patterns that I had noticed at early stages as well as consolidate them through an additional tool (interview).

Triangulation: Triangulation refers to a validity strategy in which the researcher seeks convergence among multiple and various sources of information to construct themes or categories in a study (Ahmed, 2024; Creswell & Miller, 2000). In the present study, I employed multiple forms of data collection tools including observation, video recorded data, interview and reflexive journal. Observation enabled me to gather real-time, verbal/nonverbal and contextual data regarding participant families' FLPs. Video recorded data helped me not to miss any detail during my observations. In addition, it provided me with rich interactional data that reified the patterns that I observed. Interview data facilitated access to participants'

ideologies and beliefs, which were not readily available in observational data. In other words, it helped me elicit participants' interpretations and perspectives that were invisible to me as a researcher. Finally, keeping a reflexive journal strengthened the credibility of the present study because in this way I could reflect on various aspects of my study such as data collection procedure, my fieldwork experiences, emergent and evolving insights, my personal background, values as well as biases. Together, these data collection tools mitigated each other's weaknesses and complemented each other. As such, they contributed to the generation of contextually grounded, nuanced, robust findings.

Member Checks: Member checking or participant validation refers to seeking participants' confirmation concerning the researcher's analysis. The researcher asks the participants whether their analysis aligned with or reflected the participants' experiences accurately (Braun and Clarke, 2021). Member checking shifts the validity process from the researcher to the participants (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Although member-checking is not a compulsory validity check within Braun and Clarke's (2021) RTA, I sought for participants' confirmation by sharing my observational data and also interview data and interpretations with them. After the video data collection and observation period was over, I shared my initial insights and emerging patters with the participants. While four families verified my interpretations related to video and observational data, in Family 5, the mother rejected my interpretation regarding her stance to Arabic. Although this participant often codeswitched, during the observations I got the impression that she had negative attitudes to Arabic and codeswitching. In that sense, I had some reflections related to her purist language views. However, during the member check, she clarified that she did not have any negative attitudes to Arabic or codeswitching. Rather, she was sensitive about language mixing and using loanwords. In that sense, member checks helped me to refine my interpretations and reflect the participant's views rather than my premature, faulty interpretations. Furthermore, during the analysis of interview data, I contacted three families for supplementary data, which helped me develop my interpretations. Additionally, I was engaged in member checks with all the participant families regarding the overall findings after analysing interview data.

3.14.2. Transferability

Transferability involves providing detailed contextual information to help the readers evaluate the extent to which findings may hold in comparable settings (Ahmed, 2024). This could be achieved by presenting thick, rich description (Ahmed, 2024; Creswell & Miller, 2000) as well as a clear articulation of the sampling process and criteria (Ahmed, 2024). In the present study, I described the setting, the participants, and the methodological choices in detail. In this way, I aimed to create verisimilitude such that the reader would feel as if they were present in the research setting (Creswell & Miller, 2000). I shared as many details as possible about the research site, the sociohistorical background of the community, the personal and linguistic background of the participants and the research procedure to help the reader immerse in the setting or experience being described. I accounted for the sampling procedure in the "Participants" section to help the reader evaluate whether the findings can be applicable or transferable to similar populations in similar settings (Ahmed, 2024).

3.14.3. Dependability

To ensure dependability, the researcher can establish audit trials through clear documentation of all research procedures and decisions as well as get their study reviewed by an external auditor (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Additionally, researchers can engage in researcher reflexivity to minimize bias (Lincoln & Guba, 1981). Documentation of each phase of the study including an account for the decisions/changes made ensures transparency. In turn, this enables others to replicate the study or evaluate the dependability of the findings through following the same procedures and understanding the motives behind the decisions made (Ahmed, 2024).

In the present study, I documented the development of the study and accounted for my choices regarding philosophical assumptions, research design, methods and analysis in a detailed way with an aim to achieve transparency, traceability and validity. I reflected on my choices in the form of memos or journal entries either manually or on the computer (a word document or MAXQDA). Moreover, my

supervisor's, co-supervisor's as well as the advisory committee members' reviews and feedbacks during thesis progress meetings provided external audits, which enabled me to revise and refine my research process as it evolved.

3.14.4. Confirmability

This strategy refers to "the degree of fairness of results, which consists of the purity of original responses of the study participants and free from every kind of biases" (Haq et al., 2024, p. 160). To ensure this, I kept a journal and documented my thoughts, biases and reflections throughout the study. This helped me to track my evolving thoughts and biases. I aimed to ensure that participants' perspectives and voices would not be overshadowed by my values, and a trustworthy representation of their lived experiences would be provided. Additionally, I included direct quotes from the participants to ensure that I reflected their perspectives rather than mine. Finally, I was engaged in member checks to ensure that my interpretations did not arise out of my biases.

3.15. Inter-coder Reliability

Braun and Clarke's (2021) RTA underscores the researcher's active role and subjectivity in the interpretation of the data, therefore it rejects rigid reliability measures such as inter-coder reliability. Acknowledging this, I conducted intercoder reliability check in the present study to ensure transparency and consistency in data coding. For this purpose, a fellow researcher and colleague who has experience in qualitative research tradition coded a subset of the interview data independently. There is little consensus about the portion of data that should be coded for a robust ICR (Campbell et al., 2013), however, depending on data size, 10-25 % is the typical proportion (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020). The subset in the present study amounted to approximately 20 % of the whole interview data set (54 pages of 283 pages of transcripts). Moreover, to ensure representativeness, it was comprised of responses of all the participants to three interview questions. I selected these questions because they aimed to elicit information about participants' language choices and also ideologies about Turkish and Arabic. In other words, they yielded rich, detailed and

relevant data central to the current study's aims. To guarantee unitization, in the subset data, I highlighted relevant segments which I had coded myself as the primary researcher. I asked the second coder to code the highlighted segments (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020). Out of a total of 55 codes, 49 were coded in a consistent manner whereas 6 codes displayed disagreement between the coders. This resulted in a percentage agreement of 89.1 %, indicating a high level of intercoder reliability. Variations in the interpretation of data were expected due to the highly reflexive and interpretive nature of the coding process. Rather than problems to be resolved, I took these variations as opportunities to engage in reflexive discussions with the second coder about the interpretation of data and to refine the coding procedure.

3.16. Ethical Considerations

After obtaining approval granted by the Human Subjects Ethics Committee at Middle east Technical University with the protocol number 041-ODTU-2020 (See Appendix J), the data collection phase started. Before starting data collection, I visited the families and informed them about the aim and nature of the study as well as the data collection procedures. As required by ethical protocols, I assured the participants that the data they would provide would not be shared with a third party and would only be used for the purposes of the study. All the participant families took part in the study on a voluntary basis and signed consent forms. I explained that the study did not involve any physical, psychological or emotional harm. I also informed them about their right to withdraw from the study at any time. To ensure anonymity, I assigned the participants pseudonyms randomly.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1. Chapter Presentation

This chapter includes the themes and subthemes that were constructed based on the research questions and the data. The research questions addressed in this study were as follows:

1. What are the family language policies of five Turkish-Arabic bilingual families living in two neighborhoods of Defne District in Hatay?
   1.1. What are the families' language ideologies?
   1.2. What are the families' language practices?
   1.3. What are the families' language management strategies?
2. How do children affect their family's language policies?
   2.1. How do they children negotiate language choices with adult family members?

The first research question aimed to explore five Turkish-Arabic bilingual families' family language policies. Participant families' ideologies that underlie their language choices, family members' language preferences in intergenerational interactions, and the strategies that parents used to control or promote children's Arabic and Turkish were examined based on Spolsky's (2004) tripartite FLP model encompassing language ideologies, language practices and language management strategies.

Based on the data, one main theme and two sub-themes were constructed to reflect participant parents' language ideologies as displayed in Figure 10.

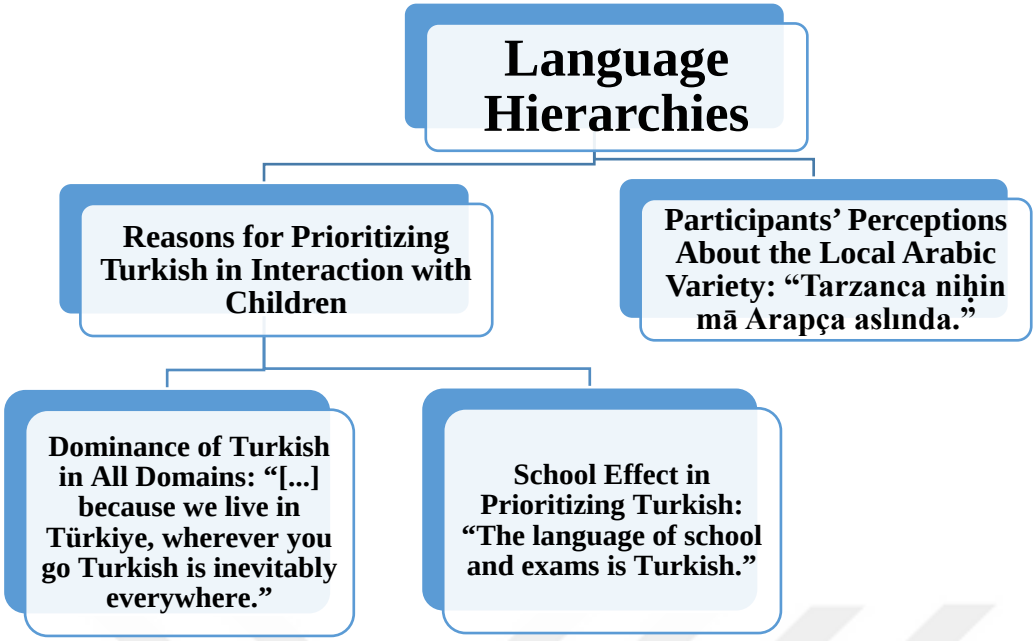


Figure 10. The main theme and subthemes related to participants' language ideologies

The theme of Language Hierarchies and its sub-themes pointed to the ranking of Turkish and the local Arabic variety in participant parents' minds. The data suggested that parents valued bilingualism based on their own bilingual experiences, and wanted their children to learn Arabic with varying motives. Nevertheless, the dominance of Turkish in all the domains as the official language, and its status as the medium of instruction at school led the parents to prioritize Turkish in their lives and in interaction with their children. Moreover, the parents perceived the local Arabic variety that they speak as insufficient or flawed. The basis of this belief was mostly rooted in influences of language contact with Turkish that happened over time and comparisons that they made between the local Arabic variety and other varieties such as the Syrian Arabic or the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). In that sense, the themes pertaining to participant families' language ideologies signalled a language hierarchy on which the local Arabic ranked lower than the official language Turkish and also other varieties of Arabic.

For language practices, two main themes each of which had two sub-themes were constructed based on data analysis. Figure 11 demonstrates the main theme and sub-themes related to language practices:

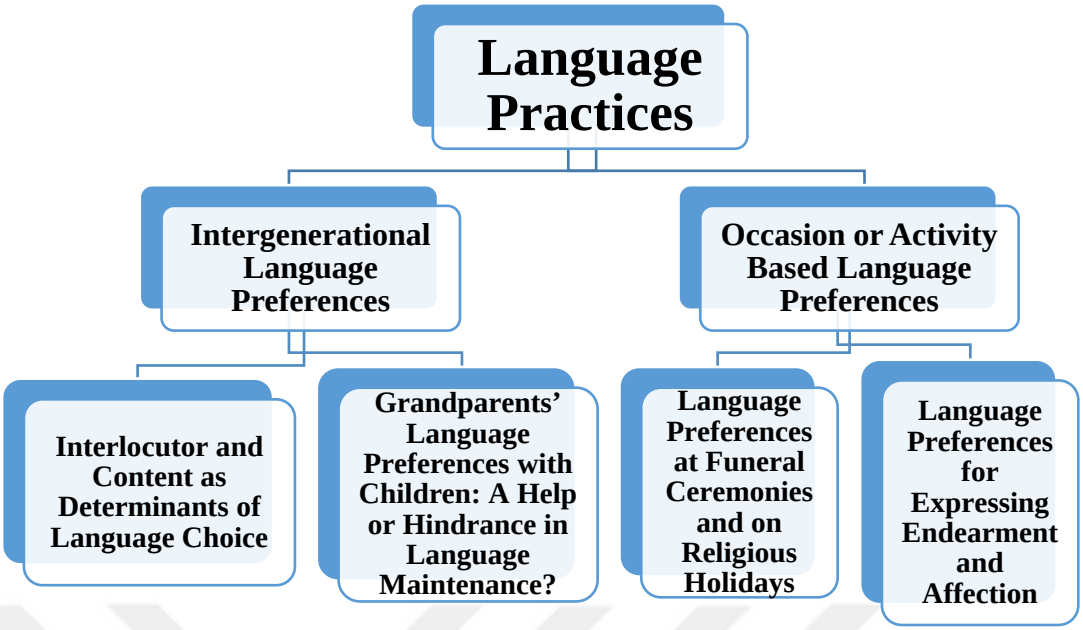


Figure 11. The main themes and sub-themes related to participants' language practices

As illustrated in the figure, the first main theme was "Intergenerational Language Preferences", and it had the sub-themes of "Interlocutor and Content as Determinants of Language Choice" and "Grandparents' Language Preferences with Children: A Help or Hindrance in Language Maintenance?" The former revealed how the interlocutor and content impacted family members' language choices in daily interaction. Apart from the Turkish-monolingual mother in Family 3, the parent generation in particular adjusted their language choices based on their interlocutor due to being Arabic-Turkish bilingual speakers. While the parents used Turkish with their children, they preferred to use Arabic with the grandparents. These language choice pattern was evident in multigenerational interactions. In addition, topic of the interaction (content) affected language choices. As a general practice, the parents spoke Turkish with their children, and except for one grandmother who couldn't speak Turkish, grandparents mostly accommodated to children's Turkish preference, as well. Parents' and grandparents' accommodation to children was determined by the content of the conversations. Although the default language in parent-grandparent and also grandparent-grandparent interactions was Arabic, they diverged from their default language (Arabic) and preferred to speak Turkish when they wanted to include children to their conversations due to the topic. Similarly, when

they wanted to prevent the child (typically the younger one whose Arabic comprehension was weak) from undersanding the content, they sticked to Arabic.

The latter sub-theme "Grandparents' Language Preferences with Children: A Help or Hindrance in Language Maintenance?" included parents' perceptions about the role of grandparents on their children's learning of Arabic. This sub-theme included two differing perspectives. Seven of the participant parents viewed grandparents' role as positive. At the same time, one of these parents considered the grandfather's act of translation between the grandmother and her children as an undermining factor in their Arabic development, especially speaking skills. In contrast to the majority of the parents, one parent believed that grandparents, especially grandmothers were responsible for decreasing language transmission because they accommodated to children's language preference (Turkish). This parent believed that grandparents should persistently use Arabic with their grandchildren instead of adjusting their language choice to that of the children's. The second main theme related to language practices was "Occasion or Activity Based Language Preferences" and it included parents' language preferences based on occasion or activity. This theme involved two sub-themes: "Language Preferences at Funeral Ceremonies and on Religious Holidays" and "Language Preferences for Expressing Love, Affection and Endearment". The findings revealed that although the parents used Turkish in most domains such as the home and workplace, they preferred to use Arabic on ceremonial occasions like religious holidays and at funerals. Furthermore, despite the fact that Turkish was the default languge of parent-child/child-parent interactions, the parents tended to use Arabic for affective communication and expressed endearment, love and affection mainly in Arabic.

Data analysis concerning parents' language management efforts resulted in one theme: "Insufficient Investment in the Transmission of Arabic: '*Akışına bıraktım*' (Eng., "I let it flow"). This theme, which is related to parents' language management strategies, shows that participant parents displayed lack of agency or involvement regarding Arabic teaching efforts. Parents described their lack of agency with statements like "Akışına bıraktım." (Eng., "I let flow.") or "Oluruna bıraktım." (Eng., "I left it to its natural course.") Such reasons as past failure about Arabic

teaching efforts, child agency (lack of willingness and interest) and lack of utility of Arabic caused parents to give up or leave their children's learning of Arabic to its course.

The second research question addressed children's negotiation of language choices with adult family members, and the effect of this on family language policies. I constructed the theme "Varying Attitudes and Aptitude to Arabic: Children's Differing Relationship with the Community Language" based on the data. The data revealed that most of the participant parents reported differences concerning their children's competence and inclination to Arabic. Siblings who shared the same language environment could display varying, even contraditory attitudes to and competence in Arabic. This naturally influenced language choice negotiations between an individual child and an adult family member.

Table 6 displays the themes and sub-themes that I constructed for the research questions based on the data. The table includes the research question, the themes and sub-themes:

Table 6. Overall Themes and sub-themes Addressing the Research Questions

Research Questions	**Themes and sub-themes**
1. What are the family language policies of five Turkish-Arabic bilingual families living in two neighborhoods of Defne District in Hatay? **1.1. What are the participant parents' *language ideologies*?**	**1. Language Hierarchies** 1.1. Reasons for Prioritizing Turkish in Interaction with Children 1.1.1.Dominance of Turkish in All Domains: "*[…] because we live in Türkiye, wherever you go, Turkish is inevitably everywhere*." 1.1.2. School Effect in Prioritizing Turkish: "*The language of school and exams is Turkish*." 1.2. Participants' Perceptions About the Local Arabic Variety: "*Tarzanca niḥin, mā Arapça aslında*." (Eng., "*Ours is actually Tarzanca, not Arabic*.")

Table 6. (continued)

1.2. What are the participant parents' *language practices*?	**2. Intergenerational Language Preferences** 2.1. Interlocutor and Content as Determinants of Language Choice 2.2. Grandparents' Language Preferences with Children: A Help or Hindrance in Language Maintenance? **3. Occasion or Activity Based Language Preferences** 3.1. Language Preferences at Funeral Ceremonies and on Religious Holidays 3.2. Language Preferences for Expressing Love, Affection and Endearment
1.2. What are the participant parents' *language management strategies*?	**4. Insufficient Investment in the Transmission of Arabic: "*Akışına bıraktım*" (Eng., "*I let it flow*").**
2. How do children affect their family's language policies? **2.1. How do they children negotiate language choices with adult family members?**	**5. Varying Attitudes and Aptitude to Arabic: Children's Differing Relationship with the Community Language**

4.2. Language Ideologies

This section includes participants' language ideologies which shaped their language practices in everyday life.

4.2.1. Language Hierarchies

In the present study, Turkish was reported and observed to be used as the main language of interaction with children in the home domain by all the participant

families. Although all of the families were surrounded by a bilingual environment, and there was an active use of Arabic between the first (grandparents) and the second generation (parents), the language which dominated the interactions involving third generation members (children) was predominantly Turkish in all the families. All the Arabic-Turkish bilingual participant parents had positive perceptions or experiences about being able to speak both languages and stated that they wanted their children to learn Arabic. However, the findings revealed that the motives behind parents' wish to teach their children Arabic was in all cases overrode by the factors that made it inevitable to prefer Turkish with their children. The majority of the participant parents (6 out of 8) acquired Arabic as their first language and learnt Turkish when they started school. Starting with their own schooling experience and later gaining jobs in the mainstream society, these bilingual parents themselves experienced an unavoidable shift to Turkish. In other words, their dominant language became Turkish with the expansion of their network and increased contact with the wider society. This shift manifested itself in their language choice with their children, as well. Analysis of the interview data revealed that despite their declared wish to teach their children Arabic, parents gave priority to Turkish rather than Arabic in their interactions with their children as a result of ranking languages based on their dominance, currency and utility accross the country in the present day. Parents' accounts revealed that the presence and dominance of Turkish, the official language, in all public domains as opposed to the confinement of Arabic to the private home domain was effective in their prioritizing of Turkish. Furthermore, the vital role that Turkish, the medium of instruction, played in understanding lessons, and thus, ensuring school achievement and adaptation was a decisive factor in parents' ranking this language as the top one for their children. The findings related to the priority given to Turkish by the parents are presented below.

4.2.1.1. Reasons for Prioritizing Turkish in Interaction with Children

4.2.1.1.1. Dominance of Turkish in All Domains: *"[…] because we live in Türkiye, wherever you go Turkish is inevitably everywhere."*

The majority of the participant parents pointed to the fact that Turkish is the official language of the country, and therefore, it pervaded every domain such as schools,

workplaces and formal government structures. As a result, despite the parents' declared aspirations that their children learn Arabic, this language played second fiddle in the language planning of the families. All the bilingual parents acknowledged the advantages of bilingualism, and their positive experiences about being able to use both Turkish and Arabic was a motive for them to teach their children Arabic. However, external factors such as the official language status of Turkish, and the effect of Turkish as the medium of instruction at schools overshadowed their aspirations and caused them to prioritize Turkish in their family language planning.

In Family 1, Gaye, the mother, held positive feelings towards bilingualism, and she considered herself "lucky" for being able to speak both Turkish and Arabic. She added that speaking Arabic and Turkish so fluently was an accomplishment on her part because it's difficult to understand and speak these two languages so well. Based on her experience about being able to interact with Syrian patients as a nurse, she had aspirations for her children's learning of Arabic. She wanted them to learn Arabic because it enabled an individual to communicate easily with someone of Arab descent. She expressed her thoughts as: "Bir dil bir insan. Gerçekten öyle. Yani şu an Arapça bilmesem çok zorluk çekerdim. Benim arkadaşlarımın büyük bir çoğunluğu hastaya bakarken çok sıkıntı yaşıyorlar." (Eng., "One language is one person[9]. It really is. I mean if I didn't speak Arabic, I would have great difficulty. Most of my friends [colleagues] have great difficulty while dealing with [Syrian] patients").

Gaye added that most of the time she acted as a language broker for her non-Arabic speaking colleagues and Syrian patients. According to her, being able to communicate with [Syrian] patients was a great ease for her as they could understand her instructions. Based on her experiences related to the advantages of speaking Arabic in terms of interacting with Syrians, Gaye wished that her children would be able to speak both Arabic and additional languages which would enable them to communicate and understand speakers of other languages. Moreover, she wanted her

[9] The full form of this Turkish proverb is "Bir dil bir insan iki dil iki insan" directly translating as "One language one person; two languages two people". The proverb underscores the value of speaking multiple languages.

children to be able to speak Arabic so that they could communicate with their grandparents more easily. She expressed her dissatisfaction about her children's low Arabic speaking skills and said: "Keşke [çocuklar] Arapçayı benim gibi konuşabilselerdi") (Eng., "I wish they [her children] could speak Arabic like me"). However, she added that it was difficult to create the language environment she had in her childhood, and that even she and her husband had shifted to Turkish through time. Despite the fact that she acquired Arabic as her first language, and learnt Turkish subsequently when she started primary school, her dominant and preferred language became Turkish over the years. Gaye recounted that as the environment and places where she spent time changed, her language preferences changed, as well. When she first started school, she couldn't speak Turkish and couldn't express her most basic needs to her teacher. Nevertheless, due to immersion in Turkish for eight hours a day, and also peer interaction, her Turkish improved, and she started to use Turkish more often over time. Turkish took its place in her language repertoire besides Arabic, and because it was the primary language at school, in time it started to dominate her language choices. Apart from the school setting, her job also required her to speak Turkish. In other words, as she got out of the confines of her home domain, her use of Arabic declined and she experienced an inevitable shift to Turkish: "Konuşma tarzım, dilim ister istemez Türkçeye döndü. Her şeyimiz yani Türkiye'de yaşayınca, nereye gitseniz ister istemez bulunduğunuz her yerde Türkçe var." (Eng., "My speech style, my language inevitably shifted to Turkish. Everything, I mean because we live in Türkiye, wherever you go Turkish is inevitably everywhere").

Gaye's statements suggest that her shift to Turkish was not a conscious choice, but corollary to the changing circumstances. As the only official language, Turkish is employed in every domain including school. Through attending school, and later getting a job in the mainstream society, Gaye's dominant language became Turkish in adulthood, unlike in her early childhood. This shift to Turkish was sustained in her communication with her husband. It actually pervaded their own nuclear family and became the default language of interaction among all family members right from the first child's birth. Gaye explained the reasons of her children's acquiring Turkish as:

[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]
Daha çok hani konuşma dilimiz Türkçeye döndüğü için Türkçeyi öğrendiler. Yani konuştuğumuz dili duyarak öğrendiler. Bir de şöyle bir şey var; dinlediğimiz radyo, dinlediğimiz müzik Türkçe. İzlediğimiz televizyon Türkçe. Yani etrafta ıı tek Arapça konuşulan dil olarak kaldı bir de onun konuşulma alanı çok daraldı.

They [Her children] acquired Turkish because our language shifted to Turkish. I mean they learnt the language that we spoke [Turkish] by hearing it. There's also another thing; the radio that we're listening to, the TV [channels] that we're watching are all Turkish. I mean Arabic remained only as a spoken language, and the places where it's spoken have narrowed down a lot.

Gaye's preference of Turkish with her children was a result of her and her husband's shift to Turkish in everyday communication. As the official language of Türkiye, Turkish was everywhere including public sphere, media, and school. As a result, they had started to use Turkish more than Arabic as a couple, and thus, they began speaking Turkish with their children from the start. In other words, the presence of an official language, which was recognized across the country and held a higher status than the community language, and the confinement of Arabic to the private domain, pushed Gaye and her husband to prioritize Turkish, despite their positive attitude and desire to transmit Arabic to their children.

Gaye's husband Mustafa considered being a bilingual as good and expressed his point as: "Yani 2 farklı dilden, 2 farklı kültürden bir şeyiniz bilinciniz, bilginiz oluyor. Bence bu güzel birşey." (Eng., "I mean you have awareness of, knowledge of two different languages and two different cultures. I think this is good").

He indicated that he wanted his children to be able to speak Arabic. Nevertheless, different from his wife, who expressed pragmatic and practical motives as to why she wanted her children to learn Arabic, Mustafa underscored the necessity of the mother tongue for ethnic identity. In other words, he had a more emotional motive. He stated that he attached great importance to his children's learning Arabic and had motives such as "kendi kültürlerini benimsemeleri için" (Eng., "so that they would espouse their culture") and "bizim buradaki ortamlarda kendilerini ifade edebilmeleri için" (Eng., "to express themselves in the social settings around here"). In addition, Mustafa indicated that he wanted his children to learn Arabic for communicating with the elderly in the community while adding his observation that there are few old

members in the community who could not speak Turkish today. As an individual who started school with a basic understanding of Turkish, and who learnt Turkish at school, in the same vein as his wife, Mustafa's dominant language also became Turkish as a result of schooling and expanding social milieu. Explaining his shift to Turkish, Mustafa highlighted the changing era and the conditions as a cause of the shift. He also stated that the shift to Turkish involved the whole community and was not simply a matter personal preference or desire. In other words, it stemmed from external factors such as societal conditions and changes in time, and hence was a reflection of evolving circumstances. Mustafa expanded on that in the following way:

> **[Interview, Mustafa, March 2022]**
> Hani herkes artık Türkçe konuşuyor. […] Çünkü gittiğimiz bütün ortamlarda baskın dil Türkçe. Yani iş ortamı olsun, veyahut hani mesela atıyorum bir hastaneye gittiniz veya bir bankaya gittiniz veya bir devlet dairesine gittiniz, orada hep Türkçe konuşuluyor çünkü resmi dil Türkçe. Yani zaten Arapça konuşan yok o şeylerde, o yerlerde.
>
> Everyone speaks Turkish now. […] Because wherever we go Turkish is the dominant language. Whether it's a workplace or suppose that you went to a hospital, a bank or an official government structure, Turkish is used all the time in these settings because Turkish is the official language. I mean no one speaks Arabic in such settings.

He further stated that as parents they preferred Turkish with their children from the beginning because all the domains require Turkish. He expressed himself as: "Bulunacakları ortam hep Türkçe bilenlerin ortamı. Onun için genelde o şekilde şey oldu. […] Bir de zaten artık her yerde kabullenmiş bir şey. Yani zaten Hatay'ın dışına çıktınız mı zaten Arapça konuşan yok, doğru dürüst." (Eng., "The settings in which they [his children] will be present are those of the Turkish speaking people. That's why it happened like that [That's why they prioritized Turkish]. […] It's also acknowledged now. When you go out of Hatay, there's almost no one speaking Arabic").

Mustafa's statements highlighted the lack of utility of the local Arabic outside Hatay, and in that sense, suggested that Turkish was necessary for his children's integration with the wider society. His belief about the lack of utility of Arabic along with the

prominence of Turkish as the official language of Türkiye shaped his language choices with his children.

In Family 2, echoing Gaye, Esra stated that she regarded herself "lucky" because she could speak both Turkish and Arabic. She considered bilingualism as richness in that she could communicate with different people. She stated that she needed both Turkish and Arabic where she lived. Based on her accounts, since the language of communication was mainly Arabic in her neighborhood, she would have difficulty while interacting with people if she spoke only Turkish. At the same time, speaking Arabic was an advantage for her as a teacher in terms of eliminating language barriers between herself and her Syrian students.

Esra had been exposed to only Arabic until she started nursery school; however, over time, her language shifted to Turkish like the other two parents. She stated the reasons of her shift as attendance to school, getting a job in the mainstream society and her expanding circles. In other words, stepping outside the home domain and the change in her social context, led her to use mainly Turkish in a contrary fashion to her early childhood. As a result, despite her positive feelings about bilingualism, Esra prioritized Turkish in her interactions with her children. She acknowledged the importance of Arabic and stated that she wished her children would speak Arabic to sustain the existence of the community and to preserve the culture, to have better communication with their grandparents and to gain an extra foreign language. However, she highlighted the importance of Turkish as the majority language. The weak status of Arabic as a minority language and the indispensability of Turkish for an individual living in Türkiye, no matter what his/her origins are, led her to prioritize Turkish in interaction with her children. Esra stated her position as: "[…] şöyle, şimdi biz azınlıktayız sonuçta. Tamam, Arap'ız ama çocuğumun Türkçe öğrenmesi gerekiyor Türkiye'de yaşadığı için." (Eng., "[…] well, after all, we are a minority community. Right, we're of Arab descent, but my child has to learn Turkish because she's living in Türkiye"). Apart from this conviction, Esra's personal experience regarding phonological language interference played a role on her language choices with her children, even the order with which she wanted to teach

Turkish and Arabic to her children. Drawing on her own experience with Turkish, she stated the following:

> **[Interview, Esra, December 2021]**
> Şimdi şöyle, ben Arapçayı sonradan öğrendim ee Türkçeyi sonradan öğrendim diye hani gırtlak mesela şeye alıştı direk, hmm, mesela işte 'k'leri, 'r'leri daha baskın söylüyorum. Ama ben çocuklarda olsun istemedim. O yüzden önce dedim Türkçe öğreteyim. Sonuçta ee ileriki yaşlarda hani dışarıda geçirecekleri zaman ailede geçireceği zamandan daha fazla. Hani öncelikle Türkçeleri düzgün olsun istedim. Sonra dedim Arapçayı öğretirim. Sonuçta Türkiye'de yaşadığımız için konuşulan dil de Türkçe. Hani o açıdan Türkçenin daha düzgün olmasını istedim.
>
> Well, since I learnt Arabic later, erm Turkish later than Arabic, my throat got used to you know-, erm I stress sounds like 'k' and 'r' in Turkish. I didn't want this to happen with my children, so I wanted to teach them Turkish first. After all, erm in the future, the time they'll spend outside will be more than the time they'll spend with the family. My priority was that they would have a proper Turkish. I thought to myself "I could teach them Arabic later". Since we're living in Türkiye, the [official] language is Turkish. So, from this perspective, I wanted them to speak Turkish properly.

In Esra's case, a personal experience regarding pronunciation of some Turkish sounds with Arabic influence led to a conscious decision to teach her children Turkish in the first place. She wanted to eliminate the possible effects of Arabic pronunciation on her children's Turkish, and attached importance to their speaking Turkish, the national language, properly. For her, Turkish was more crucial than Arabic for her children's wellbeing and social standing in the mainstream society. The higher status of Turkish as opposed to Arabic, and the dominance of Turkish in her children's future urged her to take a decision in favor of Turkish.

Her husband, Murat, believed that being a bilingual was advantageous for him. He mentioned the good feelings he had while presenting himself as a Turkish-Arabic bilingual. He stated that he studied at university in Diyarbakır, and added that Arabic was also spoken in a neighboring city, Mardin. He reported that when somebody asked whether he spoke Arabic or not, it felt good to have the linguistic background that enabled him to answer the question in a positive way. He also indicated that if he didn't speak Arabic, he would probably have problems with communication in general due to living in an Arabic speaking community. He reported that he needed Arabic particularly for communicating with his family and milieu. However, despite

the dominance of Arabic in his childhood, he reported that at some point Turkish became more dominant in their lives, and it still was because their present work settings required that. This suggested that Turkish became inevitably dominant in Murat's life due to evolving circumstances in a similar way described by the other participants. Both Murat and his wife had an urge to teach their daughters Arabic. Murat stated his motive by expressing that they didn't want to disregard Arabic because most of the children in their neighborhood spoke Turkish. He added that in some families, speaking Arabic was regarded as a shame, and that he wished as parents to definitely teach their children Arabic so that there wouldn't be such a situation in their house**.** Murat also stated that his motive to teach his children Arabic was tied to its being the mother tongue and to enable them to sustain the culture. He also believed that Arabic was important for his children to communicate with the elderly. However, he mentioned that there was no urgency regarding Arabic, and like his wife, he believed that they could invest in it later. On the other hand, there were some exigencies that required them as parents to give priority to Turkish in interaction with their children. Although they did not adopt an attitude like "Arapça önemli değil." or "Boş ver." (Eng., "Arabic is of no importance.", or "Never mind!"), school, the demands of the time and the dominance of Turkish as a consequence of its status as the official language caused them to keep Arabic in the background because other things were more primary. In the same line with his wife, Murat underscored the importance of learning and speaking Turkish well as it is the national language of Türkiye and said: "Yani Türkiyedeyiz. Şu anda zaten kaçınılmaz gibi. Yani başka bir yolu yok. Şu an hayatlarının her aşamasında, okulda, işte konuşma da diksiyon da dahil olacak şekilde çok detaylı, iyi öğrenmeleri gerektiğini düşünüyorum." (Eng., "Well, we are in Türkiye. Now it's inevitable. I mean there's no way out. I believe they [his children] should learn Turkish very well, in a very detailed manner including speaking and diction at school, at work.. at every stage of their lives").

Murat's statements underscore the importance he attached to his children's speaking Turkish well in every aspect. This suggests that because of living in Türkiye, he acknowledged Turkish as an essential tool for communication and success due to its status as the official language of the country. His emphasis on speaking and diction

may also reflect an aspiration for his children to speak Turkish with proper pronunciation and clarity so that they would integrate well into the majority society, which was a concern shared by his wife. Murat's statements also point to the complex relationship between the dominant languages like Turkish and minority languages like Arabic. Whereas Murat valued his ethnolinguistic identity as an L1-Arabic speaking person, and he did not want his daughters to consider speaking Arabic as a stigma, he prioritized Turkish in interaction with his children due to "bazı aciliyetler" (Eng., "some exigencies"), which he mentioned as school and the necessities of the era. In that sense, he clearly ranked Turkish and Arabic based on their value in the linguistic market of Türkiye.

In Family 3, Meltem had joined the community through marriage, and her mother tongue was Turkish. However, based on the interview and the video data, she gave the impression that she had a very positive attitude to Arabic, and wanted her children to grow up learning both languages. Like the Turkish-Arabic bilingual parents, she expressed positive feelings about bilingualism and expressed her wish that her children could grow up bilingually. As an English speaking individual, she mentioned her experiences of language brokering between her family, her neighbours and the Syrian immigrants who settled in their neighborhood after the outbreak of the war in Syria. She could also communicate with her Syrian peers and establish relatioships with them thanks to speaking English. Meltem indicated her motives for her wish to raise Turkish-Arabic bilingual children in the following way:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> […] Dışarıdan gelen biri olarak bile hani, gerçekten dilin de, kültürün de yaşaması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Ara ara zorlanıyor muyum? Evet, çok daha fazla zorlanıyorum belki itiraf ettiğimden. Ama hani sonuçta bu asimile olmak bana çok korkunç geliyor, hep öyledir. Yani kendi özünde kimseye zararı olmayan bir şey neticede. Neden hani olmasın? Hani "Neden bu yaşatılmasın benim çocuğumda da?" diye düşünüyorum.
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> [...] even if I'm an outsider, I truly believe that the [community] language and the culture should survive. Do I have difficulties from time to time? Yes, I do have difficulties [related to language gap], maybe even more than I confess. Still, I find assimilation horrible, it has always been so. It [the ethnic language and culture] has no harm to anyone. So, why not? I think to myself "Why shouldn't it be maintained by my children?"

Meltem's statements reveal her strong ideological stance againts linguistic and cultural assimilation. As a monolingual Turkish speaking individual trying to navigate the bilingual environment surrounding her, she copes with more challenges than she discloses. Nevertheless, the idea of assimilation, and losing an ethnic culture and language that has no harm to anyone seems more dreadful than the challenges she faces. As a consequence, she supports her children's bilingualism not just for practical reasons, but due to the threat of losing intergenerational continuity, and thereby linguistic and cultural identity. Viewing Arabic as a means for her children to remain connected to their roots, she wants to ensure that her children would preserve it. Meltem also stated that she wanted her children to learn Arabic due to its economic benefits that were likely to emerge due to the influx of Syrian migration to Türkiye. In addition, she believed if her children learnt Arabic that would make her husband happy because he wanted his children to speak Arabic, too.

Regarding the priority given to Turkish in their family, as an out-group individual who spoke Turkish as her mother tongue, unlike the other participants, Meltem mentioned that Turkish was indispensable as a language of interaction in their home domain. First and foremost, her children should be able to speak Turkish to communicate with her easily. At the same time, in a similar way to Mustafa and Esra, she considered Turkish as important for her children's integration with and acceptance by the mainstream society. She stated that her son could not pronounce some Turkish words properly, and she tried to teach him the correct way of saying these words saying "toplum dalga geçmesin diye" (Eng., "so that he would not be ridiculed by the society"). Due to its recognition as the only official language, Meltem believed that a proper Turkish was necessary, and stated her motive as "toplumca daha fazla kabul görsün diye" (Eng., "for his [her son's] being more accepted by the society"). In line with this belief, Meltem and her husband tried to correct Turkish questions formed incorrectly by their son. Meltem indicated that sometime in the past her son imitated the way his cousin formed Turkish questions without the question affix just as it's formed in Arabic. As parents, they tried to get their son to use the correct form both because they didn't want him to be regarded as odd and due to the negative outlook on the minorities. She believed that such transfer

effects were sweet, but they had to be restricted to family talk. She expressed her thoughts as:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Yani mesela kuzeni bir ara şey yapıyordu, işte 'İstersi:n↑'? 'Gelirsi:n↑?' Hiç -mi eki yoktu. […] O da bir baktım, arada şey yapıyor 'İstersi:n↑'?, ve yani bir tek o tınıyı düzeltmeye çalıştım hani "İstersi:n↑? gibi. Çünkü hani (.) belli sebepler, yani hani hakikaten o azınlığa bakılan o göz."
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> For example, his cousin was forming questions like 'İstersi:n↑?' (Eng., "Would you like..?"), 'Gelirsi:n↑?' (Eng., "Would you like to come…?"); I mean there was no question affix.[…] Well, I noticed that at times he [her son] was also saying 'İstersi:n↑?', and I tried to correct only that tone, like "İstersi:n↑?". […] Because, you know, for certain reasons, like that look towards the minority.

Meltem added that when she first heard one of her husband's friends speak in this way, she found it odd. Although she believed that a person could speak like this within their family, and that it sounded sweet in the family, she believed this should not be the case outside. Meltem's statements suggested her belief that one should monitor their language based on the context. Whereas Turkish statements which bore effects of Arabic transfer effects were acceptable, even cute in a family context, they should be shunned in a formal or public context. In that sense, in addition to the priority given to Turkish due to their family constellation, Meltem also believed that standard Turkish should be used outside the family. This suggested a belief in the necessity of linguistic conformity for social integration, and a perception that standard Turkish is the key to being accepted by the wider society.

Ufuk stated his opinions about bilingualism as: "Keşke daha fazla dil biliyor olsaydım. İyi hissettiriyor. Dil bilmek güzel." (Eng., "I wish I could speak more languages [in addition to Turkish and Arabic]. It feels good. It's good to speak [different] languages"). Ufuk stated that his experiences about being able to communicate with Syrians who came to Türkiye due to the Syrian war brought an awareness in him about the benefits of speaking extra languages. He stated that he was in Kilis when Syrians started to migrate to Türkiye. No one could speak Arabic in Kilis, so being an Arabic speaking individual placed him in an advantageous position in terms of communicating with Syrians. Ufuk stated that this experience helped him to understand how incredibly useful it was to speak an additional

language. Although he was single then, this positive experience led him to decide to teach his children a second language in the future. However, he accepted his failure in teaching his son Arabic saying: “Yani tecrübelerim, dilin ne kadar önemli olduğunu gösterdi ama ben kendi tecrübelerimi çocuğuma aktarmadım.” (Eng., “I mean my experiences taught me how important language was, but I couldn’t pass on my experiences to my child”).

Ufuk indicated that at that point it was sufficient for him if his children could speak Arabic to the degree that they would know their culture. He stated that according to him, Arabic was essential for his children just to learn some components of the ethnic culture, which were not possible to transfer through Turkish. Furthermore, his son could interact with his grandparents in Turkish because: “Artık günümüzde Türkçe konuşamayan neredeyse hiç insan kalmadı.” (Eng., “Today, there is almost no one who cannot speak Turkish [in the community]”). In other words, for Ufuk, Arabic was not essential for his children in terms of communication in the community, but just “[…] kültürünü yaşaması, ona bir aidiyet duyabilmesi için” (Eng., “to experience the culture and have a sense of belonging to it”).

As for the reasons of the priority given to Turkish in their family, Ufuk stated that Turkish was a must for them in their nuclear family because that was the only means of interaction with his wife. Apart from this family-specific necessity, he also mentioned the inevitable shift to Turkish that he experienced, and like the previous participants, this shift played a role in his language choices with his children. Although Ufuk could speak only Arabic before he started school, later in life, his language choices changed in favor of Turkish. He indicated that up until university Arabic was his dominant language of interaction. However, this changed when he started working in public service because he left his hometown, and his environment changed. Where he was appointed, no one spoke Arabic. As a result, he always spoke Turkish, and there was no Arabic in his life at that time. Based on Ufuk’s accounts, when he returned to his hometown, there were still people who spoke Arabic, but the generation had changed, the time had changed and this affected his language choices, as well. Ufuk stated that the reason for his Turkish dominance that

developed later was the lingua franca nature of Turkish. Given this background, Ufuk expressed the importance that Turkish holds for his children as:

> **[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]**
> Toplumda kabul görmeleri için çok önemli. Özellikle hani yaşadıkları ülke olarak düşünürsek ve okul, iş hayatı falan geleceklerini düşündüğümüz zaman Türkçe muhakkak iyi bir şekilde biliyor olmaları gerekiyor. O yüzden Türkçe bilmelerine yüzde yüz önem veriyorum. Arapça bilmeleri gerektiğini düşünüyorum ama o da gereklilikte kalıyor.
>
> It [Turkish] is very important for my children's acceptance by the society. Particularly when we think of the country they're living in, their school, career and future, they should definitely be able to speak Turkish really well. So, I attach utmost importance to their speaking Turkish. I believe it is necessary that they speak Arabic, but that doesn't go beyond being a necessity.

Ufuk pointed to the importance of Turkish as the language of communication for his children for practical reasons such as their education, career prospects and future lives. He deemed a good proficiency of Turkish as essential for his children's social integration and acceptance by the majority society. Ufuk's statements revealed that he also valued Arabic, the community language, and considered it necessary for his children. However, Ufuk conceptualized Arabic as a requirement or cultural necessity rather than a priority. This suggests that Ufuk considered Turkish as more central to his children's standing and success in the society whereas Arabic had a significant but secondary role in their upbringing. In other words, although Ufuk considered Arabic as part of his children's cultural identity, he perceived it as ranking lower than Turkish, and being less pivotal in the broader context of social, educational and professional prospects.

In Family 5, Ulaş also grew up in an Arabic dominant environment and spoke mainly Arabic until he started school. He stated that before he started school, he could speak Turkish a little, but he improved it at school. When he went to other cities for work, he started to use Turkish more frequently. In other words, as his connections with the wider society increased, he depended on Turkish more than Arabic. In the same vein as the other parents, Ulaş had positive feelings about being a bilingual. He reported that he considered both Turkish and Arabic as "good". He valued Turkish because it was the common language of Türkiye, and he liked Arabic because it helped him

communicate with speakers of Arab descent, such as Syrian immigrants. Ulaş reported an incident in which he served as a language broker between a Syrian immigrant and an officer at a bank in his hometown. In this incident, a Syrian speaker approached him and asked him whether he could speak Arabic. When Ulaş said he could, the Syrian immigrant told him he lost his bank card and wanted to cancel it. He asked Ulaş to explain his problem to the officers because he could not speak Turkish. Ulaş did language brokering between the officer and the Syrian man, and helped the man to solve his problem. Based on this language brokering experience and his perceptions about advantages of bilingualism, Ulaş wanted his children to learn Arabic for its possible economic benefits. He believed that Arabic could open pathways for his children to work as translators, and repeated that several times during the interview. He stated that his daughter Seren, who was preparing for university entrance exams, lagged one year behind her peers because she took care of her mother during her illness. He believed that Seren could get a job in a touristic region as a translator if she learnt Arabic because a lot of Arabs came to Türkiye for holiday. He also placed emphasis on the importance of Arabic for his children in terms of communicating with the elderly. He expressed his wish that his children could respond to their grandmothers or to the elderly women using Arabic when they asked them: "**Škīfik** kızım?" (Eng., "How are you, my girl?").. Different from other participants, Ulaş reported that Arabic was essential especially for boys in terms of carrying out their religious practices[10]. He believed that his son Ahmet should learn Arabic perfectly because he would learn the ritual worship. As Arabic is the language of worship, he believed that his son, and boys in general, would have great difficulty in learning the ritual prayers and practices if they couldn't speak Arabic. However, despite his positive attitude to the community language, his perceptions of its benefits and its necessity for certain practices like performing the ritual prayer, Ulaş also opted for Turkish in interaction with his children and stated the reasons of his prioritizing Turkish as follows:

[10] In the Arab Alawite community, boys who reach puberty are given religious education by individuals called 'uncle'. The uncle, who is a community member, is chosen by the boys' parents and the boys themselves. During this religious education, the boy stays at the uncle's house until he learns the religious knowledge of Arab Alawites, and the forms of social behavior (For more information refer to Türk, 2016, p. 13).

[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]
Şöyle hani günümüzün artık dili oldu ve yavaş yavaş kaybolacak gibi Arapça, bir. İkincisi hani bizim mesela çocukluğumuzu hatırlayaraktan dolayı, yani mesela illaki insanoğlu büyüyor sonra uçup gidiyor mesela şehirlerarası, şehir dışı bilmem ne. Bu yüzden işte yani Türkçeyi öğrenmelerini istedik. Hani zorluk çekmesinler diye hani biz Türkçeyi tercih ettik, onlara öğretmek istedik yani. Hani illaki o çocuk evde kalacak diye bir kaide yok; mutlaka mesela bir vazife kazanacak örneğin İstanbul, İzmir veya ne bileyim. Hiç olmazsa Türkçeyi öğrenmiş oluyor, gidiyor mesela ee zorluk çekmez o insan yani o çocuk. Hani bu yüzden biz tercih ettik.

First, Turkish has become the language of our time, and slowly, it seems like Arabic will fade away. Secondly, remembering my own childhood, I mean, eventually, people grow up and move away. They may go to other cities or out of town. That's why we [he and his wife] wanted them [his children] to learn Turkish. We chose Turkish so that they wouldn't have difficulties, we wanted to teach them [Turkish]. I mean, there's no rule that the child will stay at home; they'll definitely get a job, for example, in İstanbul, İzmir, or wherever. At least they'll have learned Turkish, and when they go, they won't have any trouble. So, that's why we preferred it [Turkish].

Several interrelated reasons seemed to shape Ulaş and his late wife's decision regarding the language of communication with their children. Ulaş recognized the weak status of the community language due to declining intergenerational transmission as opposed to Turkish, which held currency all over the country. In other words, although Ulaş wanted all his children to learn the community language and recognized its possible benefits, the fact that Turkish is the only legitimate language across the country and the only one that will enable his children's smooth integration into the wider society led him and his wife as parents to prioritize Turkish in interaction with their children. His statements suggested that practical reasons related to the utility and relevance of Turkish in the contemporary society shaped their choice of Turkish as the main means of communication with their children. Obviously Turkish was the language that would ensure that his children are well-prepared to navigate contemporary Türkiye by enabling them to access social and professional opportunities. Overall, Ulaş's statements suggested a tension between maintaining one's mother tongue and the pressures of adjusting to the modern world. The ranking of Turkish and Arabic in Ulaş's mind led him to push Arabic to the background while prioritizing Turkish for his children's future in a Turkish dominant society.

In Family 4, Turkish was the dominant language in Sevgi's early childhood unlike the other participants. This could be attributed to the fact that she was living in a

neighbourhood near downtown, where linguistic assimilation is more common than in the peripheral neighborhoods. In Sevgi's case, Arabic, which was her weaker language improved after marriage as a result of the change in her environment. Sevgi reported that her default language was Turkish before marriage. However, after she moved to her current neighbourhood due to marriage, her Arabic improved greatly. She stated that she didn't use to speak Arabic properly in the past, because she only spoke Arabic with her mother and grandmother. She added that her Arabic was broken and incomplete then. However, in her current context, she needed Arabic more. As a result, her Arabic proficiency improved. In the same line as the other participants, Sevgi held positive feelings about bilingualism. She stated that being able to speak both Turkish and Arabic fluently gave her self-confidence. For instance, in a setting where there were Syrians and nobody could understand them, she could jump in and help them. She also believed that speaking Arabic involved economic benefits, and that was one of her motives to teach her children Arabic. She stated that learning Arabic would help her children find jobs. However, she underscored that the local Arabic should be improved to provide such benefits because in its current form, the local Arabic was insufficient for job prospects. Arabic was also important for sustaining the traditions and culture according to Sevgi. Like Ulaş, Sevgi also pointed to the significance of Arabic for boys' ritual worship. She stated that most of the boys who came to their house to learn the ritual prayers and practices from her husband (as per with the unclehood tradition) had trouble reciting the prayers because they couldn't speak Arabic. She believed that boys could undergo their religious education more easily if they spoke Arabic, and in that sense, Arabic was important even in terms of religion. Regarding the dominance of Turkish in her interaction with her children despite her wish to teach them Arabic, Sevgi said:

> **[Interview, Sevgi, January 2022]**
> Ya bu durum bak ister istemez mesela sen çocuğuna Arapçayı tam öğretmek istesen bile okuldaki ana dili Türkçe, yaşadığın yerin ana dili Türkçe. İster istemez, Türkçeye kayacaksın. Yani hani nasıl desem Türkiye'de yaşıyoruz hepimiz. **Matšufe** ister istemez **tiḥke mə3o la ġade ʿarbe** [Tur. Görüyorsun, onunla sürekli Arapça konuşsan dahi ister istemez] Türkçe daha gerekli oluyor burada.
>
> Well, even if you want to teach your child Arabic perfectly, the primary language at school is Turkish, and the main language of the place where you are living is Turkish. So, you'll inevitably shift to Turkish. How should I put? We're all living in

> Türkiye. You see, even if you talk to your child in Arabic constantly, Turkish is inevitably more necessary here [in Türkiye].

Sevgi's statements also signalled a language hierarchy where Turkish held the upper ranking compared to Arabic. Sevgi seemed to be struggling to balance maintaining the community language and adapting to the dominant language. In a context where the child is constantly exposed to the official language and is expected to employ it at school and other domains, a natural shift to the official language is unavoidable. Therefore, despite her wish to pass on the community language to her children, Sevgi inevitably chose Turkish to interact with her children to ensure their adjustment to the demands of a society where Turkish is widely spoken and necessary for daily life.

4.2.1.1.2. School Effect in Prioritizing Turkish: *"The language of school and exams is Turkish."*

Another important subtheme regarding participant parents' prioritizing Turkish as opposed to Arabic was related to the effect of school. Parents specifically pointed to the school as a domain which led them to prioritize Turkish with their children. The parents placed great importance on their children's expressing themselves well in Turkish. In addition, they recognized that their children had to have a good level of Turkish proficiency to achieve well at school. In Family 1, Gaye stated that Turkish was important for her children in terms of not having difficulties at school. She mentioned the challenges she had when she started school due to not being able to speak Turkish. She reported that at school she couldn't understand what she was reading for quite a while. Even if she could read a text, she was not able to understand it. Therefore, in Turkish classes, she couldn't explain even the shortest and simplest paragraph. She could not understand its meaning, so she couldn't keep it in her mind. When the teacher asked her to explain a paragraph, she would memorize it word for word, and this tired her out. Based on these experiences at school, Gaye stated the importance of Turkish for her children at the context of school as: "[…] çektiğim sorunları yaşamamaları için Türkçeyi daha iyi anlamalarını

isterim açıkçası." (Eng., "[…] frankly, I want them [her children] to understand Turkish better so that they wouldn't experience the problems that I had").

Furthermore, Gaye pointed out to the importance of good comprehension of Turkish for her children's success on the central exams and indicated that her children should be able to understand Turkish well to interpret the long parapgraphs in today's exams. As a result, Gaye reported that she encouraged her children to read books not for the sake of learning the Turkish language well, but rather because it would have a positive impact on their future academic success. Referring to the priority she gave to Turkish, she admitted that school was a decisive factor in their language choice with their children and stated her position as: "Yani artık birçok şeyi şey için okul için yapıyoruz. […] Okul dilimiz, sınav dilimiz Türkçe." (Eng., "Now, we do most things for school. […] The language of school and exams is Turkish").

Gaye's statements reveal that her personal experience of encountering great challenges when she first started school due to her lack of Turkish proficiency motivated her to place emphasis on Turkish rather than Arabic. She did not want her children to face the same barriers that she had faced at school, and wanted them to perform well academically. She acknowledged the importance of Turkish not only for communication but also for understanding lessons and achieving success at school. As Turkish was the medium of instruction and language of exams, proficiency in that language was crucial for her children. In line with this, she wanted her children to read not necessarily to improve Turkish as a language, but to improve their reading comprehension skills, and hence score high on central exams.

Mustafa stated that Turkish was at the forefront in every track of his children's lives including school. Making a generalization about the children in the community, he indicated that when children start school, they recognize the need for Turkish, and they became inclined to use it. In addition, according to Mustafa, nowadays children see Arabic as unnecessary. School and the presence of Turkish in every domain significantly affect children's language preferences. Starting with the first grade until university, children are exposed to and use this language. They don't use Arabic at school or university, so they become distanced to it and hear Arabic only to the

extent that it's used in the family. In this way, Mustafa pointed out the prominence and influence of Turkish in various aspects of life, particularly in education. Turkish is the dominant language that children encounter at school from an early age to university. As a result, besides dominating other settings, it becomes the primary language in academic settings, leading people to use it more frequently. On the other hand, Arabic is not used in these settings, and it's only used within the family, which may lead to individuals feeling distanced from the Arabic language. Mustafa also mentioned the socializing effect of school, and the pressure that children feel to use Turkish in such a setting:

> **[Interview, Mustafa, March 2022]**
> Okulda Arapça kullanmıyorlar. Derslerde veya diğer şeylerde olsun Türkçe Türkçe. Hep Türkçe. Onun için çocuklarda şöyle bir şey oluyor, hani ortamda direkt Türkçe konuşma ihtiyacı hissediyorlar. Hani Arapça bilen biliyor olsa bile işte ortamın gerektiği dili konuşuyor yani.
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> At school, [children] don't use Arabic. They use Turkish whether for lessons or for other things. Always Turkish. So, something like this happens to children; they feel obliged to speak Turkish. I mean even if a child can speak Arabic, she/he uses the language that the setting requires.

Mustafa's account emphasizes the socializing effect of school on children's language development and preferences. As in most countries, in Türkiye the medium of instruction is its official language, Turkish. As a result, children must employ Turkish for all academic activities and communication in the school setting. This can affect children's language development, social skills and identity development. Even children who can speak the community language may feel the pressure to shift to the dominant language and use it more frequently, which most likely results in decreasing use of the community language over time. Although Mustafa and his wife were not engaged in conscious efforts to pass the community language on to their children, Mustafa reported that at pre-school period he could involve Arabic more in his interactions with his children. However, when children started school, all the communication shifted to Turkish. In that sense, immersion at a Turkish-medium school, along with the Turkish-dominant interactions with parents, might have solidified his children's Turkish preference. The emphasis on the official language as the only means of carrying out school-related activities, academic work and

socializing at school may have led to a perception of language hierarchies on the children's mind as well as their parents', where Turkish is ascribed greater value, utility and prestige than Arabic. In the same line with his wife Gaye, Mustafa recognized the importance of Turkish for better comprehension at school. He believed that fluency in Turkish would have an influence on his children's school success. That is, Mustafa believed that a student who spoke and read Turkish fluently would have better comprehension skills, and that would surely impact their success at school. Therefore, Mustafa encouraged his children to read to ensure that their Turkish comprehension and fluency would improve.

In Family 2, Esra echoed Gaye and Mustafa's beliefs regarding the vitality of Turkish for school success. She stated her position as:

> **[Interview, Esra, December 2021]**
> […] yani [çocuğumun] Türkçeyi iyi bilmesi gerekiyor ki okuduğunu iyice anlasın, yorumlasın. Okul dili Türkçe neticede yani. Yani en basit örneğini ben şimdi öğrencilerimde görüyorum. Çocuklar Arapçayı daha çok bildiği için, Türkçede okuma anlamada sorun var. […] Yani çocuğa mesela ben direk "Şunu yapacaksın", mesela matematik sorusu, problem- gerçi belki konuyla alakalı değil ama- problemi ben anlatığımda çocuk gayet ne yapacağını biliyor. Ama okuyup, kendi okuyup çözmeye çalıştığında yorumlama şeyi yok. Ama Türkçesi daha iyi olsaydı, ilk öğrendiği dil Türkçe olsaydı belki bu şekilde olmayacaktı.
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> […] my child needs to speak and understand Turkish well to be able to comprehend and interpret what she is reading. After all, the language of school is Turkish. Now, I see the simplest example of this in my students. My students have problems related to reading and understanding Turkish because they speak Arabic better. […] For example, when I directly tell a student "Do this", -actually maybe this is not related to the topic but- when I explain the problem, s/he knows exactly what to do. However, s/he cannot understand the problem when s/he reads it herself/himself. But if s/he were better at Turkish, if Turkish was the first language s/he had learnt, maybe s/he wouldn't have such problems.

Esra's statements reflect her concerns about the challenges faced by students who are less proficient in Turkish than in Arabic, especially in terms of reading comprehension. As the language of instruction, Turkish gains prominence, and students' ability to fully understand and interpret what they are reading depends heavily on their Turkish proficiency. She provides an example from her class about math problems to illustrate the issue. While her students can easily grasp the instructions when she explains them verbally, they struggle when reading the same

instructions themselves. According to Esra, insufficient comprehension in Turkish, leads to failure in interpreting written content effectively. In that sense, Esra problematizes early learning of Arabic and views it as a barrier that prevents a child from understanding lessons in general, and thus achieving well at school. In addition to this belief, Esra reported a personal experience from her childhood as a motive for preferring Turkish with her children first. She recounted her experience as:

> **[Interview, Esra, December 2021]**
> Benim küçükken yaşadığım olay belki de bu şekilde düşünmeme sebep oldu. Okula başladığımda Türkçe bilmiyordum; tabi bunun en büyük sebebi Arabistan'da doğmamdı. Ana sınıfının ilk günleriydi. Lavaboya gitmem gerekiyordu ve Türkçe bilmediğim için kendimi ifade edemedim. Sessizce ağlamaya başladım. Bu sahne aklımdan hiç gitmez. Ayrıca ilkokulda Türkçemin hep daha farklı olduğunu düşünürdüm diğer çocuklardan. Bu anlamda bir özgüven eksikliği de yaşadım. Bu yüzden çocuklarım da benzer sorunları yaşasın istemedim. Türkçe'ye ağırlık verdim.
>
> An incident that happened when I was little might have caused me to think in this way [give priority to Turkish]. When I started school, I didn't speak Turkish. Of course, the greatest reason for this was that I was born in Saudi Arabia. It was the first days of the nursery school. I needed to go to the bathroom, and since I didn't speak Turkish, I couldn't express myself. I started to cry silently. This scene is always on my mind. In addition, at primary school, I always thought my Turkish was different than the other children. In that sense, I also experienced a lack of confidence. So, I didn't want my children to have similar problems. I gave priority to Turkish.

In this incident, Esra failed to communicate even her most basic need to her teacher because she couldn't speak Turkish. As a little child, she could do nothing but cry in despair. The intensity of the feelings she had that day, and the obvious cause of it (inability to speak Turkish) might have shaped her decision to prioritize Turkish with her children. Furthermore, her distinct Turkish, which made her feel a lack of self-confidence also had a role in the formation of the Turkish-first decision. Esra's convictions about the negative interference of Arabic to Turkish were obvious from her statements. Esra also mentioned the experience of an acquaintance whose child had problems adapting to school due to not speaking Turkish, and that solidified her belief regarding the importance of teaching Turkish to children in the first place for adaptation and succeeding at school. Her husband's cousin and his wife consciously spoke Arabic with their child when he was born with the belief that he would learn Turkish at school. However, the child had a great difficulty when he started school. He withdrew into himself because he could not speak Turkish fluently like his

classmates**.** This incident solidified Esra's beliefs about the negative effects of learning Arabic first. She took it for granted that her children would end up learning Arabic, either from their surroundings or as a result of the extra efforts she would put in teaching them Arabic in the future. Therefore, she spoke mainly Turkish with them starting with their babyhood. Esra's beliefs and personal experience regarding the indispensability of a good level of Turkish for school and the stories she heard from acquaintances that solidified this belief were all tied to her concern about her children's achievement and adaptation to school. Her beliefs about the adverse effects of early learning of Arabic on Turkish deterred her from teaching the two languages simultaneously. She believed that simultaneous teaching of Turkish and Arabic could affect her daughters' Turkish adversely in that they would neither be able to express themselves well in Turkish nor in Arabic. As a result, she decided to teach them predominantly Turkish stating "ağırlık Türkçe geriye kalan aralarda da Arapça." (Eng., "predominantly Turkish, and Arabic in between times").

Esra's husband, Murat, also mentioned the experience of his acquaintance's son. He stated that unlike his cousin and his wife, as parents they did not consider teaching Arabic prior to Turkish due to school and the necessities of the present time. His own words were:

> **[Interview, Murat, January 2022]**
> Amcamın oğlunun Nille ile aynı sınıfta olan bir çocuğu vardı. Onlar mesela Arapça öğrettiler sürekli şeyde zaten Türkçeyi okulda öğrenecek diye. Yani [çocuğu] ısrarla sadece Arapça konuşturdular, o da Türkçe konuşmuyordu hiç. Türkçeyi hiç kullanmamaya çalıştılar. Eee yani o dönemde böyle bir örnek olduğu halde böyle bir girişimde bulunmadık biz. Yani hani özellikle okul, içinde bulunduğumuz zaman gibi gereksinimlerden kaynaklı böyle bir yönlendirmemiz olmadı.
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> I have a cousin whose son was Nil's classmate. For example, they [his cousin and his wife] taught Arabic to him [their son] thinking that he would learn Turkish at school anyway. I mean they persistently spoke Arabic [to the child], and the child didn't speak Turkish at all. They tried not to use Turkish at all. Despite having such an example at the time, we didn't have a similar attempt. I mean particularly because of necessities such as the school, the time we're in, we didn't have such a direction.

Murat's statements point to the challenges of balancing native language maintenance and the demands of a school system which functions in the majority language. Probably with an aim to preserve the community language, Murat's cousin and his

wife adopted an Arabic-only approach while raising their child and assumed that the child would naturally pick up Turkish at school. However, their perspective of language acquisition did not yield the expected result. The child couldn't pick up Turkish. As stated by Esra, he faced great difficulties at school and withdrew into himself because he could not speak Turkish fluently like his classmates. Despite witnessing his relatives' attempts about raising his child only in the community language at pre-school period, Murat and Esra consciously didn't follow the same approach. They believed that Turkish should be their children's first language as required by the demands of the present day and for their children's academic success. This suggests Murat and Esra's pragmatic understanding of the significance of Turkish for school, and their ranking of Turkish at a higher position for the future of their children. Murat's phrase "okul, içinde bulunduğumuz zaman gibi gereksinimlerden kaynaklı" (Eng. "because of necessities such as the school, the time we are in") reflects his and his wife's acknowledgement of the importance of Turkish for education and for the broader social context in which their children are growing up.

Like the other participants, in Family 3, Meltem stated that she believed Turkish would affect her children's social integration and succes at school, so she placed importance on their learning Turkish well. She mentioned how students who lack good self-expression skills may be overlooked or may not be given opportunities to participate classroom activities by their teachers. She believed this would impact students' school success and integration. She expressed her thought as:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Mesela okulda da öğretmen adam akıllı konuşmayı bilmeyen, kendini anlatamayan öğrenciye çok fazla söz hakkı vermek istemez. Yani [çocuğumun] başarısını da etkileyecek kabul görüşünü de etkileyecek. O yüzden düzgün bir şekilde öğrenmesi gerekiyor.
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> For instance, even teachers do not want to give the floor to a student who cannot speak and express her/himself properly. I mean [speaking Turkish well] will have an influence on my child's success and acceptance. That's why they should learn it properly.

Meltem's statements underscore the importance of Turkish proficiency for a child's success and social acceptance in a setting where good communication skills are

highly valued. Meltem believes that teachers are more likely to ignore students whose Turkish communication skills are poor as opposed to the students who can express their thoughts effectively. This can affect students' participation and visibility in class, and therefore, imply that Turkish matters not only for academic performance, but also for their social interaction in an academic setting. Speaking Turkish well and expressing themselves in Turkish well has a direct impact on students' success, interaction with and acceptance by their teachers and peers. Through speaking Turkish fluently, children can participate in classroom activities, establish relationships with classmates, become visible to the teacher and have access to the full range of learning opportunities. In short, Meltem's statements are a reflection of a pragmatic perspective that Turkish is vital for a child's success at school and overall acceptance in an academic setting where Turkish is the primary language of interaction.

As already mentioned in the previous section, Ufuk, Meltem's husband, attached utmost importance to his children's learning Turkish well for their school, career and future life. He believed that Turkish was crucial for his children in the present era. Ufuk shared his observations about his students (also community members) and their knowledge of the community language to account for the differences in community language use in his childhood as opposed to today. He reported that he spent a lot of time with teenagers due to his job, and added that the new generation hardly ever spoke the community language. According to Ufuk out of their 800 students, not even 50 spoke the community language. He indicated his observation that the new generation had completely disregarged the community language, and that none of them used it. This situation affected Ufuk in that although he still wanted his son to learn Arabic, he was not as zealous as in the past about that because he believed that his son would not have a place where to use this language even if he learnt it. He added that he himself could still use Arabic because his peers still spoke Arabic. However, his son's peers did not speak Arabic. Ufuk stated that this led to the following situation: "Ben ona bir şey öğrettiğimde o kelimeyi kullandığında dalga geçiliyor çocukla 'Bu ne?' diye. Yani bunun avantajlarından ziyade dezavantajlarını yaşıyor çünkü yaşadığı çağ bunu [Arapçayı] kullanabileceği bir çağ değil." (Eng., When I teach him [his son] something [in Arabic], and when he uses that word, he is

ridiculed by his friends like ‘What is this?’ I mean he experiences disadvantages of this [Arabic] rather than the advantages because the time in which he is living is not a time when he can use it [Arabic])”.

In line with this belief, Ufuk reported that school had an impact on children’s language preferences. He made a comparison between the dominance of Arabic in his childhood and today’s children’s Turkish dominance to point to the difference between the social context today and then, and the impact of this on today’s children’s language preferences. He reported that in his childhood, he and his classmates would use Turkish during classes, but they would switch to Arabic while playing during recess. He recounted that at that time they had a classmate who couldn’t speak Arabic. He mentioned that the boy had great difficulty because although they played together, he couldn’t understand his friends when they told him something. Pointing to children’s changing language preferences today, Ufuk stated that he wouldn’t want his child to experience something like that. He believed that in today’s school setting, his child would probably be excluded and regarded as strange if he insisted and taught him Arabic. He further expressed his observation and belief about the effect of school on children’s language choices as:

> **[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]**
> Okulun [çocukların dil tercihine] etkisi var. Çocuklarımızla da yaşayacağız sanırım. Şey oluyor okuma yazmaya başlayınca, artık Arapçayı hiç istemiyorlar. Yani öyle bir durum oluyor maalesef. Yani istediğin kadar öğretmeye çalış öğrenmeyecek okulda gördüğü onun için daha çok böyle şey olacak, daha doğru gelecek. Okulda gördüğü şeyi daha doğru gibi hissediyor çocuk.
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> School has an effect [on children’s language choices] on children’s language choice. I guess we will experience this with our children. When they [children] start to read and write, they don’t want Arabic at all. I mean unfortunately this happens. I mean no matter how hard we try to teach them [Arabic], they won’t because the thing they learn at school will be more accurate for them.

Ufuk’s remarks reveal a common experience, where once children learn literacy in the language of instruction at school, they lose interest in the community language. Ufuk stated that even if parents put a lot of effort in the teaching of the community language, children preferred the language of school, as they perceived it more correct and valuable in the school setting and in peer interactions. This suggests that due to the school effect, children may ascribe greater importance and prestige to Turkish,

and prioritize it because they view it as essential for their academic success and social interactions. Ufuk's statements also suggest that peer influence and the social validation associated with the use of Turkish can overshadow parental efforts to transmit the community language. Children may sideline the community language because they view the language of education as more useful and practical, and this may cause parents to prioritize Turkish, as well. Ufuk's beliefs and observations regarding the decreasing utility of Arabic in today's Hatay and children's prioritizing Turkish due to the school influence led him as a parent to conform to the demands of the contemporary society and education, and he pushed Arabic in the background.

In Family 5, Ulaş reported that he and his late wife had made a conscious decision about speaking Turkish with their first child when she was born. Based on Ulaş's accounts, their main motive was the importance of Turkish for school. Ulaş explained their decision as follows:

> **[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]**
> Zaten başlangıç Seren ilk doğduğunda başladı işte zaten. Seren ilk doğduğunda rahmetli annesiyle yani tercihimiz sürekli Türkçe [idi]. Dedim yani "Arapça konuşmayalım onunla, hani sürekli Türkçe. Direk kavrasın, yani okula başladığı zaman rahat bir şekilde hani bu dili öğrenmiş olur; zorluk çekmez." […] Hani direkmen Arapça sonra ondan sonra orada [okulda] Türkçe zorlanabilirdi. Yani icabında Arapça algılamazdı. Bir de arkadaşlarıyla hocasıyla rahatça konuşabilsin diye ilk önce Türkçeyi öğretelim dedik. Çok şükür kaptı. Ama Arapça ikinci planda kaldı.
>
> It started with the birth of Seren. When Seren was born, I and my late wife preferred Turkish constantly. I said [to my wife] "Let's not speak Arabic with her. Let's speak Turkish all the time. Let her learn Turkish directly; I mean [he thought] she would have learnt this language [Turkish] when she started school; she wouldn't have any difficulties." […] I mean [if they had taught her] Arabic from the start, then [she would learn] Turkish there [at school], she could have had difficulties. I mean she could possibly not understand [lessons if she only spoke] Arabic. Also, we decided to teach her Turkish first so that she could easily communicate with her friends and teacher. Thank God she got it [Turkish], but Arabic remained in the background.

Ulaş's declarations reveal the conscious choice of Turkish as the language of interaction with their first child from birth with the aim of ensuring that the child would have a smooth transition and integration into school, and she would not face any language barriers. The parents prioritized Turkish as it was the language that would enable their child's adjustment to the school setting and help her to

communicate with her teachers and classmates easily. In addition, Turkish would facilitate learning in the classroom environment. Similar to Esra, Ulaş and his wife believed that teaching their children Arabic at pre-school period could lead to challenges for the child upon entering school. However, while their child picked up Turkish successfully and had no trouble at school, her development in the community language was undermined. This suggest that the parents well-intentioned emphasis on the majority language to ensure easy adaptation to and communication at school came at the expense of overlooking the community language, which could result in children's lack of proficiency and connection to their cultural heritage and identity over time. In that sense, Ulaş's remarks also highlight the challenges and dilemmas experienced in trying to balance adaptation to the majority society on the one hand, and trying to preserve one's heritage language and identity on the other.

In Family 4, Sevgi stated that school shaped her daughter's language choice in favour of the language of instruction. She reported that her daughter's language shifted to Turkish unavoidably due to school and her readings. According to Sevgi's accounts, her daughter finished one book every day. Sevgi stated that her language use with her children was mixed; however, her use of Arabic was rare due to school. Since Sevgi helped her daughter with her homework, Turkish dominated their interaction. In other words, school effect made the primary position of Turkish in their family stronger. Sevgi's own words were: "Ben de Arapça [konuşuyorum] ama hani derslerden ne bileyim şeyden ötürü üzerlerinde ben çok duruyorum. Hani hep ders, ders, ders, okul, kitap bilmem ne. İster istemez ağırlıklı olarak ben Türkçe [konuşuyorum]." (Eng., I also [speak] Arabic [to her children], but due to lessons, due to-I don't know, I spend a lot of time guiding them [her kids] [on their lessons]. I mean always lessons, lessons, lessons, school, books etc. I inevitably use mainly Turkish [with her children]").

Sevgi's remarks point to the challenge of balancing the wish to transmit the community language to her children with the practical realities of a context in which Turkish is the dominant language of school in particular and the country in general. As Sevgi is responsible for helping her daughter with her homework, there is an inevitable shift to Turkish as the language of books, textbooks, assignments, and the

wider community they live in. Sevgi's statements suggest an almost automatic shift to Turkish because it's more important and essential as the language of academic settings. Although Sevgi reported using the community language with her children, the dominance of Turkish at schools and in daily life led her to prioritize Turkish, and this situation made it harder to ensure sustained use of the home language. This suggests the tensions and challenges that parents may face while conforming to the requirements of the majority society to ensure their children's academic success and the wish to preserve the community language.

4.2.2. Participants' Perceptions About the Local Arabic Variety: *"Tarzanca niḥin, mā Arapça aslında."*

The last sub-theme related to the main theme of language hierarchies involved participants' perceptions about the local Arabic variety. The analysis of the data revealed that all the participants held similar beliefs, and descriptions such as "yarım yamalak" (Eng., "half-way"), "tam değil" (Eng., "rudimentary"), "Tarzanca" (Eng., "broken"), "yeterli değil" (Eng., "insufficient"), "yan-sanayi" (Eng., "sub-industry"), "taklit" (Eng., "fake"), and "gerçek Arapça değil" (Eng., "not real Arabic") surfaced in the interviews as references to the local Arabic. For some parents, the source of these views were tied to domestic intercultural encounters or experiences with speakers of other Arabic varieties (typically Syrian Arabic). For some others, they stemmed from the assimilation of the local Arabic through time, and the resulting vocabulary attrition. Some participant parents' perceptions about the Arabic variety they spoke suggested a language hierarcy where the local Arabic was deemed as inferior to other varieties such as Syrian Arabic or the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). In that sense, the local Arabic was competing not only with Turkish, the majority language, but also with other varieties of Arabic. In both situations, the local Arabic held a weaker status and ranked lower than the other languages. In Family 2, Esra stated her views about the local vernacular Arabic as:

> **[Interview, Esra, December 2021]**
> Yani çok yeterli görmüyorum açıkçası çünkü konuştuğumuz dil hani Türkçeden de etkileniyor ya da yani net bir Arapça değil aslında. […] Daha iyi olmasını isterdim. Hani mesela kullandığım-, Arapça konuşurken tıkanmadan konuşmak isterim. Yani

> ben mesela, bende de var. Kelime dağarcığında eksiklik var Arapçada. Yani kendimi tamamen hiç Türkçe kullanmadan Arapçayı herhalde tamamen konuşamam. İllaki bir yerlere Türkçe sıkıştırıyorum. [Yerel Arapça] Çok yeterli değil.
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> To be frank, I don't find it [the local Arabic] sufficient because it's affected by Turkish or actually it's not a specific Arabic [variety]. […] I would like it to be better. I mean, for example, I'd like to be able to speak Arabic without getting stuck. For example, I also have this [problem]. There is a lack of vocabulary in [the local] Arabic. I think I cannot speak Arabic without using any Turkish. I insert Turkish words [while speaking Arabic] unavoidably. It [The local Arabic] isn't very sufficient.

Esra's view of the local Arabic derived from the assimilation of and the resulting lexical attrition in the local Arabic through time. As a result of Turkish dominance in all domains and the decreasing use of the local Arabic from generation to generation, users of the local Arabic have replaced Arabic words with loanwords from Turkish. Similarly, speakers feel the need to insert one-word codeswitches from Turkish if they do not know the Arabic equivalent of it. Given the limited lexicon size of the local Arabic variety, Esra feels the need to use Turkish words while communicating in Arabic. Therefore, she believes the local variety lacks the linguistic depth and breadth that is necessary for smooth communication. This suggest that she evaluates the local Arabic as an inherently deficient variety due to its limited lexicon size.

Her husband, Murat, referred to the local Arabic as "yarım yamalak" (Eng., "half-way"). When I asked him to expand on that, like his wife, he pointed to the effect of Turkish on the local Arabic. He viewed the local variety as "half-way" because it included words from Turkish. His own words were:

> **[Interview, Murat, January 2022]**
> Şöyle tabi Türkçeden çok etkilenmiş. Bazı kelimeler, özellikle de hani büyüklerde bile bazı kelimeler Arapça değil. Sözcük dağarcığımız daha dar gerçekten. Aslında iletişim için yeterli belki ama ne bileyim işte o Mardin Arapçası ya da Suriyeliler geldi ben Suriyelilerle konuşurken bazı şeyler anlayamıyorum. Normal konuşma dilinde konuştukları bazı şeyleri anlamıyorum, mesela ben. Eee bizimkilere sorduğumda bazılarını, onlar da tam şey yapmıyor anlamıyor. O nedenle biraz sanki şey, gitgide zayıflayan bir yapıya sahip. Buradaki Arapça git gide daralıyor.
>
> [The local Arabic] is influenced from Turkish greatly. Some words are not Arabic even among the elderly. They do not know the Arabic one; they add it from Turkish. Our range of vocabulary [in Arabic] is really narrow. Actually, it may suffice for [daily] communication, but it isn't sufficient to understand, say, Mardin Arabic or Syrian Arabic. Syrians have come to our city. When I talk to them, I don't understand some of the things they say. I don't understand some of the things they

> say in daily language. When I ask my parents [about these things], they don't exactly understand, either. That's why, it [the local Arabic] seems to be dwindling away. The Arabic spoken here is dwindling away.

Murat's view of the local Arabic variety as "half-way" stemmed from the lack of Arabic vocabulary and the presence of Turkish words inserted to Arabic speech. In addition, he pointed to the deficiency of the local Arabic in terms of inability to communicate with speakers of other varieties. He believed that the local Arabic, which was greatly influenced by Turkish, lacked mutual intelligibility with other varieties making it difficult for Murat to understand speakers of other dialects. Despite the fact that the local Arabic suffices for daily interaction among community members, communication gaps may occur in domestic intercultural encounters. Since, even the elderly, who are supposed to speak the community language better than the succedent generation do not know some of the Arabic words used in other varieties, Murat was of the opinion that the language is not sufficient for communication at a large scale. Besides, he perceived the small size of lexicon as a sign of the gradual weakening of the local Arabic variety. Vocabulary attrition, which manifested itself through the need of Turkish word insertions into Arabic speech, was a sign of shrinking language for Murat.

In Family 4, Sevgi expressed her view of the local Arabic as: "[…] bizim Arapça ama gerçek Arapça değil ki. Mesela bizim eee tarihten beri burada biz farklı bir anlam katmışız Arapçaya. Tarzanca, **niḥin, mā** Arapça aslında." (Eng., "[…] our Arabic is not real Arabic. We have brought erm a new meaning to Arabic here through time. It's actually Tarzanca (broken Arabic) that we're speaking now, not Arabic.")

Sevgi's own experiences or those she witnessed in her family in domestic intercultural encounters with speakers of other Arabic varieties seemed to be influential in the formation of this belief. Sevgi told an anecdote in which she was reading coffee grounds for her uncle's Syrian daughter-in-law. She stated that this incidence caused her to realize that the Arabic spoken by the community is deficient. Her statements were as follows:

[Interview, Sevgi, January 2022]
Msakt ilfincen baddeᶜayyinla fal **makılla** "[name of the person] eee **mā-tiddāwšne bi-šāġilteyn**." **Kal** yani ben Arapça konuşuyorum (laughing). Yengem sırtını dönmüş. **Kal** [name of the person] **"Šū mā-tiddāwšne bi-šāġilteyn? Šū hayyā yaᶜnī?"** Dedim **fikır, fikır**. Kuzenim de yanımda tam böyle Arapça şeyi düşmanı. **Abtaᶜref** yani. O da dedi ki "Yani bak" dedi, "**Fikır fikır; mā-tiddāwšne fikir fikiiir." Kıltılla** "Bak (laughing) fiki:r"- iki şey anlatacam ya anlamıyor bu, bizi anlamıyor dedim ki **"Mā-tiddāwšne fikr fikrō:n"** (laughter). Yengem kah kah (meaning laughter) "Allah dedi canınızı almasın.[11]" **Barmet kelıtla "Ya** [name of the person], **mā-titfakre bi-šāġilteyn; mā-titfakre.**" Ey ben ne diyorum ona? "**Fikir fikro:n**" (laughing) böyle. Yani Arapçamız da kıt ona bakacak olursan.

I held the cup to read it and said "[Name of the Syrian daughter-in-law], erm **mā-tiddāwšne bi-šāġilteyn**". ("[Name of the Syrian daughter-in-law], you're thinking about two things"). I thought I was speaking Arabic (laughing). My aunt had her back turned to us. [Name of the person] [the Syrian-daughter-in-law] asked "**Šū mā-tiddāwšne bi-šāġilteyn? Šū hayyā yaᶜnī?**" (She asked "What do you mean by '**mā-tiddāwšne bi-šāġilteyn**?' What does that mean?") I said "**Fikr**, **fikr**" (I said "thought, thought"). My cousin was next to me; she is a real enemy of Arabic. I mean she doesn't speak Arabic. She also said "**Fikr**, **fikr**; **mā-tiddāwšne fikr**, **fik:r**." ("Thought thought; you're thinking, thought thought). I said "Look" (laughing), "**fik:r**". I was trying to tell her about two thoughts, and she couldn't understand, she couldn't understand us, and I said "**Mā-tiddāwšne fikr fikrōn.**." ("you're thinking of one thought, two thoughts"). She still didn't understand us. My aunt started to laugh and said "May God not kill you" to us [Sevgi and her cousin]. She turned to [name of the Syrian daughter-in-law] and said "**Ya** [name of the Syrian daughter-in-law] **mā-titfakre bi-šāġilteyn; mā-titfakre**." ("Hey, [name of the Syrian daughter-in-law] You're thinking of two things, you're thinking"). What was I telling her? "**Mā-tiddāwšne fikr fikrō:n**." ("You're thinking of- one thought, two thoughts"). I mean our Arabic is very meager.

In this anecdote, the problem that Sevgi had stemmed from not knowing the felicitous Arabic word for "think". Instead of "**mā-titfakre**", which was later uttered by her aunt, she used "**mā-tiddāwšne**", the phonologically adapted form of "düşünmek" (to think) in Turkish. As a result, the Syrian individual she was talking to failed to understand her. In the local Arabic, most people even the elderly, use this loanword from Turkish instead of the correct verb form "**mā-titfakre**". People who have a contact or a relationship with Syrians, like Sevgi's aunt, may have the opportunity to learn the correct word and add it to their vocabulary. However, others like Sevgi, may not notice that the local Arabic has a small range of vocabulary until they have a contact with speakers of other varieties. In Sevgi's case, her attempt to tell a Syrian acquaintance something using the loanword (Haugen, 1950) "**mā**

[11] A common Turkish saying literally meaning "May God not kill you." It's a humorous expression used when somebody does/says something silly or funny.

tiddāwšne" meaning "you are thinking", and the resulting communication breakdown led her to understand the limits of the local Arabic. Based on this experience and through comparing the local Arabic with other varieties, Sevgi concluded that the community spoke "yarım yamalak" (Eng., "half-way") Arabic, and she indicated her aspiration for her children to learn standard written Arabic, which she valued, rather than the "saçma sapan" (Eng., "nonsensical") spoken variety used by the community: "Bizim böyle saçma sapan Arapça konuşmamızdan değil. Hani okuma yazmayı öğrensin." (Eng., "Not the nonsensical spoken Arabic. I want them to learn literacy").

In Family 1, Gaye's views related to the insufficiency of the local Arabic were similar. Like Sevgi, she compared the local variety with other varieties while stating her opinions. She also pointed to the assimilation of the local Arabic through time due to the language contact situation. As was the case with Sevgi, her realization of the difference between the local Arabic from other varieties occurred after interacting with Syrian people. Gaye stated her views as:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> Dediğim gibi bizim bu yörede Türkçeyle karışık Arapça konuşuyorlar. Artık o da şeyden kaynaklı kaç yıldır Türkiyede yaşıyoruz. ister istemez belli bir süre sonra Türk kelimesi Türkçe kelimeleri bilmediğimiz Arapça kelimelere Türkçe ekleyerek cümlemizi kuruyoruz. Farkında olmadan. Türkçeleştirilmişiz biraz açıkçası bizim buradaki Arapçayı. […] İster istemez topluma uyum ve hani kendi kökenimizi kendi dilimizi konuşmaya çalışırken hani bir eşyanın ismini bilmediğimiz için hani onu da bir harfini kaydırarak ya da böyle uzatarak konuşunca sanki Arapça oluyormuş gibi Arapçaya ekleyerek konuşmuşuz. Mesela 'masa' için 'mo:sa' diyoruz, ama aslında 'ṭēwle' dememiz gerekiyor.
>
> As I said, in this district, people speak a mix of Turkish and Arabic. That stems from having lived in Türkiye for years. After a while, we [the community] inevitably added Turkish words instead of the Arabic words that we don't [the community doesn't] know. We have actually Turkified the local Arabic without even realizing it. […] As a result of adaptation to the [major] society and due to wishing to maintain the ethnic culture and language at the same time, we believed that we were speaking Arabic when we changed a sound in a Turkish word or when we pronounced it by elongating the sounds. For example, we say "**mo:sā"** for "masa" (Eng., "table"), but we should say "**ṭēwle**" (Eng., "table").

Gaye's account of the local Arabic was based on the effects of the language contact phenomenon that has changed the local Arabic in years. Gaye's remarks suggested a tension between adjusting to the community at the expense of putting the mother

tongue in the background and a desire to maintain the ethnic culture and language at the same time. Due to the pressure of adapting to the major society, the community started to adopt Turkish and the use of Arabic decreased over time. This naturally brought along lexical attrition in Arabic, and people started to use Turkish loanwords to compensate for that. In line with the other participants, Gaye mentioned Turkification of the local Arabic that occurred through replacing Arabic words with loanwords from Turkish such as "**mo:sā"**, a phonologically adapted form of the Turkish word "masa" meaning "table". Such influences are common in cases of language contact and can be seen in both the majority and minority languages in contact with each other. However, speakers may not notice these influences while they are using the languages within the community in the natural flow of life. In a similar way to Sevgi, Gaye's realization of the distinctness of the local Arabic happened after her interaction with speakers of Syrian Arabic. Gaye indicated that she understood that the community was using a different variety when the Syrians immigrated to the city following the Syrian conflict:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> Yani şimdi ben çocukluktan beri Arapçayı öğrendim. Şöyle, bizde şöyle bir şey var. Atalarımız nesilden nesile nesilden nesile bazı kelimeleri Türkçeleştirmişlerdi. İşte biz onun farkının farkına Suriyeliler savaş yüzünden bizim şehre gelince vardık. Birçok şeyi biz Türkçe söylüyormuşuz da ama hani Arapça söylediğimizi zannediyormuşuz (gülümseyen ses tonu).
>
> I learned Arabic in my childhood. Here's how it is with us: Our predecessors had changed most Arabic words into Turkish from generation to generation. We realized this when Syrians came to our city due to the war. We were saying most words in Turkish while thinking that we were speaking Arabic (smiley voice).

She stated that as a nurse dealing with Syrian patients, she initially had difficulty in understanding them, and they were not able to understand her, either, due to lack of mutual intelligibility. For example, whereas she used the word **"farše"** for "bed", they used **"taḫt".** Similarly, they referred to slippers as **"šīḥḥayṭa"** while she used the word **"babūğ"** as she had learnt it in the local variety. She also mentioned the communication breakdowns she had due to the lack of health-related words, and stated that she improved her profession-related vocabulary as a result of interaction with her Syrian patients:

[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]
Şimdi ben sağlık sektöründe çalıştığım için açıkçası tansiyonun ne olduğunu bilmiyordum. Akciğerin- ee biz karaciğere akciğere aynı ismi veriyorduk, bunu farketim. Mesela akciğer **"miᶜlāḳ**" ama aslında **"miᶜlāḳ"** karaciğermiş. Akciğer **"riyyatēyn**". Bunu sonradan işte Suriyeliler sayesinde öğrendim. Ben de göğüs cerrahi servisinde çalışıyorum. Ondan kaynaklı hep yanlış işte karaciğeri anlatırken akciğeri anlattığımı zannederken karaciğeri anlatıyormuşum. Onlar da ilişki kurmaya çalışıyorlarmış ister istemez. Sonradan öğrendim, meğersem akciğer biz akciğere karaciğere aynı ismi veriyormuşuz. Tansiyon tansiyonu onlardan öğrendim, kan sulandırıcıyı onlardan öğrendim. Mesleki Arapçayı daha çok geliştirdim açıkçası onlardan kaynaklı. Güzel bir şey oldu aslında.

I am working in health sector, and to be frank, I didn't know what blood pressure meant in Arabic. I also realized that we referred to the lungs erm, to the liver and lungs using the same word**.** For example, [we referred to the] lungs [as] **"miᶜlāḳ**", but the word **"miᶜlāḳ**" actually meant "liver". Lungs are **"riyyatēyn".** I realized this later thanks to the Syrians. I was working in the thoraric surgery ward. While I was trying to tell a patient something about the lungs, I was using **"miᶜlāḳ**" wrongly. They [Syrian patients] were trying to make sense of it. Later, I realized that we were actually using the same word for the lungs and the liver. I learnt [Arabic meanings of] blood pressure and blood thinner from them. To be frank, I've enhanced my job-related vocabulary thanks to them. Actually, this is good.

These accounts suggest that Gaye's perceptions related to the local Arabic formed after interacting with Syrian patients as a nurse. In these interactions, miscommunication arose between her and the Syrian patients due to using different expressions such as for "lungs". As a result, she expanded her profession-related vocabulary and also learnt additional words for daily use such as **"taḫt"** (Eng., "bed") and **"šīḥḥayṭa"** (Eng. "slippers"). She mentioned the benefits of learning professional vocabulary in terms of eliminating communication gaps, and getting her instructions across to the Syrian patients.

Mustafa, Gaye's husband, stated his views about the local Arabic as: "[…] aslında bizim Arapçamız biraz eksik bir Arapça, yani tam anlamıyla bir Arapça değil gibi. Sanki böyle 1-2 farklı lehçenin birleşmesinden ortaya çıkmış bir dile benziyor. Ama en yakın Suriye Arapçası. Türkçenin etkisi de var." (Eng., "[…] actually our Arabic is a little deficient; I mean it's not like a variety in its own right. It's like a language that derived from two different varieties. But, the closest variety to ours is Syrian Arabic. Also, there's Turkish influence on it [the local Arabic]").

Mustafa believed that the local Arabic was influenced both from Turkish and other varieties. Therefore, the local Arabic was "a little deficient" and "not a variety in its own right." In other words, in a similar way to the other participants, Mustafa viewed the local Arabic as deficient due to the changes it has gone through time as a result of language contact.

Mustafa's views were echoed by Ulaş in Family 5, who stated his views as: "[…] gerçek bir Arapça değil yani, belli bir ülkenin Arapçası değil, değiştirilmiş. Ortaya karışık bir şey. […] Ne diyek bilmilyorum, 'yan sanayi' mi, 'sahte' mi? [smiley voice]" (Eng., "[The local Arabic variety] is not real Arabic. I mean it's not Arabic of a certain country; it's been changed. It's a mixed bag. […] I don't know what we should call it; 'sub-industry' (Eng., "yan sanayi") or 'fake' (Eng., "sahte") (smiley voice)?").

He mentioned the differences between different Arabic varieties saying:

> **[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]**
> **Ulaş:** Bizim buradaki Arapçayla mesela otur dediğimizde **"kᶜed"**. Suudililer ne der? **"iğlis"** bak yani. Ha Suriyeliler nasıl der onu tam olarak hatırlamıyorum.
> **Researcher: "briḳ**" diyorlar herhalde veya **"iğlis"**)
> **Ulaş: "briḳ", yimken "briḳ".** Yani farklı. Mesela en ağırı "El-Maġrib", Fas Arapçası. Yani Arap olduğumuz halde anlamazsın onları.
>
> **Ulaş:** When we say "sit down", here in the local Arabic, we say **"kᶜed".** What do Saudi Arabians say? They say **"iğlis".** I don't remember what Syrians say.
> **Researcher:** I guess they say **"briḳ"** or "**iğlis".**
> **Ulaş**: "**briḳ"** I guess, **"briḳ".** I mean, they are different. The most difficult one is "El-Maġrib", the Arabic spoken by the Moroccans. You cannot understand them although you're an Arab.

Like the other participants, Ulaş viewed lack of mutual intelligibility as a problem and also sign of the deficiency of the local Arabic as reflected by his reference to it with words like "yan sanayi" (Eng., sub-industry) or "sahte" (Eng., fake). He further pointed to the pronunciation differences between the different neighborhoods where the community lived. He stated that even when you go to Samandağ, the local Arabic changes a lot. For instance, while in his neighborhood people used the word **"zōṭ"** to refer to oil, people living in Samandağ said **"zēyt"**, or **"bōṭ-bēyt"** (house).

As an outsider who was able to understand the community language only a little, in Family 3, Meltem had some observations about the differences in the pronunciation of some words between different Arabic varieties and the local variety. Like Ulaş, she mentioned the differences in the pronunciation of certain words, and viewed the way that the people in the neighborhood pronounced the word "house" as **"bōṭ"** rather than **"bēyt"** as funny. However, comparing this to the differences between the Turkish variety spoken in her province and the standard Turkish, she stated that she found the local Arabic funny not in a bad, but in a cute way:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Benim yöresel dilim var ya hani Türkçeyi daha- hani bozuk diyemiyorum çünkü o oraya ait ama açıkçası kendi şivemle çok gurur duymuyorum. Çünkü ciddi anlamda çok kaba Kilis ağzı. Burasının farklı olması öyle gibi gelmiyor bana. Yani bu çünkü kendi. Yani bu farklı bir dilmiş gibi. Yani evet Arapça ama hani Azeri Türkçesi ve Türkiye'de olan falan farklı gibi. Burası da hani mesela Suriye'ye benzemeyebilir, Altınözü'ne benzemeyebilir. Bu kendi özünde bir dil. Ama bana şey de geliyor yani bilmeme rağmen mesela **"bēyt"**in ev olduğunu biliyorum ama burda **"bōyṭ"** oluyor ya, komik (laughter). Ama hani sevimli bir komiklik.
>
> In my vernacular [Turkish], I speak Turkish- I cannot say in a corrupt way, after all, it belongs to there [Kilis]- but I'm not proud of my own vernacular because Kilis vernacular is really vulgar. I don't view the difference here in the same way because this [local Arabic] is a language in its own right. I mean yes, it's Arabic, but it's a different language like Azeri Turkish and the Turkish spoken in Türkiye. I mean the Arabic spoken here may be different from Syrian Arabic, from the Arabic used in Altınözü. This is a language in and of itself. However, although I know the difference, I also find it funny that **"bēyt"** is [pronounced as] **"bōyṭ**[12]**"** here, but funny in a cute way.

Regarding the pronunciation differences, Meltem indicated that she knew that house is called **"bēyt**" in Arabic as a result of her initial efforts to learn Arabic by listening to songs of Fairouz, a Lebanese singer, when she was engaged. She said her husband humorously told her to change the vowel sounds with 'o' as in **zēyt-zōṭ, bēyt-bōṭ** if she wanted to learn the local Arabic. Meltem added that she really didn't have any problems with the local language, and wanted her children to learn it. Unlike other Mustafa and Ulaş, Meltem viewed the local Arabic as "a language in and of itself". Similarly, when she mentioned the Turkish dialect used in her hometown, she avoided to label it as "corrupt". This suggests that she does not judge language

[12] As it pronounced by community members in Gümüşgöze and Harbiye the word "house" is "bōṭ" not "bōyṭ". The word was written as pronounced by the participant herself.

change as ‘corruption’ that lead to a degradation in the quality of language. Rather, she recognizes the presence of different varieties and that they cannot be evaluated as inferior compared to other varieties. Her educational background and the courses she might have taken as an individual who studied English Language Teaching and German Language Teaching may constitute the basis of her position regarding different varieties.

Unlike his wife, Ufuk expressed his views about the local Arabic as: “Yani bu tam Arapça değil, tam Türkçe de değil. Yani çok farklı bir yerde kendi kültürünün onu değiştirerek oluşturduğu bir dil aslında. Tam bir Arapça değil bu.” (Eng., “This is not exactly Arabic, neither is it Turkish. I mean it’s very different. It’s actually a language that has been transformed by the locals. It’s not exactly Arabic”).

For Ufuk, the local Arabic has lost its substance as a result of assimilation by the locals themselves. It has been transformed into a different in-between variety, but neither exactly Arabic nor Turkish.

In a nutshell, the participants held similar beliefs about the local Arabic variety that they speak. In some participants’ case, the views related to the local variety derived from domestic intercultural encounters with speakers of other varieties. Communication breakdowns in these encounters led the participants to believe that their Arabic is deficient in comparison to the Modern Standard Arabic or other varieties like Syrian Arabic. Although lack of mutual intelligibility is common among different Arabic varieties, the participants perceived their experiences of communication failure with speakers of other varieties as a problem related to the deficiency of the local Arabic itself.

Furthermore, all the negative labels of the local Arabic such as “fake”, “not real”, “insufficient” or “half-way” seemed to emerge from a comparison between the local Arabic and other varieties which were deemed as more proper. This points to a linguistic hierarchy between different Arabic varieties in which the local Arabic has a low ranking in the minds of the participants. In fact, such negative references to the local Arabic is common among the community members (İstanbullu, 2024). In this

regard, the participants seemed to reproduce the common discourse concerning the local Arabic variety within the community by adopting and articulating the same beliefs.

4.3. Language Practices

Two main themes each of which included two sub-themes were constructed in relation to participants' language practices. The first main theme was "Intergenerational Language Preferences", which included patterns of language choice between the three generations. The first sub-theme related to this theme was "Interlocutor and Content as Determinants of Language Choice". The findings revealed that the interlocutor and content were key determinants of language choice between different generations. As bilingual individuals speaking both Arabic and Turkish, the parent generation often accommodated to their parents, who were Arabic dominant. Furthermore, in line with their beliefs and ideologies (reported in the previous section) regarding the significance of Turkish for their children's education and future, they used Turkish as the language of interaction with their children. Besides interlocutor, content also had an impact on participants' language preferences. Data revealed that in some families, parents and grandparents interacted in Turkish when the content was about the children. In other words, despite the fact that the default language of communication between parents and grandparents was Arabic, they switched to Turkish when they wanted to include children in their conversations. Similarly, family members who usually employed Turkish in the home domain, switched to Arabic when they wanted to prevent younger children from understanding the content of their speech. Children, who were defined as receptive bilinguals, used Turkish as the default language of communication both with their parents and with their grandparents.

The second sub-theme related to the first main theme was "Grandparents' Language Preferences with Children: A Help or Hindrance in Language Maintenance?" The findings also showed that parents had different perspectives about grandparents' role in their children's Arabic development. The data revealed that grandmothers who could not speak Turkish sticked to Arabic in their interaction with their

grandchildren. However, grandmothers who could speak even rudimentary Turkish tended to accommodate to their grandchildren's choice of Turkish. Furthermore, grandfathers who had a better command of Turkish than grandmothers, mostly preferred to use Turkish with their grandchildren. Despite varying language choices by grandparents, in general, parents viewed grandparents' interactions with their children as positive in terms of the transmission of the community language. They particularly viewed grandparents' houses as settings of immersion rich in Arabic input. In that sense, most parents perceived grandparents as a "help" for their children's development in the community language. However, despite her general positive view about grandparents' effect, one of these parents viewed grandfathers' acts of translation between grandmothers and children as an undermining factor in children's learning of Arabic. Another parent shared a similar belief, and contrary to the other parents, she viewed grandparents as a hindrance in her children's acquisition of the community language. Based on her mother-in-law's language choice with her children and on her general observations in the neighborhood, this mother believed that by accommodating to children's preferred language (Turkish), grandmothers actually hindered children's learning of Arabic.

The second theme related to language practices was "Occasion and Activity Based Language Preferences" which had two layers "Language Preferences at Funeral Ceremonies and on Religious Holidays" and "Language Preferences for Expressing Love, Affection and Endearment". This first sub-theme revealed that although Turkish was the dominant language in the participant families' lives in domains such as home, workplace and school, parents preferred to use Arabic on cultural occasions like religious holidays and funeral ceremonies. Some parents also encouraged their children to use Arabic holiday greetings on religious holidays. Moreover, the data showed that bilingual parents tended to use Arabic for affective communication. That is, these parents mostly expressed their love, affection and endearment to their children in their mother tongue, Arabic, despite the fact that they used Turkish for daily interaction with their children. Findings related to participant families' language practices will be presented below:

4.3.1. Intergenerational Language Preferences

4.3.1.1. Interlocutor and Content as Determinants of Language Choice

In all of the participant families, a clear pattern of language choice emerged between different generations. Whereas the language of interaction was mainly Turkish between the second generation (parents) and third generation (children) family members, the first generation (grandparents) and second generation (parents) used Arabic as the default language among themselves. In other words, parents adjusted their language based on their interlocutors and accommodated to grandparents' and their children's language preferences. This was evident in parents' declarations, video data and observations.

In Family 2, Esra stated that she used Turkish predominantly with her husband irrespective of the presence of her children. In other words, her children did not have an influence on her choice of Turkish with her husband. In addition, Turkish was the default language of interaction between her and her daughters. Murat also stated that the default language between them as parents and their children was Turkish. However, he added that, though it was a rare practice, they spoke Arabic with their daughters to support their learning of Arabic. His own words were:

> [**Interview, Murat, January 2022]**
> Yani açıkçası böyle normal alışkanlıkta yine [evde konuşulan dil] Türkçe çoğunlukta. Ama aklımıza geldiğinde işte Nil biraz daha öğrensin diye veya Ceren pekiştirsin diye öyle kendi aramızda bilinçli bir şekilde Arapça konuştuğumuz da oluyor. Ama daldığımda ya da kontrollü bir konuşma olmadığında otomatikman Türkçe konuşuyoruz açıkçası.
>
> To be frank, in the everyday routine, mostly Turkish is the language [used at home]. However, when it comes to our mind, we occasionally speak Arabic between us consciously to help Nil learn Arabic or to enable Ceren to improve her Arabic. But when I zone out or when it's not a deliberate talk, we automatically speak Turkish to be frank.

The general pattern of language choice among parents and children is displayed in the following excerpt[13] from the video data:

[13] Jefferson Transcription System was utilized in the transcription of the data excerpts (See Appendix I).

Excerpt 1 [Video Recorded Data, January 2021]

1 Nil: Anne biz akşam yemeğini mi yiyoruz gece yemeğini mi? ((Looking outside the window at darkness and then at her mom))

Mom, are we eating dinner or night meal?

2 Esra: ((Looking at Nil and eating)) Kızım gece yemeği yok ((directing her gaze at the table and pointing to the food)) akşam yemeği.

My girl, there is no night meal, (that's) dinner.

3 Nil: [Neden?] ((smiling))

[Why not?]

4 Murat: [Siz alıştınız] gece de $yemeğe$ 0.3 ((Looking at Nil)) [öğün haline geldi

[You got used to] eating $at night$, too. *[It has turned into a meal.*

5 Nil: [Neden gece hiç yemek yemiyoruz? ((Looking at Esra and playing with the curtain behind her)) [*Why aren't we eating at night?*

6 Ceren: Hayı:r ((Looking at her mom, then at her dad and tapping at her dad's arm)) Şeyi anlattık ona. Tam hava kararmadan böyle akşam oluyo:r, tam hava kararınca gece. Onu diyor.

No:. We told her that when it's not too dark, it's evening, but when it's totally dark it's night. She's referring to that.

This excerpt displays the common language preferences in parents' and children's interaction. In daily communication, the preferred medium of interaction between all the members of the nuclear family was Turkish as exemplified with the excerpt above. I had also noted these language choices among nuclear family members in my observations. The following note was from my first visit: "The interaction between the spouses and children, and children themselves was Turkish. I mean the children were using Turkish with each other, and with their parents. The spouses were also using Turkish with each other and their children. The language of interaction between all family members and me was Turkish, too. Arabic was not used at all by the family members during my visit." [Observation, December, 2020]

Language of sibling interaction was reported as Turkish by both parents. However, the mother stated that their elder daughter wanted her sister to learn Arabic, and she taught her a few things in Arabic. Esra's own words were:

[Interview, Esra, December 2021]
Esra: Şimdi Ceren Nil'in Türkçe öğren-, Arapça öğrenmesini istiyor zaten. Hani bazen o da arada bir öğretmeye çalışıyor Nil'e.
Researcher: Hmm, ne gibi şeyler mesela?
Esra: Genel ihtiyaçları gidermek konusunda mesela. İşte mesela "ᶜ**aṭīne may**" (Tur., Bana su ver). Onu mesela Ceren sayesinde şey yaptı. Onun dışında sayıları mesela 1'den 10'a kadar Ceren öğretti Nil'e.

Esra: Ceren wants Nil to learn Turk- Arabic. She also occasionally tries to teach Nil [Arabic].
Researcher: Hmm, like what, for example?
Esra: She teaches her things regarding meeting basic needs. For example, "ᶜ**aṭīne may**" (Eng., "Give me water"). Nil learnt this thanks to Ceren. Apart from that, Ceren also taught Nil to count [in Arabic] from 1 to 10.

In addition, the father mentioned that his elder daughter Ceren tried to speak Arabic, and encouraged the younger sister to speak Arabic. He stated that Ceren used Arabic with Nil at certain times saying: "[…] özellikle de yani bu konunun önemi falan gündeme gelmişse evde işte 'Arapçayı öğrenmeliyiz', işte hani 'her lisan bir insan' gibi konuşmalarımız oluyor." (Eng., "[…] especially when the importance of this issue [speaking Arabic] comes up at home, we're engaged in talk such as 'We need to speak Arabic. One language is one person' […]").

In line with parents' declaration, in my observations, I had noted that the default language between siblings was Turkish. However, there were times when Ceren was teaching her sister numbers or saying sentences in Arabic and asking Nil to repeat them especially when they were chatting with their grandmother. For instance, in the following excerpt from my observations and video data, Ceren was trying to give her sister clues about how she could remember some Arabic words for numbers while her grandmother was teaching Nil how to count in Arabic:

Excerpt 2 [Video Recorded Data, May 2021]:

1 Grandmother: **Ṣayyre hīk dayyetik.** ((Grandmother stretching her fingers. Nil going towards her sister who is doing her homework))

Hold your fingers like that

2 Grandmother: **Tᶜōy la-hon.** ((Nil speaking about songs and suggesting that she tell a story))

Come here.

3 Grandmother: Hı ıı. **ʿayne, kulē ʾğōyē. Kulē ʾğōyē'** ((Grandmother looking at Nil, waiting for her to repeat))

No. ***Look (at me). Say 'I'm coming'. Say 'I'm coming'.***

4 Nil: [**Coye**] ((Using baby-like tone of voice and speech))

[***I'm coming***.]

5 Grandmother: £**Ey**£ ((Nil chuckling))

£*Yes*£

6 Grandmother: Yani 'Geliyorum'. ((Nil nodding and making a funny face))

That means 'I'm coming.'

7 Grandmother: Tamam?↑ ((Grandmother stretching her fingers and looking at Nil))

OK? **ʿayne ṣayyre hīk**

((Nil does what grandmother tells her to do))

OK? ***Look, stretch your fingers like that.***

8 Grandmother: **ʿıdde. (.) hāyde ʿıdde.**

Count. (.) Come on, count.

9 Nil: ((Coming closer to her grandmother with her fingers still stretched) Hı?

Huh?

10 Grandmother: **ʿıdde.** Say bak-. ((unfinished incomprehensible word))

Count. *Count -.*

((Nil just motioning as if counting fingers without saying the numbers out loud))

11 Grandmother: **ʿıdde.** Arapça. **Hāyde.**

Count. *In Arabic.* ***Come on!***

12 Nil: Bilmiyo::m ((Baby-like tone of voice and speech))

I don't know (how to count).

13 Grandmother: ((Counting fingers)) Söyle **'wıḥde'**

Say ***'one'***

12 Nil: **Wıḥde** ((Baby-like tone of voice and speech))

One

13 Ceren: **Wıḥde**

One

14 Grandmother: ((Gesturing Nil with her head to come and stand in front of her))

Tᶜōy la-hon

Come here

((Nil comes closer to her grandmother))

15 Ceren: ((Turning towards her grandmother and Nil, smiling)) **tnōn, tlēte**,

two, three,

16 Grandmother: ʾ**İnte wāḳfe Ceren**.

You wait, Ceren.

17 Ceren: ((Chuckling)) ʾ**Arbᶜa**

Four

18 Grandmother: **Hāyde** ((Turning her head towards Ceren)) Ceren bekle.

Come on *Ceren wait*

((Ceren stands up and comes closer to her grandmother and Nil in a smiling way and starts to watch them))

19 Grandmother: ((Looking at Nil and showing her how she is counting fingers)) **Qūlē 'wıḥde'**

Say 'one'

20 Nil ((Counting fingers like grandmother with baby-like tone of voice and speech)) **Wıḥde**

One

21 Grandmother: ((Looking at her fingers and then at Nil each time she counts) **Tnōn**

Two

22 Nil ((Counting her fingers like grandmother with baby-like tone of voice and speech)) **Tnōn**

Two

23 Grandmother: **Tlēte**

Three

24 Nil: ((Counting her fingers like grandmother with baby-like tone of voice and speech)) **Tlēte**

Three

25 Grandmother: ʾ**Arbᶜa**

Four

26 Nil: ((Sounding inattentive and using baby-like tone of voice and speech)) **Arbya**

Four

27 Grandmother: **Ḫamse**

Five

28 Nil: ((Sounding playful and inattentive)) **Ḫamse**

Five

29 Grandmother: **La**ʾ**:**

No:

30 Nil: Hı?

Huh?

31 Ceren: (loudly) [BAK!] [**Ḫamse** eee] ((Motioning as if trying to remember something))

*[LOOK!] [**Five** erm:]*

32 Grandmother: [Sakin dur.] [**Tʿōy la-hon**]

*[Stand calm] [**Come here**]*

33 Ceren: şey gibi [hatırla-] ((Motioning as if thinking))

[remember] it like

34 Grandmother: [Gel!]

[Come!]

35 Nil: [Be:ş]

[Five:]

36 Ceren: Hamsi: ((Nil chuckles)), **sitte**-nene. Tamam mı?

Anchovy[14] ***six**-grandmother*[15] *OK?*

In this excerpt, Ceren was sitting at a table in the corner of the room and was doing her homework. Her grandmother was sitting on a sofa at the other corner, and she called to Nil who was roaming around the room. The grandmother had such occasional attempts to teach the girls, especially the younger one basic things like counting or how to say their age. When she called to Nil, she was talking about some songs and also about stories that she made up. When she suggested that she tell a story, her grandmother refused by using the token of negativity "Hı ıı" meaning 'no'

[14] Turkish equivalent of this sounds like the number 'five' in Arabic. Ceren tries to help Nil remember Arabic words for numbers through words that sound similar in Turkish.

[15] The number 'six' is homophone with the word that means 'grandmother'. Here too, Ceren is trying to get her sister remember Arabic words for numbers by associating them with their homophones.

in line 3, and insisted on her instruction to get Nil stretch her fingers to count them. When the grandmother started to count asking Nil to repeat her, Ceren who was watching and listening to her in a smiling way, took up the floor and started to count in Line 15. The grandmother instructed her to stop in line 17; however, as Ceren went on, the grandmother repeated her instruction in Turkish while at the same time trying to get Nil to count. When Nil started to respond, Ceren was following her. In lines 31, 33 and 36, Ceren gave her sisters some clues for remembering the numbers "**ẖamse"** (Eng., "five") **and "sitte"** (Eng., "six"). In this way, she assumed the role of an expert and tried to help her sister remember the Arabic words for numbers. In the rest of the interaction, the grandmother got Nil to repeat the numbers up to ten while Ceren watched them. The excerpt shows how Ceren, who was considered as more proficient in Arabic by the adult family members, positioned herself as such and tried to assist her younger sister in learning Arabic numbers. Furthermore, that the grandmother addressed Nil and tried to stop Ceren from counting suggests that she was aware of Ceren's relatively better Arabic proficiency and her expert role with regard to assisting her sister in learning Arabic.

Although the language of home was Turkish, the video data suggested that the parents could switch to Arabic when they wanted to prevent Nil from understanding the content of their talk. Both Esra and Murat confirmed that they were engaged in this practice.

Murat added that this codeswitching practice was useful only against Nil because she had little comprehension of Arabic. He stated his thoughts as: "[…] bu sadece Nile karşı daha kullanışlı şu anda. Ceren zaten anlıyor bir şekilde. O nedenle ona karşı çok kullanmıyoruz ama genelde Nile karşı eşim de bana bir şey söyleyecekse Arapça söylüyor, Nil'in duymaması ile ilgili bir çabamız varsa." (Eng., […] this is useful only against Nil because she doesn't understand Arabic much. Ceren already has some understanding of [Arabic]. So we cannot use this against her much, but we mostly use it against Nil. If my wife wants to tell me something, she says it in Arabic if we are trying to prevent Nil from understanding".)

An excerpt from a mealtime interaction illustrated how Esra switched to Arabic to warn Ceren and Murat to stop talking to Nil about something that frustrated her to avoid escalating tension. The family was having dinner at a table in the kitchen. They were having fried chicken, pasta, stuffed chard leaves and salad. Prior to this interaction, the girls wanted to get fried potoates from the counter. Their mother told them they were only eating pasta, and that she would not let them eat fried potatoes unless they ate some chicken. Upon that Nil told her parents that they actually shouldn't pick food because there were a lot of hungry people in the world. The mother took that as an opportunity and tried to feed her some stuffed chard leaves. Nil refused to eat saying she liked it, but didn't feel like eating it then. She said she would eat it the next day. The following conversation developed from this topic:

Excerpt 3 [Video Recorded Data, March 2021]:

1 Esra: ((Looking at Nil and smiling)) O zaman yarından ititbaren böyle bir kuralımız olsun,

So, let's have such a rule from tomorrow on,

hı? Olur mu?

huh? OK?

2 Murat: Yemek seçmeme kuralı.

The rule of not picking food.

3 Esra: ((Looking at Nil and pretending to speak in a serious tone)) Biz de seçmicez. Ben de baba da. Baba seçerse asla ona istediği yemeği yapmicam.

We won't pick neither. Neither me nor dad. If dad picks [food], I'll never make the food that he wants. ((Looking at Nil and eating)) £Hı? Yapalım mı öyle?£

£Huh? Shall we do that?£

4 Nil: ((Looking and sounding discontended and spearing her fork on the pasta in front of her)) Hıı.

Hmm.

5 Esra: ((Realizing Nil's dissatisfaction and looking at her while eating)) Yo, konuşuyoruz. Bir karara varmak için. [Fikrimizi söylüyoruz]

No, we're just speaking. To make a decision. [We're expressing our opinions]

6 Murat: [Yemek seçmeme] kuralını (.) kim uygularsa

Whomever sticks with the rule of not picking food

7 Esra: ((Turning to Murat)) Haftanın birincisi mi oluyor o hafta?

Will they be the week's top winner?

8 Murat: Evet. Baba bir ödül alacak ona. ((Ceren gesturing hurray. Nil looks at Ceren in a happy

Yeah. Dad will buy her a gift.

and surprised manner))

9 Esra: ((Pretending to be excited)) Aaa!

Ohh!

10 Murat ((Looking at Nil)) Ama her gün değil. ((Nil looks at him angrily, puts her fork down

But not every day.

at the table, crosses her arms and looks at her plate angrily)) Bir hafta uygulicaz sonra o [hafta sonunda]

We'll follow the rule for a week, and at the end of that week

11 Esra: ((Looking at Nil who has turned her face away from her father)) [AMA] et hariç, eti yarışmaya katmıyoruz.

BUT except for meat we won't include meat to the competition.

12 Murat: ((Looking at Esra and nodding) Evet.

Yeah.

13 Esra: ((Looking at Murat)) çünkü Nil et hiç yemiyor. ((The father nods.))

because Nil never eats meat.

14 Esra ((looking at Murat and then at Nil)) Tamam, [et dışında.]

OK, [except for meat]

15 Ceren: [Kebabı katalım mı?] ((Esra and Murat look at each other and smile))

[Shall we include Kebab?]

16 Esra (Looking at Ceren smiling) £Kebabı mı?£

£Kebab?£

17 Murat ((Turning to Ceren)) 'Kebabı Yememe Yarışı' [yapacaz kızım] ((Turning his head towards Esra))

We'll have 'No-kebab Eating Competition' [my girl]

£Bakalım ne kadar dayanacaksın£

£We'll see how long you can go without eating kebab£

18 Esra: [Kim kebap yemezse] ((Now Nil has turned her back to the table and is grunting))

[Whomever can go without eating kebab]

19 Nil ((Looking at her mother then turning to her father)) HİÇ DE ÖYLE BİR KURAL YOK!

THERE IS NO SUCH RULE AT ALL!

SEVMEDİĞİMİZ SEVMEDİ- BİRŞEYİ MESELA SEVMİYEN KİŞİLER YEMEZ. ((turns to her mother and hits the stool she's sitting on with her fist softly))

THINGS WE DON'T LIKE- FOR EXAMPLE PEOPLE WHO DON'T LIKE SOMETHING DON'T EAT [THAT THING]

20 Esra ((Looking at her)) Zaten

That's already the case

21 Ceren Biz sadece fikrimizi söyledik Nil.

We just expressed our opinion Nil.

22 Nil ((Her back turned to the camera squatting on her stool with her head resting on her arms and knees, grunting)) Hııı ↑↓

Hmm ↑↓

23 Esra Mesela et yemiyorsun diye ısrar etmicem dedim ya sana Nilim.

For example, because you don't eat meat, didn't I tell you I wouldn't insist, my Nil?

25 Murat Kızım hepimiz [sakince] konuştuk, sen niye bağırıyorsun? Sen de konuş.

My girl, we all spoke [calmly], why are you shouting? You speak, too.

26 Nil ((Closes her ears and makes a gibberish sound))

27 Esra: Neyse, bunu sonra konuşuruz. Yemeğimizi yiyelim. ((To Murat and Ceren**))**

Anyway, we'll talk about this later. Let's dine. ◦**Diššūwwa.**◦

◦ ***Leave her to herself.*** ◦

In this excerpt, while the family were eating dinner, and the mother came up with the rule of not picking food any more. While trying to define the requirements of the rule, the mother explained that they wouldn't expect Nil to eat meat because she never ate it. The father stated that he would give a reward to the winner, but those who followed the rule for the whole week would get the reward. After that Nil loudly objected to the rule in frustration stating that one did not have to eat something that they didn't like. Her mother confirmed that and said she had already stated that they

would exclude meat because Nil didn't eat it. Murat told Nil to speak calmly like them, and Nil made a gibberish sound closing her ears, signaling she didn't want to listen to him. With the intention of defusing tension, Esra tried to end the topic by suggesting discussing this after they dined. After that, she silently told Murat and Ceren to end this topic and let Nil to herself to calm her down. While doing so, she switched to Arabic to prevent Nil from understanding her.

As for interaction between the second and first generation, both parents reported using Arabic with their own and their spouse's parents. The grandparents also used Arabic to interact with the parents. This was attested by video data and field notes which included multigenerational interactions. A three-generational language choice pattern emerged from such recurrent interactional practices. It was observed that the first and second generation family members used Arabic with each other as the default medium of interaction. However, while talking to the children, the parents switched to Turkish and grandparents either switched to Turkish or alternated between Turkish and Arabic. The following excerpt illustrates parents' language choice in multigenerational interactions:

Excerpt 4 [Video Recorded Data, January 2021]:

In this excerpt, Ceren and Nil were dancing as a part of a show they had prepared for their maternal grandparents. Their mother and grandparents were watching them. Nil accidentally poked her own eye with her finger while dancing, and the following conversation developed:

1 Nil: ((Walking towards her mother covering her eye with her hand)) Aaah! Ah aa!

Ouch! Ouch!

2 Grandmother: ʾ**Ey, maᶜleše**.

That's OK.

3 Esra: Gözüne mi değdi? [Elin mi?]

Did it poke in your eye? Her hand?

4 Grandmother: ʾ**īda, [**ʾ**ey, maᶜleš.]**

Her (Nil's) hand. That's OK.

5 Esra: [Çek elini] biraz.

Take your hand off for a little bit

6 Grandfather: [Dikkat et]

Be careful

7 Esra: Elin mi?

Your hand?

8 Nil: Hıı.

Yes.

9 Esra: (to Nil) Tamam. (to grandparents) ʾ**īda la Nil**?

OK. ***Nil's hand?*** (finger)

10 Grandmother: ʾ**īda hiyye**

Her own hand

11 Grandfather: [Kendi eli.]

Her own hand

12 Esra: (to grandparents) [ʾ**īd Ni:l**]. Bakıyım kızım. Aç, aç. Tamam geçti, tamam.

Nil's hand. *Let me see my girl. Open (your eye), open. There there, OK.*

In the excerpt above, when Nil poked her eye with her finger accidentally, she walked to her mother in pain. As her mother was trying to understand what exactly happened, she alternated between Turkish and Arabic depending on whether she was talking to her daughter Nil or to her parents. While she preferred Turkish when she was talking to her daughter as in lines 3, 5, 7, 9 and,12 she switched to Arabic when talking to her mother and father as in lines 9 and 12. This excerpts shows how Esra navigates her language choice based on whom she is addressing.

However, although the mother used Arabic with her parents as a rule, in situations where she wanted her children to understand what she was saying to her parents, she used Turkish. In other words, she accommodated to children's language preference in such situations. The following excerpt illustrates that:

Excerpt 5 [Video Recorded Data, December 2020]:

1 Esra: ((Smiling pointing to Ceren's plate)) $Kızım niye burdan yemiyorsun?$

$Why aren't you eating from your plate, girl?$

2 Grandmother: **Mā-tāti-thayyā** ((Esra laughs))

So that it won't finish.

3 Esra: ((Pointing to the chicken on Ceren's plate)) Bak daha var.

Look, you still have (food on your plate)

4 Ceren: ((Shows something to her mother on her plate and talks with food in her mouth)) ***

5 Esra: ((Looking at Ceren)) Ha, sen beyazları mı istiyorsun? ((Ceren nods))

Oh, do you want the white ones?

Ha:, tamam.

Hımm, OK.

((Taking some chicken from grandmother's plate)) Beyazları verelim nenesi. [Beyaz göğüs.

Let's give her the white ones, granny. [The white ones are chicken breast]

6 Grandmother: [ʿ**aṭiyya**.]

Give them to her.

In this excerpt, the family and grandmother were having dinner. Ceren was eating from her grandmother's plate although she had the same food on her plate. With smiley voice, the mother asked Ceren why she wasn't eating from her own plate. In line 2, the grandmother self-selected herself as the next speaker and using her preferred language (Arabic) with Esra she responded to Esra in a joking way. The mother laughed and told Ceren she still had food on her plate. Ceren's utterance was incomprehensible, but as we can understand from the mother's turn, Ceren wanted the white part of the chicken (chicken breast), which were on her grandmother's plate. Upon understanding that, the mother suggested that the grandmother give the white parts to Ceren. However, the mother chose Turkish in her last turn, which was against her usual language choice in her interactions with the grandmother. Although Esra directed the last statement to her mother, she chose Turkish because Ceren was an indirect interlocutor, and Esra's preferred language with her daughters was Turkish.

The analysis showed that the mother, Esra, also used Turkish with her father in similar situations where the children were the interlocutors besides the grandfather. In that way, she wanted to ensure that they understand her remarks. For instance, in

one of my home visits, the grandfather gave the elder daughter-in-law a case for her glasses. Nil got jealous and fretted because she wanted one, too. Seeing this, Esra turned to her father and going against her usual language choice with her father she asked him whether he had another case: "Bir kutu daha var mı sende dedesi?" (Eng., "Do you have another case for glasses grandpa?"). Here, Esra wanted to make sure that Nil understood what she said to her father, and hence used Turkish with him.

In multiparty interactions, grandparents sticked to their preferred language choice Arabic in their interactions with parents. However, like parents, they tried to accommodate to children's language choices in multiparty interactions. The grandmother, whose Turkish was rudimentary, either codeswitched or used rudimentary Turkish or Arabic while interacting with her grandchildren. The following excerpt exhibits grandmother's differing language choices with her daughter and grandchildren.

Excerpt 6 [Video Recorded Data, December 2020]:

1 Nil: Nene!

Granny!

2 Grandmother: Efendim?

Yes?

3 Nil: Bir gün bizde kalır mısın? ((Tilting her head to one side and lifting her eyebrows)) Bir gün?

Will stay over some day? Some day?

4 Grandmother: Niye kızım?

Why, my girl?

5 Ceren: Bugün kal mesela. Yarın [doğum gününe] zaten bera- [beraber gideriz.

Stay today. Tomorrow we can go to the birthday party together.

6 Esra: **[Ṭamme] 0.2 [ṭamme**

Stay stay

7 Grandmother: **[ʾĪ mīn bayfaḳin?] Mīn bayibᶜatin? [Lawallāsağ ol[16].**

[16] Although this phrase is Turkish, here it is not considered as a codeswitch because it is used like a borrowed word from Turkish, and inserted in Arabic sentences as such by most speakers irrespective of their generation.

Who will wake them up? Who will see them off (to work)? No, thanks.

8 Esra: ((Squinting and raising her head up)) **[Lamīn bātiᶜṭiyyin? Ġāde cumartesi.]**

Who will you see off (to work)? Tomorrow is Saturday.

9 Cemre: ((Looking at her grandmother then shifting her gaze to the apples she is chopping)) [Yarın doğumgününe beraber gidecez] [zaten.]

Tomorrow we'll go to the birthday party together anyway.

10 Grandmother: [**Lē lēʾ:**].

No no.

11 Esra: **Ġāde bnifṭor ṣawa ū [biyrūḥ Murāt bi-ǧībīn]**

Tomorrow we can have breakfast together and Murat can pick them up.

12 Grandmother: **ʾī lē yā ʾEsrā, ᶜlayye šġil bi-l-bōṭ.**

No, Esra. I've things to do at home.

13 Nil: ((Getting closer to her grandmother, putting her hand on her shoulder with a pleading manner)) [Nene lütfe:n]

Granny, please.

14 Ceren: Nene, lütfen ka:l

Granny, please stay.

15 Grandmother: Başka sefer.

Another time.

In the excerpt above, the grandmother was having dinner with the family. As they were chatting after dinner, Nil asked her grandmother to stay over some day. Earlier in that recording, they had mentioned arrangements about celebrating Nil's birthday party at grandparents' place with their aunt and cousins. Referring to that, Ceren further suggested that her grandmother could actually stay that day. She told her grandmother that they could go to her house together the next day for Nil's birthday. Esra also tried to persuade the grandmother and suggested that she stay and they have breakfast together the next day. She also told her that Murat, her husband, could go and pick her sister's family up. The grandmother kept turning down the offer and alleged excuses regarding her daily duties at home. What is notable here is that the grandmother responded to her daughter in her default language, Arabic, and to her granddaughters in Turkish or Arabic in multigenerational conversational contexts such as this one.

In Family 1, Gaye reported that she used both Turkish and Arabic with her husband. However, Turkish was more prevalent in their interaction:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> [Dil kullanımı] eşimle karışık aslında. O anki durumuma bağlı açıkçası böyle sinirli olduğum zamanlar Arapça konuşuyorum. Çok mutlu olduğum zamanlar Türkçe konuşuyorum. Demek ki böyle sinirli olduğum zaman iç duygumu, Arapçayla daha rahat ifade edebiliyorum (laughing) ama diğer zamanların büyük bir çoğunluğunda Türkçe konuşuyoruz.
>
> [My language use] with my husband is actually mixed. It depends on the situation I'm in at that moment. To be frank, I speak Arabic when I'm angry. When I'm very happy I speak Turkish. That means I express my inner feeling more easily with Arabic (laughing). But at other times, we mostly speak Turkish.

Based on Gaye's accounts, her emotional state affected her choice of Arabic with her husband, and she used Arabic with him when she was angry. However, there was no such instance in the video data or observations. As stated by her and shown by video data and observations, Turkish was dominantly used as a language of interaction between the spouses. Gaye stated that her preferred language with her children was Turkish as a rule. However, she sometimes used Arabic when she was angry with her children, too. She stated that Turkish was the dominant language among family members in their home domain. Although I had noted in my observation notes that the nuclear family members used Turkish with each other for communicative purposes, there were occasional one-word codeswitches in their speech. For instance, during a home visit while the family was dining, I told Gaye that her daughter Ayça smeared her clothes with food, and she said "Bulaşsın, **maʿleše.**" (Eng., "Let her clothes be smeared with food. No problem"). Gaye also used one-word codeswitches such as exclamations of surprise (E.g. "**Ye:!"** meaning "Oh!"). Mustafa, Gaye's husband, also reported that the dominant home language was Turkish. He indicated that he used mainly Turkish with his wife and children. My observation notes corroborated that. In the 5-hour-and-27-minute-long video data, there was only one instance in which he spoke to his wife using Arabic. In that video, Mustafa came into the room towards the end of dinner. Using Arabic, he told his wife he would take paint to [name of the person]. Gaye responded in Turkish and asked who [name of the person] was. He answered by alternating between Turkish and Arabic. When he was going out he switched back to Turkish and Gaye responded in Turkish, too.

In line with the parents' statements, the video data revealed that in this family, the predominantly used language was Turkish between spouses, among spouses and children and among children, themselves. The following excerpt gives a snapshot of the family members' language choice in their daily interaction:

Excerpt 7 [Video Recorded Data, February 2021]:

1 Gaye Hadi Der- Mehtap, niye yemiyorsun?

Come on Der- Mehtap, why aren't you eating?

2 Mehtap: Biber istiyom ama acısı:z!

I want pepper, but not a hot one!

3 Gaye: Acısız tarafından?

From the part that's not hot?

4 Derya: ((Looking at her father smiling) Ayça'ya ekmeği [top yapıp veriyorum]

I'm giving bread to Ayça by rolling it like a ball.

5 Mehtap: [***]

6 Derya: (to Ayça) *Daha top ister misin?*

Do you want some more bread balls?

7 Gaye: ((Passing a piece of pepper pickle to Mehtap)) Al. 0.3 bu acılı değil, [al ye.]

Take that. 0.3 It's not hot, [take and eat it.]

8 Derya: Anne:, Ayça'ya ekmeği

Mom, the bread to Ayça-

9 Gaye: Evet, [biraz ((pointing to the bean plate)) fasülye koysana] kızım içine.

Yes, add a little bit beans in it, my girl.

10 Mustafa: (to Berk) [Fişi çektin mi?]

[Have you unplugged it?]

((Berk looks at Mustafa then down as if thinking but doesn't respond)).

((to Berk)) Hı?

Huh?

11 Berk: Evet

Yes.

As for parents' language choice with grandparents, Gaye reported that her language choice with her mother-in-law and father-in-law was not the same. She stated that

she used only Arabic with her mother-in-law because she could not speak Turkish. However, she used mostly Turkish with her father-in-law. Her own words were "I speak Turkish mostly with my father-in-law. I mean with those who speak Turkish, I usually speak Turkish. With those who don't speak Turkish, I compulsorily use Arabic." When I asked whether she preferred Arabic with her father-in-law in any situations, she replied in the following way "I sometimes speak [Arabic with him]. I mean when my mother-in-law is also present, I speak Arabic [with him] so that she could understand what we are saying." She also stated that she used Arabic with her mother. Mustafa indicated that he preferred Arabic with both of his parents and his mother-in-law. The following excerpt shows a similar pattern to Family 2 in terms of multigenerational interaction. In conversations involving participants from three generations, parents and grandparents used Arabic with each other. However, while the parents and grandfather switched to Turkish when they talked to children, the grandmother preferred mainly Arabic because she could not speak Turkish.

The following excerpt illustrates the mother's and grandparents' language choice with each other and the youngest child. In the excerpt below, Gaye was preparing an injection, but the vial of sterile water broke. A glass splinter got into her hand, but she was able to remove it. When Ayça approached her and wanted to touch something on the table, Gaye told her not to touch it. Following that, the grandfather and grandmother instructed Ayça to get away from the table:

Excerpt 8 [Video Recorded Data, December 2020]:

1 Grandmother: **Baḳa kēf baḳitšilliyya la-hal-ʾkzīze?**

How will you remove the glass splinter?

2 Gaye: **Nšēlet** ((Feeling her fingers)). **Nšēlet. Roḥ dān.**

It's gone. ***I think it's gone.***

3 Grandmother **[Nšēlet?]** ʾ**ey l-ḥamd-illāh.**

Have you been able to remove it? OK, thank God.

4 Gaye: [Dur kızı:m!] ((Ayça is playing with something on the table)

[Stop, my girl!]

5 Grandmother: **Tᶜāy yā bitte, lā-tilᶜabē hawnīk.**

Come here my girl, don't play there.

6 Grandfather: Ge:l, gel.

Come:, come.

7 Gaye: Elleme elleme, zaten bir su gitti.

Don't touch, don't touch. One vile has already been broken.

8 Grandfather: Immm, gel buraya gel, gel.

Hmm, come here, come. ((Grandfather pretends to be angry holds Ayça's arm and tries to take her away)) Gel!

Come!

9 Ayça: Bırak! ((Pulls her arm back).

Let go off!

10 Grandfather: Tamam, bırakacam.

OK, I will.

((Gaye and grandmother go to another room for the injection. Gaye comes back first. After a while grandmother comes, too))

11 Gaye**: Ġāde sāᶜa sabᶜa bǧē ʾanā la- ᶜindakīn tādrībik il-ʾibre. barūḥ ʿa-š-šġil. bass īḏall denkīn ʿa-t-tōka.**

Tomorrow, I'll come to your house at 7 a.m. to give you the injection. I'll go to work (after that). But keep an ear at the window.

12 Grandmother: **Mis sāᶜa sabᶜa [betruḥē]?**

Will you go as early as 7 a.m.?

13 Grandfather: ((Looking at Gaye, tilting his head to one side shrugging shoulders and letting them drop)) **[Sāᶜa sabᶜa] mā-nkūn fōyḳīn.**

We are awake by 7.

14 Grandmother: **'Ey mā-nkūn fōyḳīn issāᶜa sabᶜa.**

Yes, we are awake by 7 o'clock.

As can be seen in the excerpt above, the mother and the grandparents used Arabic with each other, but when Ayça got involved, the mother and the grandfather switched to Turkish. The grandmother was observed to stick to Arabic mostly irrespective of interlocutors because as Mustafa and Gaye had reported she only spoke Arabic.

Members of Family 5 displayed varying language preferences. Children preferred to speak Turkish with each other and with their parents as a general pattern. Whereas the mother generally tended to accommodate to the youngest child's language choice and preferred to use Turkish with her, she alternated between Turkish and Arabic while talking to her elder children. However, her language alternation did not seem to depend on any determinant. Rather, she switched between Turkish and Arabic randomly. As for spouse interaction, the mother had indicated in a conversation during a home visit that she and her husband preferred Arabic while communicating with each other. The father corroborated this in the interview. The following excerpt from a family mealtime illustrates the mother's language choice with her youngest and elder children and with her husband:

Excerpt 9 [Video Recorded Data, February 2021]:

1 Seren: Doydun mu baba?

Are you done eating, dad?

2 Ulaş: Doydum

I am.

3 Yelda: **Bīʿağğel hāda; bīytir ṭirōn.** ((Looking at Seren)) **ṭōyrīn ḫalfō rikbīn ʿa-l-ḳasbe.**

He is very fast; he runs (meaning he eats quickly). As if someone was running behind him on a cane.

4 Ulaş: **$ ʾinto la-'ōn rikbīn?$**

What are you running on?

5 Melda: Anne:!

Mom!

6 Yelda: ʾ**A rūḥe?**

Yes, dear? *[Literally '**Yes, my soul**?']*

7 Melda: Anne! Seren abla doğru diyor. Yağsız ye. Yağ kilo verir.

Mom, sister Seren is right. Eat without oil. Oil causes weight gain.

8 Yelda: ((Nodding)) Doğru.

Right.

9 Melda: Yağsız yiyelim. [Yağ sağlıklı değil]

Let's eat without oil. Oil is not healthy.

10 Yelda*: [*Yağsız yiyelim] yağsız beslenelim. ((Looking around))

Let's eat without oil, be nourished without oil

Sankī māyğe ᶜlayye hawā mitil būz midir min ōn. 'a baᶜref minnōn.

It's like brass monkey weather is coming to me from a somewhere. I don't know where it's coming from.

In the interaction above, Seren preferred to use Turkish, her default language, when she asked her father whether he finished eating. Her father responded in Turkish, which is his preferred language with his children. Yelda made a joking comment about her husband's quick eating habit and used Arabic. Her husband also responded jokingly in Arabic, his preferred language with his wife. In turn 5, Melda called to her mother and her mother responded using an Arabic word of address signaling endearment. That day, Seren had cooked dinner, but she had forgotten to add oil. Prior to that excerpt, there was some joking among family members about Seren's mistake. Laughing along with the jokesi Seren tried to rationalize her overlook by stating that oil was not healty and it could lead to weight-gain. Referring to that conversation about harmful effects of oil, Melda told her mother that Seren was right, and oil was not good. She used Turkish. Her mother accommodated to her and responded in Turkish. After that, looking around, Yelda stated that she felt cold air, and didn't understand where it came from. In other words, she shifted the topic and addressing the other family members, she used her preferred language, Arabic. The analysis of the video recordings and observation notes showed that as a general pattern, the mother accommodated to Melda's language preference and used mostly Turkish with her. The following part from my observation notes at home visits corroborates that: "One thing that drew my attention was that Yelda used Turkish more frequently with her youngest child. With the older ones she used Arabic or codeswitched. Although Yelda preferred Arabic or engaged in codeswitching with Seren, Ahmet and Yaprak, they all responded in Turkish. In that sense, there was parallel discourse between the mother and the children when she preferred Arabic." [Observation, February, 2021]. I could not interview the mother due to her sudden death, which left me deeply upset. So, I could not ask her about the reason of differences in her language choice with her children. However, the parents' language ideology could have led to this language choice pattern. As reported in the language

ideologies section, the parents conciously preferred Turkish with their children at pre-school period with the intention of ensuring their easy integration to school. The age difference between the siblings, and the fact that Melda was at nursery school could have shaped Yelda's language choices with her children. In fact, when I was interviewing her father, Seren, the eldest child, reported that her mother did not use Arabic with them in their early childhood. However, as they grew older, she started to use Arabic or codeswitched between Turkish and Arabic. She also mentioned warning her mother about using Turkish with her youngest sibling: "There were times at which I was warning my mother like 'Mom, speak Turkish with Melda so that her language [Turkish] will be proper.'" In addition, Ulaş reported that whereas he sometimes spoke Arabic with his elder children, they [he and his elder children) did not speak Arabic with Melda yet so that her Turkish would be proper. In other words, the parents' and elder siblings' pro-Turkish language ideologies are likely to have impacted language choice with the youngest child.

As in Family 2, in this family Arabic was used to prevent a novice child from understanding content of an interaction. For instance, the video data revealed that, when the mother was instructing her leder children about the camera or saying something about Melda, she preferred Arabic to prevent Melda from understanding her. In one of the recordings, Yaprak and Melda were playing with dolls. Yelda said "Yaprak, **Lātḫalliyya tatrūh hekil ḥal**." (Eng., "Yaprak, don'l let her [Melda] go to the other side [of the room]") so that she would stay within the range of the camera. As a rule, Yelda spoke mainly Turkish with Melda. This means she could be categorizing her as a Turkish-dominant speaker and may explain her choice of Arabic when she particularly wants to exclude Melda from the interaction.

Despite her variable language choice with the elder children, and her Turkish dominance with the younger one, the mother used Arabic with her husband, her own mother, mother-in-law, father-in-law and adults in general. The father also used Arabic with his wife; however, unlike her, he tended to use Turkish while interacting with his children. Ulaş reported the following regarding his language choice with his wife: ("Rahmetli eşim ve ben Arapçayı konuşurken Arapça tercih ederdik. Arapça konuşurduk." (Eng., "My late wife and I used to prefer Arabic for interaction. We

spoke Arabic.") When I asked whether there were times when they preferred Turkish, he said: "Tabi ki birbirimizle konuşurken Türkçe de tercih ettiğimiz bazı zamanlar oluyordu." (Eng., "Of course, there were some times that we preferred and spoke Turkish with each other.") Seren chimed in and said: "Mesela şehir dışından arkadaşlarım geldiğinde, annem babam dahil hepimiz Türkçe konuşurduk çünkü onlar Arapça anlamıyorlardı.") (Eng., "For instance when my friends came from out of town, all of us including my mother and father spoke Turkish because they didn't understand Arabic." In fact, during one of my visits, Yelda had also mentioned her husband's and her preference of Turkish when they spoke in presence of monolingual Turkish speakers, such as her husband's co-wrokers. As for his children's language preferences, Ulaş indicated that the children themselves also preferred Turkish among themselves and while interacting with him.

Although children mostly used Turkish in this family, all of them mixed certain Arabic words to their speech. For instance, all of them used the interjection **"Ye:"** (Engl., "Oh") to express their surprise, or in pretend play the mother and the girls frequently used the word **"ḥāffūḍ"** (Eng., "diaper") as if it were Turkish. Apart from that, although they sometimes formed questions based on standard Turkish, at times, all the family members formed questions by omitting the question affix due to transfer effects. Other transfer affects which are common in this community were also identified in this family's language use. These included using Arabic sentence structure, and hence placing the verb after the subject in Turkish statements, making lexical and phonological transfers (e.g. "oce koymak" instead of "oje sürmek", Eng. "apply nail polish") and inserting the Arabic reporting verb **"ḳal"** (Eng., "S/he said that") to their Turkish statements. Moreover, the video data showed that although Arabic did not have any communicative function among siblings, Yaprak, one of the elder sisters, attempted to teach Melda basic things like colors and numbers in Arabic and English. She incorporated teaching these into her games with her younger sister.

In Family 4, Arabic and Turkish seemed to be fused on the part of the adult family members unlike the previous three families. Sevgi, the mother, reported that she codeswitched between Turkish and Arabic while interacting with her husband, but added that they used Turkish predominantly. As for interaction with their children,

she reported that both her husband and she used mainly Turkish with their children. Furthermore, her husband used Arabic with his children more frequently than her. She added that she wanted to speak Arabic more often with her children, but since she helped her daughter with school work and reading, she inevitably switched to Turkish. In other words, as reported in the ideologies section, school had an effect on her language preference with her children. As for language choices with grandparents, Sevgi stated that she used mostly Arabic with her mother-in-law; however, she occasionally codeswitched with her. Similarly, with her father she engaged in codeswitching, but with her mother she used Arabic because that was her mother's dominant language. The video data and observation notes corroborated that as a general pattern, adults used Arabic with each other or alternated between the two languages whereas children used Turkish with the adults and among themselves. Use of Turkish was rare among the parents and the grandmother. A reverse pattern was observed with children. Parents tended to use Turkish more frequently with children. The use of Arabic with children was occasional, on the other hand. The following excerpt is representative of family members' language preferences with different interlocutors. Prior to this exchange, the grandmother was saying she wanted to watch her TV series when eating, therefore during the conversation, she was trying to find a seat where she could watch TV:

Excerpt 10 [Video Recorded Data, May 2021]:

1 Sevgi: Arda, gel yemeğe.

Arda, come and eat.

2 Arda: Ya::.

A:h!

3 Grandmother: Ade- Ale:. Yemek ye, **hāyde** otur otur. ʾ**aḥsen mā-titsalla min-**ʿ**indek [ḥallēk]** ***.

Ade- Ale: (Ali) Eat, ***come on****, sit sit.* ***It's better for you than chatting from there [now] ****

4 Sevgi (to İrfan): [**Ǧōyeb**] 14 ekmek.

[He's brought*] 14 bread.*

5 İrfan: Valla canım, ʾ**anā** ʾ**ḳiltillo** 10 adet. **Amma dišše; ǧōyeb** 10 tane↑ ((waving his hand in the air)) 10 tane↓.

*Well, **I told him** to bring 10, dear. **But anyway; if he's brought 10↑, we'll get 10↓.***

6 Sevgi: [**Ma** 10 tane:!] *** 14 tane **ğōyeb.**

*[**Not** 10:]*** ***He's brought** 14.*

7 Grandmother: [**Mā-ʾkilnēlo šē**.] Aldık, seve seve aldık. [**U ḫadna**. ((Looking at the reseracher)). **Šō b-n kul?** [**zalame mšahhōr.**

[We didn't say anthing]. *We bought them with pleasure. [And we bought them. What can we say? He's a poor man.*

8 İrfan: ((Looking towards grandmother)) **Tamām. [Nšallāh ī ğīb šō ʾabīrīd yā.]**

That's [OK. Let him bring as many (bread) as he wants.]

9 Grandmother: ʾ**Anā ma-hōn baddē,** ʿ**ēyno ṣaḥne?**

I won't (sit) here, where's my plate?

10 Sevgi ((Passing her a plate)) **ḫıde** ʾ**ana abaddekel ğar-**

Take that, I'll just eat-

11 İrfan: ((Turning to Arda who is standing near the TV)) Arda, gel.

Arda, come.

12 Grandmother: **Sikkartūw la-t-telewizyōn?** ((Looking at Sevgi))

Have you switched off the TV?

13 İrfan: ((Arda is standing near the camera)) Arda:, [çekil ordan.]

Arda:, [don't stand there.]

14 Sevgi: [**'Ey 'ey**.]

[Yeah yeah]

15 Grandmother: ((Standing near Sevgi and across from Aslı, and taking some food to her plate)) (to Aslı) $Sen yedin.$ (to Sevgi) ((Taking another plate from the table))

$*You've eaten*.$

ʾ**Anā hād 'ile kuwwa hād hād** (to Aslı) $Sen yedin yedin$ (to Sevgi) ʾ**inte kūme mīn-**ʿ**indīk**.

That's mine, that's mine. $*You've eaten*. *You've eaten*$ (to Sevgi) ***You go to another seat.***

((Sevgi does not seem willing to change her seat; realizing that grandmother takes her plate to goes to another seat)) ʾ**Anā taḳᶜed hawnīk.**

I'm gonna sit there.

16 Aslı: Baba! Baba, uzatır mısın ((pointing to a stuffed courgette on the plate)) şunu?

Dad! Dad, can you pass me that?

((Pointing to another one)) Yok yok, şunu.

No, no that one.

17 İrfan ((Holding the plate for her)) Al.

Take it.

18 Sevgi: ((Pointing to the chair near her) **Tᶜāy ḳᶜāde hōn.**

Come, come and sit here.

19 Grandmother: **La' laʾ:.** ((sitting opposite Sevgi)) **Hıh.**

No no ***Here I sit.***

20 İrfan: ((Pointing to the chair grandmother is sitting)) **Le': le': diššiyye ᶜindik.**

No: no:. Let her sit there.

((Aslı is trying to get a stuffed eggplant from a plate)) Batır çatalı içine. Tamam çek.

Spear the fork. OK, take it.

21 Sevgi: Bak ne kadar güze:l. Küçük küçük dolmalar.

Look, how nice: they are. Tiny stuffed vegetables.

In the excerpt above, the family were about to have dinner. Using Turkish, the mother called to her son, Arda, and told him to come and eat, but he responded only with an interjection showing his displeasure. The grandmother also called to him, but she codeswitched between Turkish and Arabic. In the following turn, Sevgi addressed her husband and using an intrasentential codeswitch told him that he (the man who brought bread to them) brought 14 bread. Using language alternation in the same way, İrfan told Sevgi that he actually told the man to bring 10 bread. He added that if the man had brought 10, they would buy 10 (Most probably, he meant to say 14, though). Sevgi said that the man brought 14 bread, not 10. Overlapping with Sevgi, the grandmother said that they bought the bread with pleasure, and implicitly explained the reason by adding that the man was a poor one. As shown in the excerpt, she codeswitched in this turn of hers, as well. İrfan overlapped with his mother and tried to end this topic with a sentence produced in Arabic. Sevgi and the grandmother also switched to Arabic when the grandmother was looking for her plate saying she wouldn't sit there (with the TV behind her). Sevgi passed her a plate

saying she would just eat-, but she didn't complete her sentence. In the next turn, İrfan switched to Turkish and called to his son again. Next, the grandmother asked them whether they turned off the TV. İrfan called to Arda once more, and overlapping with him Sevgi responded to the granmother with an iterative 'Yes'. Meanwhile, the grandmother was standing near Sevgi and taking food to her plate. While doing so, she talked to Aslı, her granddaugther, who was sitting opposite her. Using Turkish, she told her she had already eaten in a joking way. She switched to Arabic, and with the hope of sitting opposite the TV and watching her TV series, she told Sevgi to move to another seat. However, since Sevgi did not change her seat, the grandmother went to another chair. After that Aslı asked her father to give her food by using Turkish, and her father responded in Turkish, too. In the next turn, Sevgi addressed the grandmother in Arabic and told her to come sit near her. As she was getting seated opposite Sevgi, the grandmother preffered Arabic and said no. Taking the next turn, İrfan told Sevgi to let the grandmother stay where she was, then he switched to Turkish when speaking to his daughter. In the final turn, Sevgi also addressed her daughter and commented about the food using Turkish. This excerpt illustrates the fluidity of the two languages on the part of the adult speakers in the family. However, the grandchildren seemed to be Turkish dominant, and as a rule, relied on that language in their interactions. It was observed that irrespective of adults' language choice and context or topic, children initiated or joined a conversation using Turkish. Children rarely used Arabic, and when they did, their use was mostly limited to interjections like **"Ye:"** or **"İyye:"** (Eng. "Oh"), the confirmation token "**ey"** (Eng., "yes") or **"maᶜleš"** (Eng., "that's OK" or "no problem"). The following excerpt was taken from a video recorded during breakfast at the terrace. At the beginning of the recording, Arda went near his grandmother and told her that he wanted kebab. The parents and the grandmother told him that they would make kebab later that day, but Arda told them he wanted to eat it in Havuz (the name of an area with restaurants which mostly serve kebab). When his father told him to eat his breakfast, Arda got angry and went into the house. His father followed him; the grandmother, mother and sister got engaged in the following conversation. As can be seen in the excerpt below, whereas the mother and grandmother were using Arabic, Aslı joined the conversation with her preferred language, Turkish:

Excerpt 11 [Video Recorded Data, April, 2021]:

1 Grandmother: **Mnān ṭallaᶜa la-hal-kebāb ḥallēk?**

Where did this whole kebab thing come from all of a sudden?

2 Sevgi: **Ḳāl ʾinte kūyiltillo ṭiriḳ: "Baddē ḥidlek kebāb hōn mil-Hēvūz." ḳāl**

He said that you had told him you'd take him to Havuz. He said he

šōyef ᶜēlem ma-yēklo.

saw people eating (kebab).

3 Grandmother: **Dōġre hīk ʾkiltillo mā kizib.**

Yes, I told him so. That's true.

4 Sevgi: **Ey, ḳāl: "Ū ğōyē la-bēle. il-ᶜēlem mā-yēklo ū ʾanā mā-tfarroğ ᶜlayyīn!"**

Yeah, he said "I feel like eating one. The people are eating and I'm watching them!"

5 Aslı: **Nene, gerçekten bir gittik herkes kebap yiyo:r.**

Granny, really, we went there and everyone was eating kebab.

6 Grandmother ((looking at Aslı then at Sevgi)) **Bensawwē šwayyṭah, ʾabēnsawwē**?

We'll make (kebab) later today, won't we?

7 Sevgi: **Bensawwē** tabi:.

*Of course, **we will**.*

In the preceding excerpt, the grandmother initiated a conversation, and referring to Arda, she asked Sevgi why he brought up eating kebab. Sevgi aligned with the grandmother's choice of Arabic while responding to her. She explained why he brought up this topic by using direct speech to report what Arda had said. In turn 3, the grandmother confirmed what Sevgi reported to her. In turn 4, Sevgi went on to report what Arda had told her. Picking her grandmother as the addressee, in turn 5, Aslı confirmed what her mother reported to the grandmother. In turn 6, the grandmother addressed Sevgi and asked her if they would make kebab later during the day. Sevgi responded using both Arabic and Turkish. As this excerpt reveals, Aslı understood the content of her mother's and grandmother's conversation and joined it using Turkish with her grandmother.

Even though the children's dominant language of interaction was Turkish irrespective of interlocutors, both Aslı and Arda were observed to transfer the

question form of Arabic to Turkish questions at times. Actually, they were fluctuating between standard question forms in Turkish and questions forms transferred from Arabic. The following excerpt shows how Aslı formed a question in Turkish relying on rules of Arabic question formation:

Excerpt 12 [Video Recorded Data, April 2021]:

1 Grandmother**: Arda:, yōbne: ᶜndek šams tᶜā la-ḥōn, kᶜēd mḥidiyye tᶜā. Tᶜā kᶜēd mḥidiyye ḥōn. [Tᶜā.]**

Arda:, my son, the sun is shining over there, come here, sit next to me, come. Come sit here next to me. [Come.]

2 Aslı: ((Looking at Arda)) [Yer değiştirelim?]↑ ((Arda agrees and Aslı gets to her feet to swap places).

[Shall we swap places?]

In this excerpt, the family was having a barbecue out in the garden. When the sun started to beat down on Arda, the grandmother told him to come and sit near her using Arabic. Then Aslı suggested that they swap places; however, she formed a question in Turkish, which had the structure of Arabic questions. She omitted the question affix, and used rising intonation on the verb instead.

In Family 3, the language choice of the father was affected by interlocutors as in other families. His wife, on the other hand, could use the only common language available in her repertoire-Turkish. Since the mother was a monolingual Turkish speaker, interaction between the spouses and the son was predominantly in Turkish. However, the analysis showed that the father tended to use one-word Arabic codeswitches in his interaction with his son, Burak. In addition, the data showed that although Burak's preferred language was always Turkish, he used the Arabic word "**'ey"** (Eng., "Yes") frequently in his interactions with his parents and grandparents. The following excerpt exemplifies Ufuk's and Burak's one-word codeswitches. Prior to this excerpt, Burak and his mother were painting egg shells as an entertaining activity. Then, the father came into the room and started to chat with Burak.

Excerpt 13 [Video Recorded Data, January 2021]:

1 Burak ((Tapping on his father's cheek)) Baba!

Dad!

2 Ufuk: Efendim.

Yes.

3 Burak: ((Going towards the lego bricks and pointing to them)) Oraya lego oynayalım.

Let's play with the blocks there.

4 Ufuk: Lego mu oynamak [istiyorsun] sen?

Do you [want to] play with the blocks?

5 Burak [**'Ey**]

Yes.

6 Ufuk: **Lē lē:**

No no.

7 Burak: Yüsse::n. ((Lütfen))

Please:.

8 Ufuk: Ama biraz yumurta boyayalım sonra.

But let's color egg shells first.

9 Burak: Olmaz ki.

That's not possible.

10 Ufuk: **Laşo?**

Why not?

11 Burak: İstedikleri şeyleri napabiliriz.

We can do the things they ask us to do.

In this excerpt, prior to the father's entrance to the room, Burak was pretend-playing with his mother. He was pretending to be a student who obeyed his teachers. When his father came in, Burak asked him to play with lego bricks together. His father asked Burak whether he wanted to play with lego bricks, and overlapping with his father, Burak used the Arabic word **"'Ey"** (Eng., "Yes") as a minimal response. Ufuk used the Arabic word **"Lē"** (Eng., "No") iteratively in the next turn. Burak pleaded his father to play together by mispronuncing the word "Lütfen" as

“Yüssesn” (Eng., “Please”). However, Ufuk did not correct it and suggested dying egg shells first. Burak said that was not possible and Ufuk asked him why using the Arabic word “**Lašō”** (Eng., “Why not”). Burak responded by using Turkish, and referrring to his imaginary teachers in the pretend play, he told his father that they could only do the things they (the teachers) ask them to do. Burak frequently inserted the Arabic word “**Ey”** in his interactions with various interlocutors. Besides, Ufuk used such one-word codeswitches as those in this excerpt and a few more (e.g. **“Maᶜleš”** meaning “That’s OK”; **“ᶜayb”** meaning “That’s a shame” etc.) in his interactions with Burak. He also used **“Ḥabīb / Ḥabībē”** (Eng., “My dear”) frequently as an address word for Burak. However, he did not codeswitch in this way when interacting with his wife. When I asked the father about these one-word codeswitches that seemed to be rooted in his son’s and his own language use, he made the following explanation to account for these uses:

[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]
[…] ilk Burak başladığı zaman daha çok küçükken Meltem okula gidiyordu. Yani babaannesi bakıyordu. Onunla ilgili de aslında Burak’ın ilk yerleşen dili Arapçaydı ama daha henüz konuşamıyordu. Konuşmaya ilk başladığında o heceleme babıldama dönemi ne deniyor işte. O dönemde ilk öğrendiği kelimeler hep Arapçaydı. Ondan sonra Meltemin okulu bittiğinde o KPSS sınavından sonra o atama sürecinde pandemi de araya girdiği için bir sene falan bir boşluk oluştu. O boşlukta da annesi Burakla ilgilendiği için konuşmaya Türkçeyle başladı ama altyapısı hep Arapçaydı. O ilk tek heceli olan her şeyde Arapça yerleşmiş, o kaldı yani. Ondan sonra yenileri öğrendik. Öğrenmesine rağmen eskileri atamadı. Halen ilk aklına gelen bu sevinme ya da şaşırma, o ilk tepkiler hep Arapça ile geliyor. Tek hecelik olanların hepsinde Arapça var.

[…] When Burak first started, when he was very little, Meltem was going to school [studying at university]. So, his paternal granmother was taking care of him. As a result, the first language that Burak acquired was actually Arabic, but at that time, he couldn’t speak yet. When he first started to speak, I mean when he was at the babbling stage or whatever it’s called, his first words were all in Arabic. After that when Meltem graduated from university and was waiting to be appointed after the KPSS exam, the pandemic broke out. So, there was a one-year gap. During this gap, his mother took care of Burak, and he started speaking using Turkish, but his initial background was all Arabic. I mean these one-word codeswitches remained Arabic in his language. After that he learnt new ones [expressions]. Despite that he couldn’t forsake the old ones. He still reacts with these one-word Arabic exclamations when he is surprised or happy. He uses Arabic expressions in all such one-word expressions.

Similar to Family 1, in multigenerational interactional contexts, language choice depended on the interlocutors in this family. As can be seen in the excerpt below, the analysis of the video recordings showed that while Ufuk and his parents used Arabic with each other as a general pattern, they switched to Turkish when Burak joined the conversation. In this excerpt, Ufuk was washing the terrace with Burak. Burak had called to his grandparents several times, but none of them responded. A few minutes later, the grandmother called to Burak from the garden below, and three of them had the following conversation:

Excerpt 14 [Video Recorded Data, March 2021]:

1 Grandmother: *** ((Calling from below))

2 Ufuk: **Naᶜem yāmo?**

Yes, mom?

3 Grandmother: ʾ**İlo mā-kıllō** ʿ**aynek**.

I'm asking him [Burak] where he is.

4 Ufuk: **Fet la-ᶜind** ʾ**immō.**

He went into room, to his mom.

5 Grandmother: **'İy** tamam.

Well, OK.

6 Ufuk: **Ḥallek bīğe. šū btrīde? tfaddle.**

He'll be back in no time. What would you like? Tell me.

7 Grandmother: **Walla mā brīd šē, ᶜišt mā yṣallīnē** ***

I don't want anything, since he's chatting with me*

8 Ufuk**: Ṭamēm ğā.** ((Turning to Burak)) Gel bakayım, bak burda nene.

OK, here he comes*. Come here, look granny is here.*

9 Burak: ((Running towards Ufuk)) Kayabilirim baksana ***

*Look***, I can slip and fall.*

10 Grandmother: **Yo: rūḥ qalbē.** Kahvaltı yaptın mı sen?

(Literal translation- the soul of my heart) My sweetheart. *Have you had breakfast?*

11 Burak: Hayır.

No.

12 Grandmother: Niye?

Why not?

13 Burak: Daha yeni uyandık.

We've just woken up.

14 Grandmother: **'İy**, bravo sana:. Şimdiye kadar uyudu::n?↑

***Well,** good job! Have you slept till now?*

15 Ufuk: ((Silently)) Söyle ***'maʿleš'***

Say 'That's not a problem.'

16 Grandmother: Aferin sana. [Biz yaptık]

Good job. [We've had breakfast.]

17 Burak: [**Maʿ:le:š**']

[That's not a problem.]

In this excerpt, grandmother and Ufuk were talking to each other using Arabic. However, when Burak joined the conversation both of them switched to Turkish, and except for few Arabic words inserted in Turkish statements, the conversation with Burak was in Turkish. The analysis of the videos showed that although the grandmother used Turkish, she seemed to transfer Arabic question form to Turkish and omitted the question affix as in line 14. That's a very common pattern among first generation speakers who have learnt Turkish subsequent to Arabic. In addition, despite preferring Turkish as the main means of interaction with Burak, the grandmother used words or phrases of affection and love mainly in Arabic (e.g. **"Yo rūḥ qalbē"** "(Eng. Lit., "The soul of my heart" conveying tender love). It was also observed that although the grandparents talked to Meltem using Turkish because she is a monolingual Turkish speaker, the grandmother occasionally addressed her daughter-in-law using Arabic expressions like "**Yo bittē**" (Eng. Lit., "Hey, my daughter" meaning "Hey, my girl").

In addition to interlocutors, topic and content determined language choice of the adults. Just as Nil in Family 2, Burak's comprehension of Arabic was not very good. Therefore, when his father did not want Burak to understand what was being said, he switched to Arabic.

In the following excerpt, Ufuk and Burak were washing the terrace. Burak's uncle called to him from the garden, and started to chat with him:

Excerpt 15 [Video Recorded Data, March 2021]:

1 Burak: Terası yıkıyorum!

I'm washing the terrace!

2 Uncle: Teras yıkanmaz ki; hav- hava soğuk.

You shouldn't wash it; it- it's cold.

3 Ufuk: Hava soğuk diyor amca. Soğuk mu hava?

Uncle says it's cold. Is it cold?

4 Burak: (loudly) Hayı:r!

No:!

5 Ufuk: "Hava güzel" de, "hava güzel".

Say "The weather is good", "the weather is good."

6 Burak: Hava güzel!

The weather is good!

7 Uncle: Çok soğuk bence.

I think it's very cold.

8 Burak: HAYI:::R!

NO:!

9 Uncle: Evet, evet.

Yes, yes.

10 Burak: Çok sıcak.

It's very hot.

11 Uncle: Çok sıcak?↑ O zaman havuzu dolduralım mı? Yüzersin.

Very hot? Then, shall we fill the pool? You can swim.

12 Burak: Hayır.

No.

13 Ufuk: **Lā tʿalkō, lā tʿalkō!**

Don't remind him of the pool, don't remind him!

In the excerpt above, up to turn 12, the interaction was in Turkish among Burak, his father and his uncle. In his final turn, the uncle suggested filling the pool so that Burak could swim. Although Burak responded with "No", Ufuk switched to Arabic in turn 13, and told the uncle not to remind Burak of the pool. As he didn't want

Burak to understand, he preferred Arabic. That could be indicative of the father's viewing Burak as less competent in Arabic.

4.3.1.2. Grandparents' Language Preferences with Children: A Help or Hindrance in Language Maintenance?

Analysis of videos, field notes and interview data revealed that as a general pattern, grandparents accommodated to the children as did the parents. However, the grandfathers accommodated to their grandchildren's language choice more than the grandmothers probably because their Turkish proficiency was higher than that of grandmothers. Furthermore, an individual grandchild's proficiency level also determined grandparents' language choices. They tended to use Turkish more frequently with their grandchildren who had lower Arabic comprehension levels. In that sense, parents' views regarding grandparents' role on their children's learning of Arabic varied. Whereas the majority of the parents (7 out of 8) deemed grandparents' role as a key one, one of these participants pointed to the grandfather's translation between the grandmother and her children as factor undermining community language transmission. Diverging from other participants, one participant stated that by accommodating to children, grandparents actually prevented intergenerational language transmission. Analysis of grandparents' language choice with children and their perceived role on children's Arabic acquisition is presented below.

Esra stated that her husband's parents used Arabic with her daughters, but sometimes they switched to Turkish when the younger one didn't understand them. As for her own parents, her mother's language choices with her elder and younger daughters differed based on their comprehension of Arabic. According to Esra's accounts, the maternal grandmother used mostly Turkish with her younger daughter. On the other hand, she preferred Arabic with her elder daughter when she was talking only to her because that was her mother's dominant language and her elder daughter was better at Arabic than the younger one. However, when the grandmother was talking to both of the girls about something that concerned both of them, she was using mostly Turkish. Esra stated that her father mainly used Turkish with his daughters, but he wanted Ceren to learn Arabic, too. So, at times he used Arabic with her. The video

data and field notes corroborated Esra's accounts. Although the grandmother alternated between Turkish and Arabic in her interactions with both Ceren and Nil, she tended to use Arabic more often than Turkish with Ceren. On the other hand, she alternated between Turkish and Arabic more frequently or switched completely to Turkish upon Nil's requests while interacting with her. In an informal conversation during home visits, the grandmother said Ceren was better at understanding and speaking Arabic, but most of the time, Nil was unable to understand her when she spoke Arabic. In fact, I also observed that Nil overtly stated her failure to comprehend what her grandmother said in Arabic. The following excerpt exemplifies this:

Excerpt 16 [Video Recorded Data, January 2021]:

1 Grandmother: **Ni:l! Ya Nil?** ((Nil turns her head towards grandmother)) **Lāʾōn rīḥte mbērḥa?**

Nil! Hey, Nil! Where did you go yesterday?

2 Nil: Ha?

Huh?

3 Grandmother: **Lāʾōn rīḥte?**

Where did you go?

4 Nil: Anlamadım.

I don't understand.

5 Grandmother: Nereye gittin dün?

Where did you go yesterday?

6 Nil: (Grandfather's name) Dedelere.

To (grandfather's name) place.

7 Grandmother: Ne yap- 0.2 [Ne yaptın orda?]

What did you do there?

8 Nil: [Hatırlamıyorum.]

I don't remember.

9 Grandmother: Nine ne yapıyor? Nine?

What is granny doing? Granny?

10 Nil: 0.3 **Zingōl** [17] yedim.

[17] A type of pastry with a filling of mince and spices.

*I ate **zingol**.*

11 Grandmother: **Ū** daha?

***And** what else?*

12 Nil: [Başka hatırlamıyorum.]

I don’t remember anything else.

13 Grandmother: [Bezelye yemedin?↑]

Didn’t you eat peas?

14 Nil: Hayır.

No.

15 Grandmother: Niye?

Why not?

16 Nil: **Zingōl**.

Zingol.

In this excerpt, the grandmother initiated a conversation with Nil using Arabic. However, Nil responded with a clarification token, and in return, the grandmother repeated her question in Arabic interpreting Nil’s turn as a display of non-hearing. In her next turn, Nil overtly indicated that she didn’t understand, and in this way used an interactional strategy called “medium request”15 (Gafaranga, 2010). After Nil expressed her inability to understand what her grandmother asked in Arabic, the grandmother accommodated to Nil’s choice and switched to Turkish. However, the grandmother has rudimentary Turkish. As a result, she mixed it with Arabic or transferred sentence structures from Arabic. For instance, in line 11 she used the Arabic word ‘U’ (meaning ‘and’) and in line 13, she formed a question using Arabic question formation rules. Regarding Nil’s and her grandmother’s interactions, it was further observed that in some occasions Ceren or the grandfather translated for Nil and acted as language translators between her and the grandmother. The following note from my home visits is an example: “The grandmother preferred to initiate conversations with her granddaughters in Arabic. Using Arabic, the grandmother asked Nil if she had gone to school that day. Nil said “No”. I mean she understood her. The grandmother also asked if she would have a shower that day using her

preferred language, Arabic, again. Nil asked for a medium request[18], and the grandfather translated for her." (Observer's Comment [OC]: The grandfather was more proficient in and had a better command of Turkish. That was positioning him as the expert and more knowledgeable in Turkish. That further gave him authority and ability to act as a translator between the grandmother and Nil.) [Observation data, May, 2021]

The grandfather displayed different language choices with his granddaughters. Unlike the grandmother, he used both Arabic and Turkish with Ceren whereas he predominantly used Turkish with Nil. Nil's lack of comprehension and production in Arabic could have led to the grandfather's language preferences. Based on Nil's low proficiency in Arabic, in the same way as the parents did, the grandparents preferred Arabic when they wanted to prevent Nil from understanding. In this sense, besides interlocutors, the topic or content of the conversation also determined language choice in the family.

Excerpt 17 illustrates that. In this excerpt, Nil is pretend-playing with her grandfather. She pretends to be a barber cutting her customer's hair and shaving his face. Ceren also wants to play, but Nil doesn't want her to join the play. The grandfather warns Ceren using Arabic so that Nil would not understand him:

Excerpt 17 [Video Recorded Data, March 2021]:

1 Nil: Daha tıraş da olacaz.

I'll also shave your beard.

2 Grandfather: Tıraş yapabilir misin sen?

Do you know how to shave?

3 Ceren: [Evet], ((Pretending to shave grandfather's face)) bak böyle.

Yes, like that.

4 Grandfather: Sen değil, sen değil.

Not you, not you.

[18] The practice in which the younger members of the community constantly (albeit indirectly) request interlocutors to switch from the community language to the majority language (Gafaranga, 2010, p.241.)

5 Nil: ((Combing grandfather's hair and speaking in an angry manner)) Cere:n!

6 Grandfather: Ceren, sen karışma Ceren. **[Ya bittē-]**

Ceren, do not intervene! ***[Hey, my girl-]***

7 Nil: ((Pretending to shave grandfather's face)) [İlk başta bence] tıraş olalım.

[I think first] I need to shave your beard.

8 Grandfather: **Ya bittē hallaʾ batᶜır.** $ **[Lāt sammīᶜna ḥıssa]** $

***Hey, my girl. She'll start to cry*. $[*Don't let us hear her voice*]$**

9 Nil: [Çünkü saçımıza] karışmasın diye.

So that it won't mix in with your hair.

10 Grandfather: Evet.

Yes.

In the excerpt above, as a part of her pretend-play, Nil addressed her grandfather in the first turn telling him she would shave his face. She used her default language Turkish. Her grandfather alingned witth her. Using Turkish, he asked her if she could shave. In the third turn, Ceren self-selected herself and answered her grandfather's question in Turkish. Upon that, her grandfather rejected Ceren's uptake by using an iterative "Sen değil" meaning "Not you." In turn 5, Nil called to Ceren loudly showing her frustration at Ceren's intrusion. In turn 6, the grandfather aligned with Nil and using Turkish, he told Ceren not to interfere in their play. Then, he switched to Arabic and said "**Ya bittē-**" meaning "My girl" to Ceren. In turn 7, Nil overlapped with her grandfather and sustaining her pretend-play she told him she'd shave his beard first. In turn 8, the grandfather went on addressing Ceren in Arabic and referring to Nil's irritable temperament, he implied that Nil would start to cry out of anger. He suggested that Ceren stop interfering and frustrating Nil so that she would not cry. In turn 9, Nil overlapped with her grandfather's prior turn and completed her utterance in turn 7 by explaining why she would shave her grandfather's beard first. In the last turn, grandfather confirmed her with the Turkish token "Evet" (Eng., "Yes"). As shown in the excerpt, the grandfather switched to Arabic while interacting with his elder granddaughter specifically to prevent Nil from understanding his utterances. Like the grandfather, the grandmother and mother were also observed to switch to Arabic if they wanted to exclude Nil from conversations when the content was some secret talk about her. The grandmother resorted to that

particularly when she was mocking Nil. This language practice suggested that the adult members of the family positioned Ceren as the more knowledgeable and proficient one in using Arabic, whereas they considered Nil as the less proficient and novice one. Regarding grandmother's language choice with his children, Murat confirmed that his mother-in-law used Arabic more frequently with Ceren whereas she codeswitched or tried to use Turkish with Nil when Nil was unable to understand her. He also reported that his parents used mainly Arabic with his daughters, but occasionally they accomodated to them by switching to Turkish so that his daughters would understand them better. Both of the parents believed that the grandparents played a key role in their daughters' Arabic development. They stated that although the girls were exposed to both Turkish and Arabic from birth, the grandparents were the main sources of exposure to Arabic for their daughters. Esra stated her views as:

> **[Esra, Interview, December 2020]**
> [Nene dedelerin çocukların Arapça öğrenmesindeki katkısı] Çok büyük. Yani şöyle neneyle dede Arapça konuşmasaydı belki Ceren o kadar iyi olmazdı. Yani sadece benim verdiğim Arapçayla Ceren bu seviyeye gelmezdi mesela. Ama işte orada, hani pekişiyordu bir de onlarla geçirdiği vakit daha fazlaydı benden. Hani ben çalıştığım için zaten hani biliyorsunuz okulda, şey onlarda kalıyorlardı. O sürede zaten ne kaparsa.
>
> [The grandparents' role] is massive. I mean if the grandmothers and grandfathers didn't speak Arabic, Ceren may not have been so good [at Arabic]. I mean Ceren would not have made so much progress only with the Arabic [exposure] I provided to her. But there [grandparents' house], [Ceren's Arabic] was being reinforced. In addition, the time she spent with them was much more than the time she spent with me. You know, since I was working at school, [my daughters] were staying at their grandparents' house. She [Ceren] learnt whatever she learnt at that time.

In the same line, Murat stated:

> **[Interview, January, 2021]**
> Yani aslında şöyle [çocuklarının] Arapça öğrenmelerindeki en büyük etken onlar sayılır. Çünkü biz dediğim gibi kontrollü konuştuğumuz dönemlerde öyle birşeyler vermeye çalışıyor. Onlar zaten çoğu vakitlerini onlarla geçirdiği için onların kendi aralarındaki konuşmalardan bile etkilenip şeyler öğreniyorlar.
>
> They [Grandparents] could actually be regarded the greatest factor in their [his daughters'] learning of Arabic. Because as I told you before, we [he and his wife] are trying to give them something [regarding Arabic] only when we speak [Arabic with them] in a controlled way. Since they [his children] spend most of their time

> with them [grandparents], they [his daughters] can learn something even from grandparents' talk with each other.

Murat reported that besided direct or indirect exposure to Arabic at his parents' house, his parents were involved in conscious strategies to teach his daughters Arabic. For instance, his mother often preached the girls about the use and importance of Arabic while using Arabic with them. His father taught them basic expressions in Arabic, riddles and ryhmes. In addition, his father had an attempt to teach his elder daughter Arabic literacty towards the end of the summer:

> **[Murat, Interview, January 2021]**
> Ceren yine böyle biraz meraklı olduğu için işte şeyleri alfabeyi falan yazdı Cerene babam. Öğretecek bir şey zamanıydı o tabi, tatil zamanı. […] Basbayağı eğitim verip gibi işte "A budur B budur" şeklinde bir anlattım yaptı. Okul açılınca biraz o unutuldu ama böyle.
>
> Since Ceren is a little interested, my father wrote the [Arabic] alphabet for her. It was of course time to teach then; [it was] holiday time. […] He gave her instruction like a teacher explaning things like "This is A, this is B". But, when the schools opened, it [teaching literacty] was kind of forgotten.

Murat also highlighted the importance of grandparents' house as a site of immersion in Arabic for his children and the possible effect of his father's religious status: **"**Arapçayı öğrenme ya da işte arapçaya meraklanma ortamı oluşuyor yani burda. Kayınbabamlarda da var da burada biraz daha babamın bu şey dini durumundan dolayı da biraz pekişmiş olabilir bu konu." (gülümseyen ses tonu) (Eng., "Children have a language environment here [at their paternal grandparents' house] where they want to learn Arabic or have an interest in Arabic. The same environment is at my father-in-law's house, too. But at my parents' house, the issue of [learning Arabic] could have been reinforced due to my father's religious status[19]") (smiley voice)

In this family, both of the parents perceived the role that grandparents played in their children's Arabic development as a great contribution to the learning process. Despite grandparents', particularly the maternal grandfather's accommodation to children's language preferences, grandparents' interaction with each other and their

[19] Murat's father is a sheik, a religious figure. Murat suggests that due to the association of Arabic with religion, his family might be concerned with the learning of Arabic by new generations.

houses as sites rich in Arabic input had a lot of impact on their grandchildren's Arabic learning. Apart from that, grandparents' concious efforts to teach the children Arabic were also significant in that they were more frequent than parental lanuage management efforts. In short, the parents conceptualized grandparents as a help in the maintenance of the community language.

In Family 4, Sevgi stated that her mother and father spoke Turkish with her children. She stated that they also used Arabic with their grandchildren; however, they used Turkish predominantly because all of their grandchildren were speaking Turkish. She reported that her children could understand Arabic a little and tried to use it; however, her nieces and nephews who were living downtown could not respond to Arabic at all. As a result, her parents accommodated to them and used Turkish more frequently than Arabic. She also added that her mother improved her Turkish speaking skills thanks to her nieces and nephews. In that sense, there was a "bidirectional reciprocal learning" (Schwartz, 2010) between them. While the grandmother was improving her Turkish owing to her Turkish dominant grandchildren, her grandchildren were being exposed to Arabic through interaction with her. According to Sevgi, her mother-in-law mixed languages with her children, but Arabic was her strong language, and her range of vocabulary in Arabic was much wider than in Turkish. The video data and field notes revealed that although the paternal grandmother was better at Arabic, she did not stick to it in her interaction with her grandchildren. In other words, the grandmother could have a more active role in helping her grandchildren acquire the community language. However, she spoke Turkish and Arabic randomly or mixed them in interaction with her grandchildren. That led the grandmother to display various patterns such as codeswitching, speaking only Arabic, or using rudimentary Turkish with transfer effects from Arabic to Turkish. Below are a few excerpts that exemplify the grandmother's language behavior with her grandchildren:

Grandmother using Arabic with her grandchildren: In the following excerpt, the grandmother used Arabic to tell the mother that their neighbor wanted her to send the kids over to their place. Arda understood what his grandmother said and indicated that it was the neighbors who should come to their place. Aslı supported him and

added that it was their turn to come. After that, the grandmother told Aslı what the neighbor had said. Here she used only Arabic with Aslı:

Excerpt 18 [Video Recorded Data, May 2021]:

1 Grandmother: (to Sevgi) **Qāl D (name of a person) ṭabᶜatīn [laᶜind E- M- (name of a person). Qāl bat-]** ***D told me to send them [to E-M-'s place. She said that she would-]***

2 Arda: [Onlar gelecek bize!]

[They'll come to our place!]

3 Aslı: Aynen [bugün onlarda sıra], bana ne!

Yeah, [today is their turn], I won't go!

4 Grandmother: (to Aslı) **Lē qāl inte kəltē ilyōm ᶜindin btrūḥe. Wallah 'abaᶜref ***** ***No, she said that you said you would visit them today. Well, I don't know******

5 Aslı: (to S and GM): Biz gittik; sıra onlarda.

We visited them; it's their turn.

Grandmother codeswitching between Arabic and Turkish & transfer effects from Arabic to Turkish: In the excerpt below, the grandmother and grandchildren were in the garden. Prior to that excerpt, Arda wanted his grandmother to pick Japanese plums for him. She picked some and gave them to him. When Arda put them on a dirty mattress on the ground, the grandmother told him not to put them there, and the following conversation developed. As revealed in the excerpt, the grandmother used Lanza's (1997) codeswitching strategy or mixed languages, and her Turkish was rudimentary:

Excerpt 19 [Video Recorded Data, May 2021]:

1 Grandmother: **'İy,** koyma koyma. **Ceybinde** koy.

Don't, don't put (them there). Put them in your ***pocket.***

2 Arda: **Ceybim** yok.

I don't have a ***pocket.***

3 Grandmother: Yook?↑ **Yabnē rgīd** tabak getir annenden **u** koyarız **u** yıkarız, **hāyde!**

Don't you? ***Go a****nd get a plate from your mum, son; we'll wash them* ***and*** *put them in it.* ***Go!***

4 Gelin Aslı buraya. 0.2 Tabak getirin, tabak içerden! Küçük tabak**. Taniḫşilīn la-hawdē.**

Come here Aslı. 0.2 Bring a plate, a plate from the house;! A small plate. ***We'll wash these.***

5 ((Arda puts one Japanese plum in his mouth)) **lāt tēkēll taniḫşilīn wakkef.** Bak, bak bana. Böyle yapma. **Āḫedgādek,** böyle yapma.

Don't eat them till we wash them, wait. *Look, look at me. Don't act like that.* ***May I take your troubles****, don't act like that.*

5 Ḥabība la-sittek böyle yapma.

Granny's sweetie*,* don't act like that.

The excerpt above displays the grandmother's frequent alternation between the two languages even in the same turn and within the same sentence as in turn 3. It also shows phonological transfers like **"ceyb"** instead of **"cep"** both by her and Arda, and also the use of Arabic question form as in the grandmother's second turn. Besides, the grandmother's language mixing such as inserting the words **"'İy"** (Eng., "well") and **"u"** (Eng., "and"), and transfer effects from Arabic reflect her low Turkish proficiency.

When I inquired Sevgi's opinions about the grandparents' role on her children's Arabic learning she said:

> **[Interview, Sevgi, January 2022]**
> Bence onların sayesinde böyle devam ediyor bu kültür. Yani dediğim gibi bize kalsa hani gün boyu biz hep Türkçe konuşacağız. Arapçayı hatırladığımız zaman ya da baba sayesinde. Baba konuşacak. Ama nene dedeler sayesinde kültür devam ediyor ve çocuklar iki dille bir arada büyüyor.
>
> I think it's thanks to them that this culture is sustained like that. As I said, if it were up to us, we'd talk [to our children] in Turkish all day. We would only use it [Arabic] when it occured to us or thanks to their father. Their father would speak [Arabic with them]. However, thanks to the grandmothers and grandfathers, this culture is sustained, and children are growing up with two languages.

Sevgi had previously mentioned that both she and her husband mainly spoke Turkish with their children. In addition, her husband used Arabic with the children more frequently than her because she helped her daughter with school work. As a result, her language inevitably shifted to Turkish. Mentioning the inadequate Arabic input provided by her and her husband as parents, Sevgi considered grandparents as the genuine transmittors of the language and culture. In other words, her perception of grandparents' role on children's Arabic was positive, and she considered grandparents as 'help' in the maintenance of the community language.

Ulaş reported that his mother used Arabic with his children because she couldn't speak Turkish. However, his father could speak both Turkish and Arabic, so he used both languages with his children. His mother-in-law used Arabic with his children, too because she could understand but could not speak Turkish well. Due to the pandemic and lockdowns, the family could not visit the maternal grandmother, but they called her frequently. They turned the speaker on so that all of them could join the conversation and talk to their grandmother. Whereas the grandmother and her daughter, Yelda, preferred Arabic, the grandmother codeswitched often using rudimentary Turkish when she was talking to her youngest grandchild. The elder children tried to accommodate to the grandmother and used Arabic at times. On the other hand, the youngest one used Turkish with her grandmother, and that resulted in parallel discourse (Gafaranga &Torras, 2001). The following excerpt illustrates that:

Excerpt 20 [Video Recorded Data, January, 2021]:

1 Melda: Doğum günümde hediye alacak mısın?

Will you buy me a present on my birthday?

2 Grandmother: Eve:t. **Tikramē. Qadde, šū bitridē?** ((Melda looking and up thinking)) **ʿatīnē sipari:ş.**

Yes. ***With pleasure. Tell me; what do you want? Make*** *an order.*

(Melda still thinking) 0.5 Hı:h?

Hu:h?

3 Seren: **Matiddewšen.**

She's thinking.

4 Granmother: **Hāyde, iddawšne u killilē**. 0.3 **Tašuf bitilḥaqe la Suriyya u bitce dē.**

OK, think about it and tell me. 0.3 Let's see, will you go to Syria and come back (while thinking)? ((Grandmother implies that it's taking too long for Melda to think))

5 Melda: Gelinlik.

A wedding dress

6 Granmother: **Šiklā?**

What's that?

7 Seren: Gelinlik.

A wedding dress.

8 Granmother **'İy, šo batruḥe ʿarūs?** ((Seren and Melda burst into laughter)). Düğü-

What, are you getting married?

issā betsewwe düğün **intē**? ((Mevsim and Seren are chuckling))

***Will you have** a wedding ceremony?*

9 Melda: $ Hayı.:r $

$ No: $

10 Grandmother **'İy lekēn? Ḥāy ma- ḥāy makayse ḥal iḥdīy.**

Then what? That gift is not a good one.

11 Seren: Başka bir şey söyle.

Say something else.

12 Granmother: **Ḥēkē lal ʿroyes il** gelinlik. Sen küçük, büyük se:n?↑

*Wedding dresses **are for brides.** You're young, are you old enough?*

13 Melda: Iı: ((thinking)). Başka bir şey olur. Iıı (thinking).

Hm. You can buy something else.

14 Grandmother: **Dē hāyde dē** söyle.

***OK**, say it.

As shown in the excerpt above, the grandmother mainly used Arabic, but at times she accommodated to Melda and switched to Turkish. However, Melda sticked to Turkish, and this resulted in a mainly parallel mode where the interactants adhered to their preferred languages. As can be understood from the grandmother's statements, her Turkish was rudimentary. Despite that she tried to accommodate to Melda's

default language. The elder sister, Seren, who could understand her grandmother translated for her sister and grandmother when there was a communication gap between them.

As indicated previously, Ulaş stated that his late wife and he, had made a conscious decision as parents to use Turkish with their children when their first child was born. When his children grew up, he mainly depended on Turkish in his interaction with them whereas his wife alternated between Turkish and Arabic with their elder children. As a result, they did not provide constant Arabic input to their children. Ulaş stated that his children learnt Arabic from the elder family members who were illiterate in Turkish. For instance, the grandmothers constantly spoke to his children in Arabic because they couldn't speak Turkish. Ulaş mentioned that during these interactions sometimes his children compulsorily spoke Arabic with their grandmothers because the grandmothers couldn't speak Turkish:

> **[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]**
> Hem anneanneleri hem de babaanneleri falan çok hani şey yapamıyorlar ya mecburiyetten işte Arapça konuşuyorlar kendileriyle arada bir. Ama çok ağır geliyor onlara; bazı kelimelerde zorlaştırıyor. […] Ya Seren çok zorluyor kendini mesela, ama şimdi yavaş yavaş bazı kelimeleri çıkartabiliyor. Yoksa daha önce hiç kesinlikle Arapça. Hani derdi nenesine "Anlamıyorum." Biz tercüme yapıyorduk mesela.
>
> You know, their maternal and paternal grandmothers can't speak Turkish, so they [his children] compulsorily speak Arabic with them from time to time. However, it's very difficult for them. [Saying] some words is really difficult [for them]. […] I mean Seren struggles a lot [to say some Arabic words] for instance, but she is now gradually able to pronounce some words. Before, she really couldn't [understand] Arabic. You know, she would say to her grandmother "I don't understand." We would translate for her.

When I asked Seren whether she remembered this transformation and when she started to understand and use the language with grandparents, she said:

> **[Informal Conversation, Seren, February 2022]**
> Büyüklerle oturduğumuz ortamlarda mesela hani dinliyordum onları. Diyelim ki anneannem babaannemle bir araya geldi. Zaten onların tek konuştukları dil Arapça. Hani dinliyordum, yani mesela nenemin sorduğu soruları nenem diğer neneme soruyor, onun verdiği cevapları aklımda tutuyordum yani öyle kalıyordu. Hani nenem bana **"Šō mātṣāyrē?"** diye soruyordu diyelim, işte anneannem babaanneme

> soruyordu soruyu. Bakıyorum hani o hangi cevabı vermiş, öyle kalıyordu aklımda. Bir bakmışım konuşmuşum, yani birden oldu.
>
> In the settings I was with the elderly, I was listening to them. Let's say, my maternal grandmother and paternal grandmother got together. The only language they were speaking was Arabic. You know, for example, I was listening to the questions my grandmother asked to my other grandmother, and I was keeping her answers in my mind. That's how I remembered [what they said]. For instance, when my maternal grandmother asked **"Šō mātṣāyrē?"** (Eng., "What are you doing?") to my paternal mother, I was listening to the answer and keeping it in my mind. Before I knew it, I found myself speaking. I mean it happened suddenly.

Like her father, Seren also stated that her grandparents were more influential in their learning Arabic because Arabic was the only language that grandparents spoke. On the other hand, her parents spoke both Turkish and Arabic, so there was no obligation for them to speak Arabic with them. I asked Yaprak about her experiences of learning Arabic and she said: "Ben de [Arapçayı] nenelerim sayesinde öğrendim. Yani benimle Arapça konuşurlardı, ben de hep cevap verirdim. Arapçayı böyle öğrendim." (Eng., "I learnt [Arabic] thanks to my grandmothers, too. I mean they were speaking Arabic with me, and I was always responding. That's how I learnt Arabic").

Both Seren and Yaprak recognized the impact of their grandmothers in their learning of Arabic. Although personally Seren had negative attitudes to Arabic and had difficulty in pronouncing some words, she was exposed to Arabic constantly by her grandmothers just like her sister Yaprak. After a silent period of observation and absorption of the language, she started to use it with her grandmothers out of obligation. However, this obligation is absent in interaction with parents because both their father and late mother could interact with them in Turkish and Arabic. This points to the importance of utility of a language. If a child does not need a language for practical reasons, it's less likely to be used and maintained. Ulaş highlighted that particularly the grandmothers had a positive impact on and helped his children's learning of Arabic because they couldn't speak Turkish and children had to use Arabic with them out of obligation (Ojha, 2020; Pillai et al., 2014).

Gaye reported that the paternal grandfather spoke Turkish with their children. Mustafa also reported the same thing and expressed that the reason for this language

choice was his children's difficulty in understanding Arabic. In addition, the parents stated that the paternal grandmother spoke Arabic with her grandchildren because she couldn't speak Turkish. When I asked whether the grandmother ever used Turkish with his children, Mustafa said she rarely used one or two words, and that the rest of her talk was in Arabic. Gaye stated that her mother-in-law had recently started to use few Turkish words with children, but since she couldn't speak Turkish her interaction with the children was mainly in Arabic. Gaye deemed this as a contribution to her children's level of Arabic comprehension:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> […] babaanne şimdi yeni yeni [Türkçe kelime kulanıyor] yine. İlk başlarda hiç Türkçe kelime kullanmıyordu. Şimdi son zamanlarda dede evde olmayınca hani bir şekilde o da Türkçe kelimeleri kullanmaya başladı. İletişime geçebilmek için çocuklarla, o şekil. Ama çoğu cümleyi Arapça kurmak zorunda kalıyor. Bu sefer bizimkiler de etkileniyor, o cümlenin ne olduğunu öğrenmeye çalışıyorlar. O şekilde öğrendiler. Yani babaanne olmazsa bence yine Arapçaları bu kadar çok şey olmazdı.
>
> […] the paternal grandmother has just started [to use Turkish words]. Before that she was not using Turkish words at all. She has recently started to use Turkish words in some way when the grandfather is not at home. To be able to communicate with the children. However, she has to say most of her sentences in Arabic [due to not being able to speak Turkish]. As a result, our children are affected; they are trying to understand what she is saying. This is how they learnt [Arabic]. I mean, but for the paternal grandmother, their Arabic comprehension would not so –[would not be be at that level.]

Furthermore, Gaye mentioned the influence of her being a working mother on her children's immersion in Arabic at their grandparents' house. She stated that her children inevitably spent most of their time with their paternal grandmother in their early childhood. As a result, even if they can't speak Arabic well, at least they started to understand it through being in the same environment with their grandmother. On the contrary, Gaye held the belief that that the paternal grandfather undermined her children's development in Arabic because he accommodated to the children's language preferences and acted as a translator between the grandmother and the children when they couldn't understand each other. She had an assumption about how her children's Arabic speaking skills could be if the grandfather didn't speak Arabic she expressed her thoughts as: "Dede Türkçe konuşmayı bilmeyen biri olsaydı benim çocuklarım ister istemez daha çok Arapçayı konuşacaklardı. Ama şu an evde bir tercüman var diye daha az konuşmayı öğrendiler." (Eng., "If the

grandfather weren't able to speak Turkish, my children would inevitably use Arabic more often. But now, there's a translator at home, so they speak Arabic only a little.")

Mustafa also mentioned the communication gap that happened between his children and the grandmother in the absence of the grandfather. Based on his accounts, when his mother was at home alone, she couldn't understand what her grandchildren wanted, but his father could understand his children. Furthermore, in the same line as his wife, Mustafa acknowledged the impact of his children's immersion in Arabic in his parents' house. Mustafa believed that even the interaction of the grandmother and the grandfather between themselves contributed to the children's Arabic development indirectly: **"**Çocuklar hani dışarıdan duyduklarını hep şey yapmaya çalışıyorlar, taklit etmeye çalışıyorlar. Hani mesela bazen annemle babam konuşurken kulak misafiri oluyorlar. Bazı kelimeler akıllarında kalıyor. Yani bu benim hoşuma da gidiyor açıkçası." (Eng., "You know, the children are trying to imitate what they hear from outside. For instance, when my mother and father speak to each other, they [his children] overhear what they are saying. [That's how] they keep some words in their minds. Honestly, I like this").

As is clear from Gaye and Mustafa's accounts, they deemed grandparents' contribution to their children's Arabic development as a positive one. However, Gaye also viewed the grandfather's acts of translation between her children and his wife as an undermining factor in the development of Arabic productive skills. Furthermore, while Gaye highlighted the children's need to communicate with their paternal grandmother as the main factor in their undersanding Arabic, Mustafa pointed to implicit learning from grandparents through exposure to their talk between themselves.

Ufuk stated that both of his parents initiated conversations in Arabic with his son, and then switched to Turkish when they couldn't get any response in Arabic. Except for one-word codeswitches, his son also used Turkish with his grandparents. On the other hand, Ufuk reported that his mother-in-law and father-in-law communicated with his children in Turkish as monolingual-Turkish speakers. Meltem also indicated

that her parents inevitably used Turkish with her son due to being monolingual. However, they were happy that Burak would learn an extra language, and they tried to support his learning of Arabic by using the Arabic words that Burak frequently used such as **"'Ey"** (Eng., "Yes") and **"ẖoẖ**" (Eng., "plum"). For instance, when they bought plums from the bazaar, they'd say: "Oğlum bak sana khoh aldık." (Eng., "Son, look we've bought plums for you.") Meltem believed that in that sense, her parents' attitude was supportive of her son's Arabic learning.

The video data showed that the paternal grandparents used Turkish with Burak. However, the grandmother's Turkish included some transfer effects from her stronger language, Arabic, as was the case with other grandmothers. The video data also revealed that the grandparents' accommodation to the child affected their own language choice with each other. Grandparents' default language of interaction was Arabic. Nevertheless, when Burak was also the participant of their conversation, and when the content was about him they used Turkish as shown below. In other words, Turkish was chosen by the grandparents to include Burak in their conversations when the content of the interaction involved him. In the excerpt below, the family, the grandparents and the uncle were in the garden. The father and the uncle were digging the soil to get rid of the remnants of an old house, and Burak was chatting with his grandparents:

Excerpt 21 [Video Recorded Data, April 2022]:

1 Grandfather: Niye oraya portakalı atmışsın?

Why did you throw the orange there?

2 Grandmother: Atmadı, koydu orda u çukur yaptı.

He didn't throw it; he put it there and dug a pit.

3 Burak: 0.3 Bi yerde koyduk çukur naptık.

We put it somewhere and dug a pit.

Prior to that conversation, the grandfather had given Burak an orange that he picked from the garden. He spotted it somewhere and asked Burak why he had thrown the orange. Burak didn't respond, and the grandmother self-selected herself as the next

speaker. She answered for Burak using Turkish. Although she was addressing the grandfather and their preferred language was Arabic, the grandmother chose Turkish when talking to the grandfather because Burak was involved in the conversation, and she was actually answering for him. However, as can be seen, the grandmother used an inverted sentence structure transferring Arabic word order and she inserted the Arabic word **"u"** (Eng., "and") in her sentence. Following the grandmother's turn, Burak repeated what his grandmother had said mispronouncing the word "yaptık" as "naptık", which was common in his speech.

In video data analyses, I had noted that the grandmother tended to use Arabic more often with the baby than with Burak. When I asked Meltem whether the grandparents' choice of language with her children differed she stated that she never heard her mother-in-law and father-in-law speak to babies in Turkish. Rather, all their talk with and about a baby was in Arabic:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> […] bebekken gerçekten Arapça konuşuyorlar. Anlayamıyorum da hani anlamak istiyorum. Yanımda oturuyor mesela şey diyor, hani o kadar konuşuyor ki mesela bana dönüp "Gazı mı var?" diyor, hani Arapça. Diyorum ki "Ne diyorsun anne?" Ona [bebeğe] diyor mesela "Yaa böyle mi şöyle mi?" konuşuyor konuşuyor mesela. Sonra diyor ki "Sen şunu mu istiyorsun?" "Bak gördün mü?" diyor. "Neyi anne?" diyorum (smiley voice), yani görmedim. Hani tamamıyla Arapça; hiç Burak gibi değil. Yani hani, tamamıyla bir bebekte tamamıyla Arapça ya da işte çocuğun üzerine Arapça konuşuluyor. Hani sohbetler ediliyor yani hani ama: çocuk büyüyünce Türkçeye dönüyorlar ama tamamıyla dönüyorlar […].
>
> […] in their babyhood, they really speak Arabic [with children]. I can't understand [what they are saying], you know, but I want to understand. For instance, she [her mother-in-law] is sitting next to me and she says-, I mean she is talking [to the baby in Arabic] so much, for instance, she turns to me and asks "Is she [the baby] flatulent?" in Arabic. I say "What are you saying, mother?" She turns to the baby again and asks her "Oh really?" [in Arabic]. Then she turns to me and says "You see?" I say "What?" I mean I didn't see. You know, she talks to her [the baby] solely in Arabic unlike Burak. I mean all their talk with and about a baby is in Arabic, but when the child grows up they [grandparents] switch to Turkish, but it's a total switch […].

Meltem added this situation surprised her, and she couldn't make sense of it. The fact that a baby is preverbal and cannot put any constraint on grandparents' language choice could be the reason why grandparents used Arabic more with babies than children. As Ufuk reported during the interview, his parents started to interact with

his elder child, Burak, using their preferred language Arabic. The grandparents constantly used Arabic with Burak in his babyhood and until the pandemic broke out. However, when the child spent a lot of time with his parents during lockdowns at a time when his receptivity was highest, his language preference was set in favor of Turkish despite persisting one-word Arabic codeswitches. After that, the grandparents started to use Turkish with him as a result of accommodating to his choice.

Meltem stated that she was disappointed with grandparents' shift to Turkish in interaction with their children. She was hoping they would persistently use Arabic, and her children would learn the community language in this way. She believed that as members of the community, the paternal grandparents and her husband should be more concerned with the transmission of the language "because it's their mother tongue and it should go on." (Eng., "çünkü anadilleri sonuçta ve devam etmesi gerekir"). Mentioning her own past efforts of supporting her son's Arabic she said if even, she herself, tried so hard to teach her son a word, the grandparents should insist on using Arabic more instead of immediately translating their utterances into Turkish for the child. In that sense, Meltem held the belief that as significant caregivers, particularly grandmothers' switching to Turkish while talking to their grandchildren was a block in the way of language and culture maintenance. She expressed her opinion as:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> […] onlar da zaten şu an kendileri bile farkında olmadan [dil aktarımını] onlar engelliyorlar zaten; en çok engelleyen onlar. Yani sen anne baba olarak ne yaparsan yap en çok çocuk yaşlıdan tutar. Çünkü çevre bakıcılarını ve annesi- anneannesini, babaannesini şey alan rol alan böyle küçük çocuklarla dolu.
>
> […] now they [grandmothers] are preventing [language transmission] even without realizing it. It's they who is preventing [language transmission] most. No matter what you do as a parent, a child learns from the elderly the most because the neighborhood is filled with children who are taking their maternal and paternal grandmothers as a model. I mean there are many children who are speaking like their nannies [grandmothers].

Meltem mentioned that her son spent more time with his grandparents when she was attending university, and excluding the pandemic restrictions, he was with his

grandparents most of the time. Therefore, she believed that her son learnt more from his grandparents than her including Turkish because as a generation, she and her husband couldn't spend much time with their children. Based on this situation and grandaprents' adjusting their language according to children's preference, Meltem concluded that "yani aslında asimile olmaya mahkum eden bizim annelerimiz oluyor bence." (Eng., "I think it's in fact our mothers who doom the language to assimilate").

Unlike his wife, Ufuk believed that grandparents had a positive role on his son's Arabic. He expressed his thoughts as: "Şu aşamada oğlum Arapça adına ne biliyorsa dede ve nenesinden öğrendiğine inanıyorum. Başlarda oğluma Arapça öğretmek için çabalarım vardı, ama şimdi tamamen onlara [nene ve dede] kalmış durumda"). (Eng., "I believe whatever my son knows in Arabic at that stage is what he learnt from his grandfather and grandmother. Initially, I had efforts to teach my son Arabic, but now it's totally up to them [grandparents]").

I asked whether the grandparents were engaged in conscious efforts to teach their son Arabic. Ufuk reported that for the first two years, they had conscious efforts. For instance, they taught his son Arabic words like "This is a glass", "This is a spoon", and "This is a fork". Or when he was doing an action like sitting down or standing up, they were teaching him how to express these actions in Arabic by verbalizing these actions. Ufuk stated that the grandparents' conscious efforts ceased after the child's language preference was set in favor of Turkish, and the child was exposed to Arabic indirectly through grandparents' talk to each other. Ufuk added that his parents still addressed his son in Arabic, but they had to switch to Turkish when his son didn't respond in Arabic. He believed that if his son was able to respond in Arabic, his parents would sustain communication in their preferred language.

The analysis of video, observation and interview data regarding grandparents' language choices with the children and parents' perceptions about grandparents' role in children's Arabic learning revealed that, as a general pattern, grandparents accommodated to their grandchildren's language preferences. Factors like children's Arabic proficiency and grandparents' proficiency in Turkish affected grandparents' language choice with their grandchildren. Grandfathers were more proficient users of

Turkish compared to grandmothers due to attendance to primary school or due to their jobs. This high proficiency in Turkish enabled them to accommodate to their grandchildren's language choice more easily. In addition, in one family it helped the grandfather to translate between the grandmother and the grandchildren when they failed to understand to each other. On the other hand, the data suggested that the grandmothers who weren't able to understand and speak Turkish constituted an opportunity for children to improve their Arabic. As shown in Family 5, the grandmothers created a genuine need for children to use Arabic. In other words, the grandchildren had the chance to enhance their speaking skills through 'compulsory' Arabic interaction with their grandmothers. Most of the parents acknowledged that grandparents were the main sources of Arabic input for their children. Furthermore, the grandparents' houses constituted an immersion site rich in Arabic input, which further contributed to children's Arabic. In that sense, these parents viewed grandparents as having a major role in their children's Arabic learning trajectories. On the other hand, while acknowledging especially the grandmother's role on her children's Arabic comprehension, in Family 1, the mother (Gaye) viewed the grandfather's acts of accommodation and translation as a barrier in the way of children's using the community language. In the same line, diverging from other parents, the mother (Meltem) in Family 3 perceived the grandparents, particularly, the grandmothers as the reason of language assimilation due to their accommodation to children's preferred language. In a nutshell, views regarding grandparents' role in children's Arabic acquisition included two perspectives. The majority of the participants viewed grandparents as a "help" whereas two of them conceptualized grandparents' acts of translation and accommodation as a "hindrance" in the maintenance of the community language.

4.3.2. Occasion or Activity Based Language Preferences

4.3.2.1. Language Preferences at Funeral Ceremonies and on Religious Holidays

In all the participant families, the parents who were interviewed reported Turkish as the dominant language in their home domain. They also stated that they preferred Turkish in domains such as the workplace and for activities such as shopping,

playing with their children and watching TV. In other words, Turkish was common both in the public and private spheres in these families' lives. At the same time, parents' declarations revealed that their preferred language was Arabic at two specific occasions- funeral ceremonies and religious holidays, particularly culture-specific ones such as Ewwel Temmuz, Kəddēs and Ras əl Senī Seven of the participant parents, who were interviewed, reported that they used Arabic at the funeral of a community member. In Family 1, Mustafa indicated that he used Arabic at funerals "because Arabic is spoken [at funerals] as required by the ceremony and the language of prayers". He stated that he used Arabic to express his condolences, too. In other words, association of this ritual with Arabic due to reciting prayers and expressing condolences in Arabic shaped Musatafa's preference. His wife Gaye pointed to the emotive function of the mother tongue as a reason for her choice of Arabic at funerals. Her preference of Arabic on this specific occasion stemmed from the emotional resonance of the mother tongue, and from being able to express her feelings more naturally and intimately. She expressed herself in the following way:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> Duygu yönünden, bence kendini daha iyi ifade edebiliyorsun. Bu yüzden. Mesela Allah rahmet eylesin yerine **'Allāh yirḥamō'** ya da '**Allāh yirḥama'** demek daha rahat geliyor bana, anadil olduğu için. Türkçe söylediğim zaman daha ağır geliyor. Arapça, o duyguyu daha iyi hissettiriyor bence karşıdakine. Anadil olduğu için.
>
> I think in terms of sentiment, you can express yourself better [when you use Arabic at funerals]. That's why [I prefer Arabic]. For instance, I find it easier to say **"Allāh yirḥamō"** (Eng., "May he rest in peace") or "**Allāh yirḥama"** (Eng., "May she rest in peace") instead of "Allah rahmet eylesin." ("Eng., May s/he rest in peace") because it [Arabic] is the mother tongue. When I say [this] in Turkish, I find it heavier [than in Arabic]. I think Arabic conveys that feeling to the listener better [than Turkish] because it's the mother tongue.

In Family 2, Esra stated that she mostly used Arabic at funerals due to the place she lived in and due to their social environment. As an Arab Alawite individual who was living in an Arab Alawite vicinity, she used Arabic because that was the language associated with religious ceremonies including funerals. In that sense, she adapted her language choice to the cultural norms of her community, which enabled her to feel connected to her heritage and the shared cultural memory. Murat, her husband, used "Arabic at funerals of community members, and Turkish at funerals [of someone or relative of someone] from the work circle." In that sense social dynamics

influenced his language preference on this specific occasion, and he adjusted his language choice based on the social group with whom he was interacting.

In Family 3, Ufuk reported that: “Buradaki cenazelerde hep Arapça konuşuyoruz ama şeye gittiğimiz zaman taziyelere, bu bizim Arapça bilmeyen arkadaşların hep Türkçe konuşuluyor.” (Eng, “At funerals here [in his neighborhood], we always speak Arabic. But when we go to funerals, to funerals of non-Arabic speaking friends, Turkish is spoken exclusively”).

Ufuk added that his intimacy or closeness with an individual also affected his language preference at funerals irrespective of the group’s ethnicity. His statements were:

> **[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]**
> Bir de samimiyet varsa yakınlık duyduğum kişiler varsa Arapçayı tercih ediyorum ama resmiyet varsa daha az ilişki kurduğum meslektaş ve arkadaşlarla Türkçe kullanıyorum. Yani birazcık da samimiyete göre değişiyor. Yani kendimi rahat hissettiğim ortamlarda daha çok Arapça tercih ediyorum. Rahat hissettiğimde, [Arapça konuşmak] daha rahat oluyor. Rahat olduğum zaman daha rahat yani benim anadilim zaten bu çok daha rahat konuşabiliyorum ama biraz kasılmaya başladığım bir ortamda Türkçeye dönüyorum.
>
> Also, if there’s intimacy, if there are people whom I feel close to, I prefer Arabic. But if there’s formality, with colleagues and friends whom I have less connection with, I use Turkish. I mean it also depends a little on the level of intimacy. I mean in environments where I feel more comfortable, I prefer Arabic more. When I feel at ease, it’s more comfortable [to speak Arabic]. I mean this [Arabic] is my mother tongue, I can speak it far more comfortably, but in an environment where I start to feel a little tense, I switch to Turkish.

Ufuk’s statements suggests that irrespective of the social group he was interacting with, his language choice at funerals was affected by the emotional closeness he had with other individuals, and the comfort he felt in a given situation. With people whom he had a close relationship, he preferred Arabic because it’s more natural, familiar and emotionally comfortable. However, with individuals whom he felt more distanced to, he preferred Turkish probably because it gave him a sense of formality, distance, or control, and hence helped him manage his discomfort when he felt tense. In that sense, whereas Arabic represented a tool for emotional expression as the

mother tongue, Turkish may be a tool to navigate social dynamics for Ufuk. Interestingly, his wife Meltem, who is a monoligual-Turkish speaker also reported using Arabic at funerals of community members. When I asked about her language preferences at funerals, I expected that she wouldd answer as 'Turkish.' However, she reported using Arabic out of respect and due to the need to march in step with the community. Her statements were as follows:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> **"Allāh yirḥamū"** diyorum yani ya da diyelim ki ben hani onun karşılığını vereceğim, Ufuk'a soruyorum. Şu an yine unutmuşum mesela, 1-2 kere cenaze oldu zaten hani bizde. Dedesiyle nenesi ölmüştü. Önce gitmeden önce Ufuk'uu durdurup "Ben ne diyeceğim?" Çünkü çevreden yakalayamayabilirim, saçma sapan bir şey diyebilirim […].
>
> I say **"Allāh yirḥamū"**. (Eng., "May he rest in peace"). Or, in cases I should respond to this, I ask Ufuk [about what expressions I should use] l. Now, I don't remember [the expresssions] for instance. In our family I attended funerals only once or twice. He [Ufuk] had lost his grandmother and grandfather. Before going [attending the funeral], I stopped Ufuk and asked "What should I say?" Because I might not have caught [the expressions] from the people around me, and I could have said something ridiculous […].

When I asked her why she preferred to use Arabic on such occasions instead of Turkish, which would be easier for her, her answer was as follows:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Uyum sağlamak için. Yani birde öyle bir ortamda hiç kimseden senin için Türkçe konuşmasını bekleyemezsin. O da senin kalabalığın olur yani hani. Ya da işte böyle olaya Türkçe girsen çok dikkat çekiyorsun ve kabalık oluyor o da var. Hani yani ben gidiyorsam çekinmeden dolayı uyum sağlama. Onlar geldiyse kabalık yapmamak için "Ben de sizdenim, acınızı paylaşıyorum." demek için. Yani hani uyum.
>
> To comply with people. Also in such a context, you cannot expect anyone to speak Turkish for you. That would be rude of you. I mean when you use Turkish that draws a lot of attention, and also it sounds rude. So, if I'm attending a neighbour's funeral [I use Arabic] because I want to comply with them. If they come [to somenone's funeral in our family], [I use Arabic] not to be rude and to give the message that "I'm one of you. My condolences are with you." I mean for alignment.

These statements imply that despite joining the community through marriage, Meltem preferred to use the community language at funerals to express her respect to the cultural ritual and also to conform to the social norms. Meltem had minimal knowledge of Arabic, and Turkish would enable her to communicate her feelings

more comfortably. However, she opted for Arabic to express her condolences or respond to them at funerals. This suggests that she acknowledges and respects cultural practices and rituals. Furthermore, through her choice of the community language, she may be attempting to fit in and avoid standing out in a formal or emotionally intense occasion like a funeral. This choice also points to the cultural adaptation that Meltem is going through by trying to adjust to the cultural norms and practices of the community. In Family 5, like the other participant parents, Ulaş also stated that he used Arabic at funerals of community members. He added that he used Turkish at the funeral ceremony of someone of Turkish origin. His own words were:

> **[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]**
> Şimdi bizim anadilimiz Arapça olduğundan dolayı hani şeye çıktığımız zaman mezarlığa işte o saf hani dizildikleri zaman ölünün mesela ailesi ee **"Allāh yirḥamū**. **bislēmit dīnkin ū īmēnkin"** veya bayansa **"Allāh yirḥama. bislēmit dīnkin ū īmēnkin**" öyle yani. Bazıları mesela "Başın sağ olsun." şey yaparlar. Öyle yani. Ben Arapçaylan. Çünkü burada kullanılan dil genellikle Arapça. Ama şöyle birşey var, mesela Türk bir tanıdık varsa mesela babamızın arkadaşları var. Mesela cenazeye gittiğimiz zaman direkmen zaten Türkçe Başın sağ olsun. Allah rahmet eylesin. Mekanı cennet olsun." Ama bizim cemaatten olunca direkmen Arapçayla.
>
> Since our mother tongue is Arabic, when we go to the cemetery, when the family members of the deceased line up in a row, [we say] **"Allāh yirḥamū**. **bislēmit dīnkin ū īmēnkin"** (Eng., "May God have mercy on him. May your faith stay intact") or if the deceased is a woman, **"Allāh yirḥama. bislēmit dīnkin ū īmēnkin".** (Eng., "May God have mercy on her. May your faith stay intact"). Some say "Başın sağ olsun." (Eng., "My condolences"), but [I say it] in Arabic because the language spoken here is mostly Arabic. But there's also something like this, for instance, if there's a Turk acquaintance, for example my father has [ethnic Turk] friends. For instance, when we go to the funeral, we directly use Turkish [and say] "Başın sağ olsun." (Eng., "My condolences"), "Allah rahmet eylesin." (Eng., "May s/he rest in peace") or "Mekanı cennet olsun." (Eng., "May God grant her/him a place in the heaven") But [if the deceased is] from our community, we directly use Arabic.

Ulaş's statements highlight that he adapts his language choice based on the social group and cultural context of the funeral ceremony. When he attends a funeral of a community member, he prefers Arabic because it makes the interactants feel more connected and aligned as Arabic is the shared language of the community. However, at the funeral of a member from the majority society, he uses Turkish, the common language, likely to demonstrate respect and conformation to the norms of the wider society, or to blend in a more formal and unfamiliar context. Sevgi was the only

Arabic-Turkish bilingual participant parent who stated to prefer Turkish at funerals. She expressed her language choice at funerals in the following way: **"**Cenazelerde Valla Türkçe, çünkü Arapça ile karıştırıyorum (gülümseyen ses tonu). Yani '**Allāh yirḥamō' 'Allāh yirḥama'** [diyor] sonra böyle karıştırmaya geliyorum 'Başınız sağ olsun [diyorum]" (gülüyor) (Eng., "I prefer Turkish because I mix up expressions in Arabic (smiley voice). I mean I say '**Allāh yirḥamō'** or **'Allāh yirḥama'**. Then I feel like I'm about to mix up and say "Başınız sağolsun"). (laughter)

Sevgi added that sometimes she was unable to get her tongue around a word, and hesitated using formulaic expressions because she had mixed them up several times. For instance, she had difficulty with expressions that changed based on whether the person is single or married:

> **[Interview, Sevgi, January 2022]**
> **"Yislem wlēdkīn"** "Sağ ol" **"Wiğwēzkin" ee "wlēdkīn**" diyorum ya da karşımdaki mesela bekârsa **"ū sbīke**" diyorum. Mesela yanlışlıkla gidip şey diyebilirim "**U wlēdik Nšāllah"** falan. Karıştırıyorum bazen onun için hemen Türkçeye bağlıyorum. Kaç kere başıma geldi. Bu yüzden "Sağ ol", "Sizler sağ olun", "Teşekkür ederim" falan [diyorum].
>
> I say **"Yislem wlēdkīn"** (Eng., "May security and healhtiness be upon your children") "Sağ ol." **"Wiğwēzkin"** ee **"wlēdkīn"** (Eng., "May security and healhtiness be upon your husband erm your children") or **"ū sbīke"** (Eng., "May security and healhtiness be upon you") if the woman [who is expressing her condolence] is single. For instance, I may say **"U wlēdik Nšāllah"** (Eng., "May security and healhtiness be upon your children, too") by mistake [to a single woman]. I mix these expressions up, so I switch to Turkish. That has happened to me several times. So I say things like "Sağ ol." (Eng., "Thank you"), "Sizler sağ olun." (Eng. "Thanks for your condolences"), "Teşekkür ederim." (Eng., Thank you")

Sevgi added that she sometimes responded to Arabic expressions of condolence in Arabic, but not in a fluent manner. In Arabic, expressions of condolences and responses to these vary depending on the gender and also marital status of a person. Sevgi's preference in favor of Turkish at funerals indicates her attempt to avoid using Arabic expressions infeliciously. The mistakes she had made by using the wrong expressions due to occasional confusion led her to prefer Turkish expressions, which were more straightforward. In that sense, we can also infer that through the chocie of Turkish, she avoided a possible face-threatening act that might damage her own and her interactant's face.

Similarly, participants used Arabic in cultural events like holiday greetings. Mustafa said:

> **[Interview, Mustafa, March 2022]**
> […] bayramlarda zaten genelde Arapça konuşuluyor. Her gittiğimiz ortamda genelde Arapça konuşuluyor. O şekilde yani. Türkçe bir tek hani gençlerin olduğu kısımlarda gençler olduğu yerlerde biraz konuşuluyor, veya çocuklar olduğunda. Ama büyükler olduğu zaman genelde Arapça konuşulur.
>
> […] On bairams, Arabic is generally used. In every place that we go to, Arabic is spoken. That's how it is. Only when there are youngsters or children Turkish is used a little. But when there are adults, Arabic is usually spoken.

He stated that he used the following expressions on bairams: "Çoğu bayramda '**Kul ʿām w-entu bīḫēr**' i kullanırım. 'İyi bayramlar.' gibi birşery. '**ʿīd mbōrok ʿlēykīn**.' de derim." (Eng, "I use '**Kul ʿām w-entu bīḫēr**' (Eng., "I wish you goodness on every eid") on most bairams. It means something like 'Have a good bairam.'. I also say '**ʿīd mbōrok ʿlēykīn**.' (Eng, "Happy Eid").

Gaye also preferred Arabic and expressed her preferences as follows:

> [**Interview Gaye, November 2021]**
> Büyüklerimizle bayramlaştığımızda Arapça kullanırım. Büyüklerimizin çoğu da Arapça bildiği için yine o dili tercih ediyoruz. Yani tabi küçük çocuklar bu dili kullanmıyor; Türkçeyi kullanıyor ama yine nene dede cevap verirken Arapçayla veriyor.
>
> I use Arabic when I exchange holiday greetings with the elderly. Since the elderly speak Arabic, I prefer this language. But, of course little children don't use this language [Arabic]; they use Turkish. Still, their grandmother or grandfather respond in Arabic when they respond.

Murat expressed his language choice for holiday greetings in the following way: **"**Bizimkilerle kayın babamlarla bizim o büyüklerle konuştuğumuzda ya da kutladığımızda Arapça. Şeye gittiğimizde işte ablamlar olsun ya da bizim o iş arkadaşları olsun o zaman Türkçe genelde." ("Eng., When we speak to or exchange bairam greetings with my parents or my mother- and father-in-law, I mean with our elderly, [I use] Arabic. When we visit my sisters or colleagues, then generally [I use] Turkish.")

He also added that he encouraged his daughters to use Arabic bairam greetings with particularly with their grandmothers and grandfathers because "the original expressions are in Arabic." Esra's language preferences for holiday greetings were exactly the same as her husband's. She reported that she used Arabic while exchanging holiday greetings with her parents and mother-and father-in- law, and Turkish with her sisters-in-law. She added that they encouraged their daughters to use Arabic expressions with their grandparents. Murat and Esra adapted their language choice according to the interlocutor. They preferred Arabic bariam greetings with the first generation, whose default language is Arabic. On the other hand, with second generation family members, they preferred Turkish. At the same time, both parents encouraged their daughters to use Arabic expressions while exchanging holiday greetings with their grandparents. Obviously, the authenticiy of these expressions in the mother tongue had an effect on Murat's urging his daughters to use them. As verbal expressions that are deeply rooted in the traditions, social customs and religious practices of the community in which they originated, Arabic holiday greetings provided a more authentic way to convey good wishes. Sevgi also preferred Arabic when exchanging bairam greetings; however, she didn't encourage her children to use any languge. She said she let them do what they saw, and that they would learn what language to use in such occasions through modelling. Whereas Sevgi alternated between Arabic and Turkish in her daily language use with adults, she chose Arabic to express her good wishes on holidays. Sevgi's language choice on such occasions most likely stemmed from the cultural, religious and traditional resonance of these expressions. Because they are expressions that have been passed down from generation to generation as entities of collective identity, and because they are indispensable to the way community members celebrate, express and reinforce cultural and religious values, Sevgi preferred these expressions to exchange holiday greetings. Ufuk stated that he used Arabic for holiday greetings. In addition, he also encouraged his son to use the relevant Arabic expressions on such cultural occasions. Ufuk's own words were:

> **[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]**
> […] bayramlar halen vazgeçilmezimiz. (smiley voice). "**ʿīd mbārāk ʿlēykīn**." işte **"Allāh yirzikek"** işte bu tarz bütün bayramlarda kullandığımız ne varsa. Yani o an

anlık […] Bu tür şeylere hala bilmiyorum böyle bir duygusal yaklaşıyorum. Öğretiyorum; zorla da olsa söyletiyorum.

[…] holidays are still our indispensable (gülümseyen ses tonu). [We use] expressions like "**ʿīd mbārāk ʿlēykīn**." (Eng., "Happy Eid") or **"Allāh yirzikek"** (Eng., "May Allah give you more") things like that. Whatever we use on all holidays. I mean [I use] whatever expression is appropriate at that moment. […] I don't know, I still approach to that kind of things kind of emotionally. I teach him [his son] [such expressions]. I make him say them.

Interestingly, he indicated that his wife also supported her son to use Arabic bairam greetings: "[…] (gülümseyen ses tonu) annesi teşvik ediyor, ben değil. Yani beklemez insan ama annesi kendi de Arapça bayramlaşmayı öğrenmiş, o şekilde bayramlaşıyor, çocuklara öğretmeye çalışıyor." (Eng., "[…] (smiley voice) his mother encourages him [to use Arabic], not me. I mean one would not expect that but his mother herself has learnt to exchange Arabic holiday greetings, and exchanges bairam greetings in this way. She is trying to teach [these] to her children, too.")

Meltem's statements supported Ufuk's declaration. Meltem indicated that she valued cultural practices and tried to use them on cultural occasions. She also expressed that she encoraged her son to use Arabic while exchanging bairam greetings with his paternal grandparents. Meltem's statements were as follows:

[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]
[…] işte bir bayram kutlayacaksak mesela şey yapıyorum yani Umuttan öğrenerek ya da işte mesela aşağı ineceğim, yine aynı şekilde hem sevimli olsun hem de tam olsun diye. […] Yani işte aşağıya indirirken şey diyoruz mesela yani işte "Bayramınız kutlu olsun" yerine ya da işte dedesi bir şey verirken **"Allāh yirzikek"** de. "Kesene bereket" dedirtmeyi değil de "Allah yırzıkek" demeyi, hani ben söyleyemesem de (gülümseyen ses tonu). Hani üç beş o şeylerde hala çünkü hem daha sevimli hem onlar daha fazla seviniyorlar. Hala öyle çünkü gerçekten daha fazla seviniyorlar Arapça olduğunda mutlaka.

[…] if we'll exchange bairam greetings, I learn from Ufuk [in advance what to say] or if I'll go down [grandparents' place], again in the same way so that they would find it cute and so that it would be in accordance with customs […] When we are taking him [their son] down [grandparents' house], instead of "Bayramınız kutlu olsun." or when his [her son's] grandfather gives him something [holiday pocket money], we say [to their son] "Say **'Allāh yirzikek'**." (Eng, "May Allah give you more") I mean instead of "Kesene bereket." we tell him to say **"Allāh yirzikek"** even if I can't say it (smiley voice). I mean we still encourage these experessions on

such occasions because it both sounds cuter, and they [grandparents] become happier.

Meltem's remarks indicated respect and honoring the traditions and also the old generation. Arabic is the language that resonates with the elderly, and it is tied to the heritage and cultural practices. During the interview, Meltem highlighted the value that she attached to the ethnic culture, language and sustaining these. Therefore, even as an L1-Turkish speaking mother, Meltem tried to learn Arabic expressions related to holiday greetings and encouraged her child to use theseexpressions so that his grandparents **"**would find it cute and so that it would be complete**"**. According to Meltem, it gave the grandparents greater emotional fullfilment when her son used Arabic instead of Turkish on bairams. By encouraging the use of Arabic on holidays, Meltem reinforced family bonds and cultural continuity between generations.

Ulaş's preferred language for exchanging holiday greetings was Arabic, too because Arabic was the language of the elderly. His statements were as follows:

[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]
Bayramlarda Arapça tercih ediyorum çünkü çoğuları atalarımız yani ıı ı Arapça biliyor. "**ʿīyd mbōrok ʿlēykin.", "ʿīyd mbōrok ʿlēykin. Lakil senē bīḫēr**" öyle birşey işte. **Kəddēs** başka hangi bayram? **Mesela ʿīyd il Ġadir** "Kul 3am intu bikher Nşallah Allah yic3alo yin3ed 3leyna 3leykin u levledkin" falan. Yani dilekler falan hep Arapçaylan şey yapılıyor. Iı başka neler var mesela. Mesela Kurban Bayramı keza aynı şey. Gene **"Kul ʿām intu bīḫēr. allāh ǧʿalā yinʿād ʿlēynā ū ʿlēykin, lakil senē bīḫēr**." Böyle işte. Yani Arapçala bayramlarımız genelde. Atalarımızdan dolayı işte büyüklerimiz okuma yazmaları olmadığından dolayı. Anadilleri Arapça ondan dolayı.

I prefer Arabic on holidays because most of them I mean our elders speak Arabic. For example, I say "3iyd mborok 3leykin" (Eng., "Happy Eid"), "**ʿīyd mbōrok ʿlēykin. lakil senē bīḫēr**." (Eng., "Happy Eid. May you celebrate the eid in goodness every year") **Kəddēs**, what else is there for instance? For example, on Eid el Ğadir or Kurban Bayramı, [I say] **"**K**ul ʿām intu bīḫēr. Allāh ǧʿalā yinʿād ʿlēynā ū ʿlēykin, lakil senē bīḫēr**." (Eng., "I wish you goodness in every year. May Allah grant us and you a happy eid each year") Things like that. I mean our bairam greetings are in Arabic in general because the elderly don't have [Turkish] literacy. Arabic is their mother tongue.

Ulaş's statements reflected respect for tradition and the importance of the community language, particularly in relation to the elders and their role in the society. Ulaş preferred to use the language connected to his heritage (Arabic) on such occassions

because that was the language that the elderly was familiar with. In doing so, Ulaş is in fact honoring both the elderly and the community language by sustaining the practice of using the native language that connects generations, especially in moments of celebration like holidays. In other words, through the use of Arabic, Ulaş contributes to the preservation of cultural continuity and this in turn fosters his sense of belonging and respect to the cultural practices maintained by the elderly. Ulaş also stated that he encouraged his children to use Arabic bairam greetings with people who didn't speak Turkish. For instance, he urged his son to use Arabic with his grandmother on bairams because she couldn't speak Turkish, and said: "Diyorum ki 'Oğlum nene Türkçe bilmiyor. Arapçayla '**ʿīyd mbōrok ʿlēyke yā sitte**.' de." (Eng., "I say 'Son, your grandmother doesn't know Turkish. Say in Arabic '**ʿīyd mbōrok ʿlēyke yā sitte**.' (Eng., Happy Eid, granny)."

Participants' accounts concerning their language practices revealed that they used Turkish as the default language with their children in the private home domain. In addition, they used Turkish in various domains such as workplace, education and government institutions. On the other hand, for the parents, Arabic secured its position in communicating with the elderly as well as for specific functions such as celebrating cultural/religious holidays and offering condolences. Based on the participants' declarations, Arabic was preserved as the ceremonial language at community level. All the participants preferred to use Arabic for celebrating religious or cultural holidays to honor the elderly as well as their customs, traditions and heritage. In addition, apart from one participant (Sevgi), all the participants, including the L1-Turkish speaking mother (Meltem) preferred to use Arabic at funerals in the community. This points to the "Complementarity Principle" proposed by Grosjean (1997). Proposing the term based on one of the meanings of "complementary", which is "being complements of each other" (Merriam-Webster: www.merriam- webster.com/dictionary/complementary), Grosjean explained the Complementarity Principle as "Bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life require different languages." (cited in Grosjean 2024, p. 61). It can be seen that for the cases in this study, Turkish overweighs in most domains and functions. On the other hand, participants prefer the community language for specific

functions like celebrating holidays and expressing condolences. In that sense, it can be assumed that there is a complementary relationship between Arabic and Turkish where specific functions and domains activate a certain language based on broader social, historical and cultural factors.

4.3.2.2. Language Preferences for Expressing Love, Affection and Endearment

One thing that drew my attention in the video data recordings and also home visits was parents' choice of formulaic expressions of love, affection and endearment in Arabic. Although parents' preferred language of interaction with their children was Turkish, five of the bilingual participant parents indicated that they used Arabic to communicate their feelings of endearment, love and affection to their children. Gaye stated that she favored Arabic and stated the reason for that as follows:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November, 2021]**
> O da içten gelen bir duygu olduğu için mi bilemedim ama mesela sevgi ifadelerin büyük bir çoğunluğu benim Arapçadır. […] O zaten ister istemez direk çıkıyor hani. Tercih etme değil de herhalde içten gelme. Arapça çocukluktan beri kullandığım dil olduğu için bence. Bir de şöyle yani hani 7 yaşıma kadar o dili kullanmışım. 7 yaşıma kadar- 6 yaşımda başlamıştım okula, öğrenene kadar yani 7 yaşıma kadar tek kullandığım dil Arapçaymış benim. Ondan kaynaklı.
>
> I don't know whether it is because it is a feeling that comes from within or not, but most of my expressions of love are Arabic. […] It just comes out [of my mouth] spontaneously. I think it's not about preference, but spontaneity. I think it's because [Arabic] is the language that I've used since my childhood. You know, like I used this language until seven years of age. Until 7 years of age- I started school at the age of six, until seven years of age Arabic was the only language that I used. That's why [she prefers Arabic to express love, affection and endearment].

She also felt that Arabic expressions of endearment lacked exact Turkish equivalents and stated her opinion as: "Sanki bu [Arapça] ifadelerin tam karşılığı yok. Yani bana öyle geliyor. Aslında en iyi ifade eden o." (Eng., It's like in Turkish there's no equivalent expression to those [Arabic] expressions of love. I mean this is how I feel. Actually, it [an Arabic expression] expresses [love, affection and endearment] in the best way.)

Gaye's statements reveal that her choice of Arabic for expressing love, affection and endearment to her children arose from the fact that the mother tongue is the conduit of intimate expressions of love and affection. Gaye learnt Arabic as her first language and spoke only Arabic for the first seven years of her life. As a result, that language was the one spoken by the people closest to her and it included expressions of endearment and love unique their relationship. In addition, the choice of Arabic as the language of love was not a planned act, rather it was spontaneous and flowed naturally, meaning it came from a place of deep emotional connection and familiarity; from the depth of her heart. In that sense, the culturally embedded and personal Arabic expressions were an organic reflection of her heartfelt attachment, care and tenderness. In contrast, a word for word Turkish translation of these expressions would not convey the unique emotional warmth, authentic, nuanced and deep meaning that the original Arabic expressions had. As a result, Gaye preferred Arabic to express her love, affection and endearment to her children because Arabic expressions were more sincere, heartfelt, and carried so much warmth as reflections of genuine love and affection. And these expressions were the very language of love itself for Gaye. In the video-recordings and observations, I noted that Gaye used such expressions as "**Ōḥedgādā"** (Eng., "May I take your troubles"), "**Yē rūḥ qalbe"** (Eng. Lit., "The soul of my heart") and **"Yē rūḥe makyasīk"** (Eng., "My soul, how beautiful you are"), especially to show her love to her youngest daughter. The fact that Gaye used Turkish as the main language of interaction with her children did not put a constraint on her use of Arabic to express her love, endearment and affection to her children. Her husband Mustafa reported that he used both Turkish and Arabic to express his love, affection and endearment to his children. He added that it was a habit, and that he liked the pronunciation of the Arabic expressions more than the Turkish ones. Mustafa's statements were:

> **[Interview, Mustafa, March 2022]**
> İki dili de kullanıyorum. Hani Arapçada "**yā rūḥe**", **"āḥedgādakē"**, **"ḥabībtē"** dersin falan, ama işte hani çocuklar onların da ne anlama geldiğini fazla bilmiyor. Türkçeyi de kullanıyorum, Arapçayı da kullanıyorum. Ben mesela Arapçayı daha çok kullanırım bu ibarelerde. […] Dil alışkanlığı bu. Bir de Arapça telaffuzları, söylenişleri Türkçe ifadelerden daha güzel geliyor bana.
>
> I use both languages. You know, for example, we say **"yā rūḥe"** (Eng., "my soul")**, "āḥedgādakē"** (Eng., "May I take your troubles"), **or "ḥabībtē"** (Eng., "my dear")

> in Arabic, but the children don't really know what they [these expressions] mean. I use both Turkish and Arabic, but I use Arabic more in that kind of expressions. […] It's a language habit. I also like the Arabic pronunciation of these expressions more than the Turkish expressions.

Mustafa's choice of Arabic expressions of endearment, love and affection signal a personal preference that stems from a personal connection to these expressions and from a natural language habit. It also signals a preference that is rooted in the way these expressions sound in the mother tongue suggesting a feeling that their pronunciation is more pleasing and emotionally more powerful than their Turkish equivalents.

Esra indicated that her language of love, affection and endearment was Arabic. She explained her language choice as: "Valla Arapça (gülüyor). Daha yoğun geliyor. "**yā rūḥ qalbe**", "**yā rūḥe bintē**", "**hōya bīttē**" falan yani genelde Arapça. […] Yani sanki daha yoğun hissediyorum. Kendimi hani daha iyi ifade ettiğimi düşünüyorum o şeyde, sevgimi yani." (Eng., "Honestly, Arabic (laughing). [Arabic expressions] feel more intense. For example **"yā rūḥ qalbe, yā rūḥe bintē, hōya bīttē"** (Eng., "the soul of my heart", "my soul my daughter", "that's my daughter") are all in Arabic. […] I mean I feel they are more intense. I believe I express myself, you know, my love better.)"

For Esra, Arabic expressions of love, endearment and affection evoke more emotional depth and strenght compared to Turkish ones. In addition, her statements suggested that she perceived these expressions as more powerful and meaningful in Arabic probably due to her cultural, emotinal or personal connections to the mother tongue. This enabled Esra to convey her love, endearment and affection better in Arabic than in Turkish. In the video recording data, Esra used such expressions as "**Yē rūḥe makyasīn ḥal ʿyūn."** (Eng., "My soul, how beautiful these eyes are") and **"Ye rūḥe bīttē."** (Eng., "My girl is my soul"). Murat, her husband, first stated that he used Arabic expressions more; however, when I asked him what kind of expressions he used, he said: "Biraz daha düşününce yine Türkçe." (Eng, "After thinking a bit more, it's [his preferred language for endearment, love and affection] is again Turkish.")

Murat stated that he used expressions like "**yā rūḥ qalbe**" (Eng., "the soul of my heart") and "**āḫedgādakē"**, (Eng., "May I take your troubles") but he added the following: "[…] benim de Arapça dağarcığım biraz bu konularda dar. Hani normal konuşmada sıkıntı yok ama bu tarz şeylerde yine Türkçeye dönüyor." (Eng., "[…] my range of vocabulary in such expressions is narrow. I mean there's no problem in normal speech, but in that kind of things [expressions], it [his language] shifts to Turkish").

Murat's statements reveal that although he is comfortable with his mother tongue and can use it for daily interaction, he finds it easier and more expressive to use Turkish to express his love, endearment and affection to his children likely because his range of vocabulary for such expressions is broader in Turkish. When I asked Sevgi about her language choice to express endearment, love and affection, she expressed her preferences in the following way:

> **[Interview, Sevgi, January, 2022]**
> Arapça (gülümseyen ses tonu). ""**āḫedgādak**", "**yē rūḥ qalbe**" (gülümseyen ses tonu). […] İster istemez. Daha samimi geliyor bana. Mesela ben de böyle eşime sevgi sözcüğü kullanırken "Canım", "Aşkım" bana böyle hani "canım" derim; "aşkım" bilmem ne çok böyle şey gelir yapmacık. Ama "**ḥabīb**" böyle daha böyle samimi daha şey geliyor sevgi sözcükleri bana. Sanki annem hani nasıl annemiz böyle büyütmüş ya "**āḫedgādakē**", "**yā rūḥe intē**" ben de çocuğuma verince sanki daha o samimi duygu geliyor. Ya eşime bile böyle severken '**yē rūḥ qalbe**,", "**ḥabīb**"; çocuklara "**yē rūḥ qalbe**, **Āḫedgādakīn Nšāllah**".
>
> Arabic (smiley voice). "**āḫedgādak**", "**yē rūḥ qalbe**" (Eng., "May I take your troubles, the soul of my heart") (smiley voice). […] [I use Arabic] inevitably. I find [these expressions] more sincere. For example, when I use [Turkish] words of love for my husband, "canım", "aşkım" , I measn I say "Canım", but "aşkım" and the like sound unnatural to me. But "**ḥabīb**" (Eng., "my dear/my darling") sounds more sincere. […] It's like the way our mothers raised us [with the expressions] "**āḫedgādakē**", "**yā rūḥe intē**". When I also say these to my children, it's like the feeling is more sincere. I mean even when I'm expressing my love to my husband, [I say things like] "**yē rūḥ qalbe**", "**ḥabīb**". To my children [I say] "**yē rūḥ qalbe**, **Āḫedgādakīn Nšāllah**." (Eng.,"the soul of my heart", "May I take your troubles").

Sevgi's preference of Arabic as the language of love, endearment and affection, likely arose from her association of this language with genuinity, familial warmth, closeness and protection. Sevgi's mother used Arabic with her as a child, and naturally Arabic was the language of love for her. As the mother tongue is tied to

personal history and emotions, it creates a deeper connection and sincerity in expressions of love and affection. Obviously, the expressions of love used by Sevgi's mother when she was raising her are more than just words for Sevgi. They are tied to memories, care and the bond between her and her mother. By using the same expressions with her children, Sevgi experienced her feelings as more sincere, genuine and heartfelt. Futhermore, Sevgi pointed to the deep emotional meaning that Arabic words of love evoked in her. She expressed her thoughts as follows:

> **[Interview, Sevgi, January 2022]**
> **Sevgi:** Ha diyorlar ki sana "**ḥabīb**" ney? **'iy ḥabīb**"i gel anlat.
> **Researcher:** Yani normalde "canım" ama-
> **Sevgi:** Çok içten. "Canım" ama işte "canım"la bitmiyor; mesela **ḥabīb** - "benim", "canım", "kalbim" anlamında değil mi? **Ḥīyk matcine ʾanā**.
>
> **Sevgi:** Also they ask you "What is habib?" How to try to explain **"ḥabīb[20]"?**
> **Researcher:** Normally, it's "canım".
> **Sevgi:** It's very sincere, it's "canım", but it goes beyond that. To me, it feels like "mine", "my dear", "my heart", isn't it like that? I find it like that.

Sevgi's statements show that although the word "**ḥabīb**" means "my dear", "beloved" or "darling", for her it trancends that meaning and carries a much deeper emotional meaning than the Turkish equivalents of it. In that sense, it conveys sincerity, intimacy and a special connection with the people she is addressing to.

In line with Mustafa, Gaye, Sevgi and Esra, Ulaş, who used Turkish with their children as the main language of interaction, preferred Arabic as the language of love. He explained his preference with the following statements:

> **[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]**
> […] hani Türkçeye çeviremediğimiz için direktmen Arapçayla "**yē rūḥ qalbik**, **yē rūḥe inte**, **yē rūḥe ḥel beᶜatik"** mesela örneğin öyle yani. […] Hani derler ya "**Allāh iy-kəṯṯar ḫēyrō lel-beᶜatkin.**" Türkçeyle bunu nasıl söyleyebiliriz? […] Tamam, çevrilir de ama ve lakin Arapçayla daha rahat.
>
> […] you know, since we can't translate them to Turkish, we directly say things like **"yā rūḥe qalbik[21]"** (Eng., the soul of my heart), **"ya rūḥe inte"** (Eng., my soul), "**yā rūḥe el-beᶜetak**" (Eng., "How dear is God, who sent you to me") in Arabic. For

[20] Meaning no Turkish translation of the word "ḥabīb" can capture its nuanceed meaning.
[21] This expression is orginally "**yē rūḥ qalbe**" literally meaning "The soul of my heart". However, Ulaş, his wife and the maternal grandmother used it as "**yā rūḥe qalbik**" literally meaning "Your heart is my soul".

example, they say "**Allāh iy-kəṯṯar ḫēyrō lel-beᶜatkin.**" How can we say this in Turkish? I mean it can be translated, but in Arabic it's easier."

Although Ulaş acknowledged that Arabic expressions of love, affection or endearment could be translated to Turkish, he indicated that using them in Arabic was linguistically easier for him. As formulaic expressions embedded in ethnic culture, these expressions carried nuanced, culturally specific meanings that Ulaş could easily remember and use effortlessly. In other words, Arabic phrases of love, affection and endearment came to him naturally and automatically, and their communicative ease made him prefer Arabic for expressing love and affection. The video data revelaed that the late mother also used Arabic to show her affection to her youngest child. For example, during a mealtime the following verbal exchange took place between the mother and Melda:

Melda: Ellerine sağlık anne.
Bless your hands, mom.
Yelda: Afiyet olsun aşkım. **Ye rūḥ qalbīk. Tᶜoy tabusīk**.
Bon apetit, my love. ***The soul of my heart. Come here, let me give you a kiss.***

Ufuk also reported his preference of Arabic to express his love, affection and endearment to his children. He explained the reason for his choice as: "O [sevgi ve şefkat dili] Arapça. İstemsiz bir şekilde çıkıyor. Bilinçli bir karar değil; içimden öyle geliyor." (Eng., "That's [Language of love, endearment and affection] Arabic. It's unintentional. It's not a consious choice; it's spontaneous.") Ufuk stated that he used the following expressions as words of love, affection and endearment:

[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]
"Yā qalbe", ''yā rūḥe", "nūr ᶜayne" gibi şeyler söylüyorum. "**Ḥabībe" yi** çok kullanıyorum. En çok **"Ḥabībe"** yi kullanıyorum. "**Ḥabīb qalbī" ve "rūḥ qalbī"** yi hep söylerim**.**

I say "**yā qalbe"** (Eng., "my heart"), **"yā rūḥe"** (Eng., "my soul"), **"nūr ᶜayne"** (Eng., "light of my eye"), and the like. I use "**ḥabībe"** (Eng., "my dear") a lot. I use "**ḥabībe"** the most. I always say "**ḥabīb qalbī"** (Eng., "love of my heart") and **"rūḥ qalbī"** (Eng., the soul of my heart)"

Echoing Gaye, Ufuk mentioned spontaneity regarding his preference of Arabic as the language of love and affection for his children. As an individual who preferred

Arabic with adults and in every possible context, Ufuk naturally conveyed his intense feelings of love, endearment and affection with expressions in his mother tongue. These expressions emerged from a deep emotional connection and familiarity instinctively, and without any delibaration. Rather than simple phrases, they represented genuine affection that arose naturally in the moment. In that sense, they were more powerful expressions than similar Turkish expressions of love. As a monolingual Turkish speaker, Meltem reported that she used Turkish as the language of love for her children. However, she admitted the intense feeling evoked in her by one particular expression in Arabic-"**rūḥ qalbī"** (Eng., the soul of my heart). She expresssed her thought as follows:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> […] mesela "**rūḥ qalbī**". Yani mesela Türkçe'de bir sürü kelime ile anlatıyorsun mesela; sadece "canım" değil "tatlım" değil, "hayatım" değil. Bunu mesela kendi çocuğuma bazen hiç kimsenin duymadığı bir yerde söyleyesim var yani. Çünkü bu kadar (emphatic) güzel anlatır. Yani bir şey bir insanı kalbime sokasım geliyor, çok tuhaf bir-yani Türkçe bile olsa olmuyor, yani "Seni şuraya bastırasım geliyor"un haşey bulmuş hali, yani çok garip. Ben bunu duyduğumda artık gerçekten tam olarak bu. Yani anlayabiliyorum bu kelimenin bu anlama geldiğini.
>
> […] for example, "**rūḥ qalbī"** (Eng., the sould of my heart). In Turkish, you can express this with many words, for instance, it's not only 'canım', 'tatlım', or 'hayatım'. For instance, I sometimes want to say it to my own child at a place where no one can hear. Because only this (empahis) can express [the feeling] so well. I mean it's like "I feel like putting a person in my heart", I mean it's a very strange- it cannot even translated to Turkish. I mean it's like "I want to press you here" (showing her chest). When I hear this, I can understand that it's exactly like that. I mean I can understand that this word has this meaning.

As a Turkish-speaking individual, Meltem conveyed her feelings of love, affection and endearment to her children in her mother tongue, Turkish. Interestingly, like the other bilingual parents, she felt the intense emotinal weight that the Arabic expression 'ruh kalbi' had to the degree that she wanted to use it herself with her children. As I indicated previously, the expression 'ruh kalbi' literally translates as 'the soul of my heart' to Turkish. Therefore, it expresses a profound and tender love, and suggest that the interlocutor is considered as the essence of the speaker's heart and soul. With its deep meaning and emotional significance, it's used among family members, close partners or someone with whom the speaker shares a deep emotional bond. During the interview, Meltem had stated that she found herself sounding

strange when speaking Arabic, and hence she avoided speaking it. So, both as a result of acculturation, and the emotional strength and depth of "ruh kalbi" as opposed to its Turkish equivalents, at times Meltem had the urge to secretly use the expression herself with her children.

4.4. Language Management Strategies

4.4.1. Insufficient Investment in the Transmission of Arabic: "*Akışına bıraktım*" ("*I let it flow*").

As shown in the language ideologies section, all the participant families prioritized Turkish in their FLP due to various internal factors about their language beliefs and external factors such as the status of Turkish as the official language and the language of instruction. In line with this, analysis of the interview, fieldwork and video data revealed that five of the participant parents assumed a laissez faire attitude with regard to Arabic language management efforts. In these parents' accounts, the expressions "Oluruna bıraktım." (Eng., "I let it flow.") and "Akışına bıraktım." (Eng., "I let it flow.") were frequent, indicating their lack of parental involvement or agency in relation to Arabic language management strategies. Of the remaining three participants, the couple in Family 2 seemed more concerned and assumed slightly greater responsibility for including Arabic in their interactions with their children. However, despite expressing a sense of responsibility, they still displayed insufficient parental agency, or had prospective language management strategies without a clear timeline. The remaining parent in Family 5 indicated that it turned into a habit to use Turkish with his children from their childhood on. He repented having used only Turkish with them in the past, and stated that he wasn't involved in serious parental efforts at the time of the study to transmit the community language to his children. He believed that he was late for that and as such displayed weak impact beliefs regarding transmitting the community language to his children. Factors such as past failure regarding Arabic teaching efforts, child agency (lack of willingness or interest), today's conditions and lack of utiliy of Arabic had an influence on the formation of the laissez-faire attitude assumed by parents.

In Family 1, Gaye stated that when her first child was at primary school, she attempted to integrate Arabic into her interactions with him. However, he rejected being spoken to in Arabic, and explicitly stated his dislike of that language. Gaye's own words were:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> Şimdi açıkçası şöyle. Ben ilk en büyük çocuğuma Arapçayı bir ara o ilkokuldayken öğretmeyi yeltendim. Eee Arapça konuştuğum zaman bilerek cümleyi Arapça kuruyordum. O da istemiyordu. Ben konuştuğum zaman anlamıyor ya, anlamadığı için sinirleniyordu sanki ve belli bir süre sonra "Anne benimle Arapça konuşma. Sevmiyorum." demeye başladı. O yüzden ben de oluruna bıraktım. Yani bir ara denedim en büyük oğlumda. Ters tepince bıraktım (gülüyor)
>
> As a matter of fact, when my eldest child was at primary school, I attempted to teach him Arabic. Erm when I talked to him, I purposefully preferred Arabic. He didn't want that. When I spoke to him in Arabic, he didn't understand, and it seemed like he was getting frustrated because he didn't understand. After a while, he started saying "Mom, don't speak to me in Arabic. I don't like it." That's why I let it go with the flow. I mean sometime in the past I tried it [using Arabic] with my eldest child, but I gave up when it backfired. (laughing)

Here Gaye shared her experience about trying to introduce Arabic as a language of interaction to her son at some point in the past. Nevertheless, her efforts were met with frustration by her son because he was unable to understand his mother. Gaye's insistence on using Arabic resulted in a resistantance by her son, who enunciated his dislike of Arabic. This led Gaye to give up her attempts because they did not yield the desired results, but rather caused frustration and unintended negative reactions.

Gaye indicated that she didn't use any strategy at the time of the study, and added that after that experience, she assumed a laissez faire-attitude: "Artık akışına bıraktım. Kendi başlarına öğreneceklerse öğrensinler. Değilse karışmıyorum." (Eng., "Now, I let it flow. If they'll learn it [Arabic] by themselves, let them learn. If not, I do not interfere"). When I asked her whether there were situations in which she encouraged her children to speak Arabic, she indicated that she didn't have such encouragements. At one stage, she just insisted that her children speak Arabic so that they woud have a second language, but, later she gave up because they were not willing. She repeated her statement, which reflected lack of agency as: "Kendi

başlarına öğreneceklerse öğrensinler. Akışına bıraktım." (Eng., "If they learn on their own, let them learn. I've let it flow.")

Gaye's earlier experience with her son and her later failed attempt to get her children speak Arabic caused her to leave the learning of Arabic to its course. In other words, she assumed a non-interfering, laissez-faire attitude with regard to the transmission of Arabic. She denied responsibility and left it completely to her children because of their lack of willingness. In that sense, her eldest son's agentive role could be effective in her lack of involvement. While stating that she believed the more languages they [her children] spoke, the better it would be for them, she indicated that she did not engage in teaching them Arabic:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> […] hani ben Arapçayı öğretmek için uğraşmıyorum. Hani herhangi bir dil kendi kendine eğer ilerleyen zamanda İngilizce veya başka bir şey öğrenmek islerlerse öğrenirler. Mesela Derya İngilizceyi de öğrenmek için hevesliydi. Okuldaki İngilizce sınavını geçti. İngilizce bir yıl İngilizce ağırlıklı ders işlediler. Yani dün- yani insanların içinde olan bir şey bence bu. Yani her demek ki her dile Derya daha çok hevesleniyor. Yani dil öğrenmeyi Derya daha çok istiyor. Yani zorla hiçbir şey öğretemiyoruz işte onu diyorum öğrenmelerini isterim ama işte zorla hiçbir şey öğretemiyoruz.
>
> […] you know, I'm not trying to teach [her children] Arabic. If they want to learn any language, say English or any other language, in the future, they'll. For example, Derya was willing to learn English, too. She passed an exam at school, and had intensive English lessons for one year. I mean, it [willingness] lies in an individual. I mean that means Derya is willing to learn any language. I mean we cannot teach anything by force. I'd like them to learn Arabic, but I cannot force them.

As stated in earlier sections, both Gaye and Mustafa reported differences in their children's attitude and aptitude to Arabic. Whereas Derya, the second child, was willing to learn Arabic, her eldest brother and younger sister displayed reluctance towards that language. Gaye's statements about Derya's willingness to learn Arabic and other languages indicate that based on her experiences with her children in language related matters, she realized that a child's inherent interest and motivation towards a language was a decisive factor in their responsiveness to parents' community language transmission efforts. In other words, no matter how hard she tries, if a child doesn't have a natural interest in and motivation to learn languages, there's no point in trying. She believed that it would be fruitless to force a language

on a child unless they were willing and interested. In addition to the children's willingness, she indicated that the conditions of the present day also prevented her from putting in effort in the transmission of Arabic. She expressed her thoughts as: "Koşullar. Yani benimle hiç alakalı değil. Yani Arapça öğretmek istesen bile çok çaba harcaman gerekiyor ve isteklerine kalıyor. O yüzden o eforu sarf etmekten vazgeçtim (gülümseyen ses tonu). Kendi kedilerine öğreniyorlarsa öğrensinler." (Eng., "The conditions. I mean, it's not related to me at all. Even if you want to teach [your children] Arabic, it requires a lot of effort, and it depends on their willingness. That's why I gave up putting in that effort (smiley voice). If they want to learn on their own, let them learn").

In short, Gaye's present laissez-faire attitude stemmed from today's conditions and a past failed attempt to include Arabic in her language practices with her eldest child. When she met resistance from her son, who openly expressed that he didn't like Arabic, she gave up her attempts and did not engage in any other attempt apart from insisting, at one stage, that her children speak Arabic so that they'd have it in their repertoire as a second language. Despite being pro-bilingual as a result of her experiences with Syrian patients at work, she did not try to support her children's Arabic development by using a strategy consistently. She believed that rather than parental involvement, an individual child's aptitude and willingness to learn a language and the conditions of the present day mattered. If a child was not willing, there was no point in putting effort in language teaching because you could not 'force' anyone to learn anything. Gaye's statements clearly manifested her conscious lack of agency in supporting her children's bilingual development.

Gaye's perception of the best way to learn the community language also gave way to lack of parental agency regarding the transmission of the community language to her children. Gaye believed that:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> O evde kimsenin Türkçe konuşmaması gerekiyor öğrenebilmeleri için. Belli bir sürede o konuşmayı hani duyacaklar. Aynı kelimeler tekrar edecek; o şekilde öğrenebilirler. Yoksa başka şekil çok zor. Arapçanın sürekli konuşulduğu bir evde olmaları lazım. Yani öyle bir ev de kalmadı şimdi bizim burada.

> No one should be speaking Turkish in order for [children] to learn [the local Arabic]. For a while, they should hear Arabic speech. The same words should be used over and over again; in that way, they can learn it. Otherwise, it's really difficult. They should be living in a house where Arabic is constantly spoken. And there's no such home in our neighborhood anymore.

Gaye's own experiences as a monolingual Arabic speaker, who acquired Arabic through immersion at home in early childhood, could have shaped these beliefs. These beliefs, in turn, along with resistance and unwillingness of the eldest and third child, led to the formation of weak impact beliefs (De Houwer, 1999) about creating a language environment conducive to learning Arabic on the part of Gaye.

Her husband, Mustafa, similarly reported that at preschool period, he had some attempts to include Arabic into his interactions with his children by teaching them Arabic words, asking them to recite them and by encouraging them to speak Arabic. He also reported that he occasionally played some Arabic games with his children although they didn't understand him. Furthermore, he used Arabic intentionally when he wanted something, expecting to infuse his children with curiosity towards the community language. He expected his children to ask him the words that they did not understand, and thereby teach them new words. However, based on his accounts, these efforts were occasional and fruitless because with his children's enrollment to school, he eventually had to abandon these efforts. Mustafa's own words were:

> **[Interview, Mustafa, March 2022]**
> Okula başlamadan önce onlara biraz Arapça öğretebiliyordum. Okul çağına başladıktan sonra herkes Türkçe olarak iletişim kuruyor, Türkçe olarak şey yapıyor. Hem arkadaş çevresi olsun hem öğretmenleri hem de okulda hep Türkçe konuştukları için Arapçadan biraz uzaklaştılar. […] Yani Arapça biraz unutulmuş gibi bir şey oldu.
>
> Before they [his children] started school, I could teach them a bit of Arabic. After they start school, everyone starts to speak Turkish. Because of their friend circle, their teachers and lessons and because everyone speaks Turkish at school, they became a bit distant from Arabic. […] I mean Arabic was kind of forgotten.

As reported in the language practices, Turkish constituted the default language of interaction between all the family members, and from the start, Turkish was the language of communication with children. Actually, children were exposed to Arabic through their grandmothers rather than parents. However, Mustafa had an emotional

attachment to the community language and, like his wife, he wanted his children to be able to speak it. Mustafa's statements suggest that his limited efforts to maintain the community language through his children were undermined due to the socialization effect of the school. Once his children started school, Turkish gained more currency for them because it was the language of instruction and also casual communication with friends and teachers. This led his children to become somewhat disconnected from Arabic. In short, Arabic fell of their agendas. Furthermore, school also posed a challenge for Mustafa in terms of taking up too much time. Mustafa stated this challenge as follows: "Zamanımız biraz kısıtlı gibi. Yani onlara Arapça öğretmek istesek bile, dersler ve okul yüzünden zaman ayıramıyoruz. (Eng., "It's like we have limited time. I mean even if we want to teach them [their children] Arabic, we cannot allocate time for that because of the lessons and the school.") This suggests that for Mustafa, giving priority to Turkish was not tied only to the fact that all instruction was Turkish-medium. Investing in the maintenance of the mother tongue meant extra affordances and extra-curricular activities; however, the time devoted to school and school-related work was so much that it was not possible for his wife and him to do that.

I asked Mustafa whether they, as parents, currently had any strategy to expose their children to Arabic, he said: "Hayır. Hani derler ya 'Akışına bırakmışız', o şekilde çünkü kaliteli bir Arapça eğitimi görecekleri hiçbir yer yok." (Eng., "No. As the fella says, we 'let it flow' because there is no place where they can get quality Arabic education.") I asked whether he ever considered sending his children to a Quran course as his parents did so that they could learn literacy and he answered: "Kuran kursaları sadece dini şeyleri kapsıyor. Kuran kursundan ziyade ben daha çok hani etüt tarzı veya hani lehçe tarzı kurslara göndermek isterim." (Eng., "Quran courses only cover the religious aspects. Rather than a Quran course, I would like to send them to kind of supplementary language classes or community language courses. But, there is no place for that.") Mustafa's statements pointed to the non-existence of courses regarding the community language. This suggests a lack of parental agency and weak impact belief regarding his perceived influence on his children's learning Arabic. In that sense, he expected external support to help his children learn the community language. It also signals a lack of community and state support targeting

minority language development. Finally, like his wife, Mustafa mentioned children's lack of willingness to learn Arabic as a factor that has an adverse effect on parents' attempts of language maintenance:

> **[Interview, Mustafa, March 2022]**
> Bir de şu anki çocuklarda şu var, yani öyle bir istek görmüyorum açıkçası. Hani "Arapçayı öğreneyim", Arapça öğrenme isteği yok. Daha çok bunların önüne şey geçmiş "İngilizce öğreneyim", "Almanca öğreneyim". Yani çocuklarda da artık bu istek farklı yönlere kaymış. Anadilleri olsa bile farklı dillere kayıyorlar işte. […] Yok oluyor açıkçası. kendi çabamızla bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyoruz ama karşı tarafın da bir istediği olması lazım.
>
> In addition, in today's children, I do not see any aspiration. I mean they don't have a desire to learn Arabic. Instead of Arabic, they want to learn English or German. Their willingness has shifted in different directions [foreign languages]. I mean even if it [Arabic] is the mother tongue, they end up shifting to other languages. […] To be frank, it [the local Arabic] is disappearing. We're trying to do something on our own, but the other side should also be willing.

Mustafa's statements highlighted the role of his children's agency regarding language preferences. Based on Mustafa's accounts, his children did not display interest in Arabic, but rather turned towards internationally prestigious languages such as English or German, which had a high ranking in the linguistic market. In that sense, through asserting agency, they did not respond to their father's occasional efforts to teach them Arabic. This posed a challenge for the father, and it can be inferred that it contributed to the formation of a lack of parental involvement with regard to community language transmission.

In line with the priority given to Turkish for school, both parents stated that they tried to support their children's Turkish rather than Arabic by incorporating reading books in daily activities. The mother stated that she forced her children to read so that their reading comprehension and interpretation would improve. Gaye reported that she particularly tried to support Mehtap, whose first grade was mostly online due to the pandemic, and hence had problems with reading. Likewise, Mustafa reported that he encouraged his children to read to gain fluency in Turkish. Both of the parents had expressed their perceptions about the importance of Turkish for comprehension of the lesson at school as reported in the language ideologies section. They believed that a good proficiency level of Turkish was necessary for their

children's academic achievement. In line with this, they did the thing that they believed would improve their children's fluency, comprehension and interpretation skills in Turkish: get their children read. In short, the parents' concern was not to improve their children's Turkish as a language per se. Rather, they aimed to increase their fluency, comprehension and interpretation for the sake of academic achievement.

In Family 2, Esra reported that she played and sang Arabic lullabies to her children when they were babies so that they would be acquainted with the language. She added that she still played Arabic children's songs to them for the same reason, but that was not a frequent practice. Esra also utilized nursery ryhmes to draw her children's attention to Arabic. She stated that she taught them a few nursery ryhmes, and Nil memorized them. In one of my observations, Ceren and Nil were eating dried figs and they started to recite one of these ryhmes which went:

ᶜayne fīne (Eng., Look at me)
Bitaᶜmike tīne (Eng., I'll feed you figs)
Seᶜa tmīne (Eng., At 8 o'clock)
Bilimdīne (Eng., At the shopping district)

When I asked Nil whether she knew the Turkish translation of it, she translated it correctly as:
Bak bana
İncir yediririm sana
Saat 8de
Çarşıda

I hadn't expected that she would be able to translate it because as the parents had reported, unlike her sister, Nil seemed to understand Arabic less. In fact, I had observed that she asked for medium requests while interacting with her grandmother several times. In addition, she didn't like being spoken to in Arabic and displayed a negative attitude to Arabic. Esra guessed that Nil probably liked these ryhmes due to their rhyming. This suggests that language transmission efforts can yield better

results if parents resort to fun ways that would appeal to their children. Moreover, Esra said she sometimes consciously preferred to speak Arabic and integrated new words so that Ceren would learn them: “Mesela anlamını bilmediğini düşündüğüm bir şey varsa ben orada dile getiriyordum. ‘Anne bu ne?’ diyordu, işte mesela ‘fincen-bardak’. Ya da işte ee yeni birşeyse hani genelde onu kullanıyordum ki duysun, öğrensin.” (Eng., “For instance, if there was a word that I thought she [Ceren] didn’t know, I’d use it purposefully. She would ask me “Mom, what does that mean?” For instance, [Esra would answer] ‘fincen-bardak’. Or if it was [a] new [word], you know, I’d use it so that she would hear and learn it”).

In the video data and observations, there were not such instances probably because the default language choice of family members is Turkish. Furtmermore, the father, Murat, had indicated that as parents they were not involved in planned language management efforts, but rather in occasional efforts. Apart from these declared language management strategies, Esra had some future plans in her mind to help her children learn Arabic. She said she had talked to her father-in-law and asked him to teach Ceren Arabic literacy, but that they had not had time for that yet. She had aspirations for her elder daughter’s learning Arabic literacy either through a course or with the help of her father-in-law. In addition, she was planning to use Arabic more with the girls as soon as Nil’s comprehension of Arabic improved. She said:

> **[Interview, Esra, December 2020]**
> […] hani Nil biraz daha fazla anlamaya başlayınca ben evde Arapçayı daha çok konuşmaya başlayacağım. Zaten Türkçe artık oturmuş olacak. Arapçaya biraz daha fazla yer veririm. Arapça daha çok yer alı- yani şu anki şu an konuştuğumda Türkçe konuştuğum kadar belki Arapça da konuşacağım evde. O da şey için hani Türkçeyi zaten öğrendiler, konuşuyorlar, Arapçayı da hani daha fazla geliştirmek için.
>
> […] you know, when Nil starts to understand Arabic more, I’ll start to use Arabic more frequently at home. She would have learnt Turkish properly by then. I’ll be able to spare more time for Arabic. Maybe I’d use Arabic at home as much as I use Turkish. Thinking that they have already learnt and speak Turkish, you know, to improve Arabic, too.

As previously indicated in the parental ideologies about the languages spoken by family members, Esra viewed early learning of Arabic as a problem in the way of learning Turkish properly. This ideology is clearly reflected in her language

management efforts as she plans to be more invested in Arabic teaching after her children have learnt Turkish properly. Esra believes that meanwhile her younger daughter would have had a better grasp of Arabic, and then she would be able to allocate more space to Arabic for familial interaction. Like all the participant parents, Esra prioritized Turkish due to its indispensability for academic achievement. As a result, at the time of data collection she was not engaged in systematic language management efforts directed to Arabic. Esra stated that she also talked to her parents and asked them to speak to her children in Arabic, so that they'd learn it. She said her mother used basic instructions like "**Ye binte cibīle ḫešuka"** (Eng., "My girl, bring me a spoon.") particularly to help Nil learn the language. She said Nil would ask what **"ḫešuka"** (spoon) is, and the grandmother would explain**.** Similarly, she would instruct Nil to get the medicine for her when she needed it saying **"Cibīle iddeva tešrabo."** (Eng., "Get me my medicine, and I'll take it") Nil would ask what's **"deva"** (Eng., "medicine")? The grandmother would tell her that it's "ilaç". In this way, the grandmother tried to expose Nil to the language and help her learn new vocabulary. In my observations, I had noted that the grandmother used Arabic with her grandchildren more frequently tah the grandfather. In addition, she taught Arabic words to her grandchildren during their interactions, and sometimes asked Nil to respond to her in Arabic. In that sense, she supported her grandchildren's learning of Arabic. According to Esra's accounts, the grandmother also played Arabic games with the girls, and taught them nursery ryhmes and her children liked it. Esra added that she sometimes intervened in her daughters' language choice with their grandparents, particularly to help Nil improve her Arabic: "Yani mesela bazen müdahale ediyorum hani neneyle konuşurken dedeyle konuşurken 'Kızım, Arapça söyle nene anlasın.' Ama aslında Nil öğrensin diye ben bunu istiyorum." (Eng. "I mean, for example, I sometimes I interfere in [her daughters] while they are talking to their grandmother and grandfather saying 'My girl, say it [what the girl was saying] in Arabic so that your grandmother will understand'. But actually, I want this so that Nil will learn [Arabic].")

Her husband, Murat, reported that as parents they reminded the grandparents to use Arabic with the girls, particularly to increase Nil's exposure to Arabic. In the same line with his wife, he said they sometimes talked to them in Arabic and insisted that

they respond in Arabic particularly to support Nil's improvement in Arabic. He said he had downloaded an application called "Elif Ba" on Ceren's tablet: "Bir keresinde Ceren'in tabletine 'Elif Ba' diye bir uygulama yüklemiştim. Bir sese basıyor sonra onu tekrar ediyordu. O [uygulama] Arap alfabesini öğretmek ve seslerin telaffuzlarını öğretmek içindi." (Eng. "I once downloaded an application called Elif Ba on Ceren's tablet. She was pressing on a sound and repeating what she heard. It was for teaching the Arabic alphabet and the pronunciation of the sounds.")

He said in the past Ceren used the application a lot, but he hadn't seen her use it for a long time. Murat also stated that he had the idea of utilizing Arabic cartoons to assist his daughters' learning of Arabic, but he couldn't really do it. His own words were:

> **[Interview, Murat, January 2022]**
> Ya bir ara Arapçayı öğrenmeleri için birkaç video indirmiştim şeyden özellikle çizgi filmlerin. Ama şey yapmadık. Yani o konuda çok bir ilerlemedik. […] onlar çok küçüktü zaten o dönemde. Videolar indirdim onlara işte biz bakıcıya bıraktığımızda, bakıcı bazen açıyordu. Flaşın içine o Arapçaları da koydum ama hiç yani şey yapmadım. Hani özellikle izletmedim. Yani, öyle bir fikir aklıma gelmişti, ama uygulamadık pek yani.
>
> Once, I downloaded a few Arabic videos, especially cartoons. But we couldn't make much use of it. I mean we couldn't make much progress on that issue. […] they [the girls] were little then. I downloaded videos for them, and we left them with the caregiver, she sometimes played the cartoons for them. I downloaded them on a memory stick, but I myself didn't particularly play them [the cartoons]. I mean I had such an idea, but we couldn't put it into practice.

Like his wife, he had some future plans to support his daughters' Arabic development. He expressed his plans as:

> **[Interview, Murat, January 2022]**
> […] dediğim gibi ileride belki destek gerekebilir; gerekecektir illa ki. Arapça konusunda özellikle. Yani hani belki çok böyle baskın olmaz ama eğer kendilerinin de rızası olursa büyük ihtimalle Cerenin olur Nehri bilemiyorum, dil kursu ya da babamla belki böyle biraz yazma okuma yazma öğrenecek bir planlama yapmayı düşünüyorum açıkçası. Ama tabii ki o geldiğimiz dönemde onların da tercihine bağlı.
>
> […] as I said, in the future they [his daughters] may need support; they will definitely need support. Particularly for Arabic. You know, I probably wouldn't be too strict about that, but based on their willingness-Ceren would probably want it, but I'm not sure about Nil- I want to send them to a language course or ask my father to teach them literacy. But as I said, it would be based on their consent at that time.

Murat pointed to the need to support his daughters' Arabic development in the future. He assumed that Ceren would exercise agency in favor of learning Arabic whereas he suspected Nil's attitude. In addition, he highlighted that he would consider his daughters' consent in his future attempts to improve their Arabic, which points to his flexibility. Murat also pointed to his younger daughter's lack of willingness to learn Arabic as a factor that affected parental involvement:

> **[Interview, Murat, January 2022]**
> Çocuğun biraz daha öğrenme hevesine bağlı olarak bazen şey olabiliyor. Şimdi zorunlu olmamasının bir kere bir şeyi var, bir zorluğu var. Mesela İngilizcede olsun, Türkçe olsun, okulda da göreceği için biraz daha zorunlu hissediyor. Ama bunu biz aktarırken ya da öğretirken, bunun aslında şart olmadığını biliyor çocuk. Yani mesela şu anda iletişim için Türkçeyi kullanabildiği halde Arapçayı da öğren diyoruz. Yani "Neneye öyle deme böyle de" diyoruz. Dolayısıyla şey biraz daha hani olmasa da olur fikri oluşabiliyor çocukta.
>
> The child's eagerness to learn [Arabic] may also have an influence. In addition, lack of obligation [to learn Arabic] is also a problem. For instance, whether it is Turkish or English, a child feels more obliged [to use them] because s/he will get these classes at school. However, s/he knows that it [Arabic] is actually not a must when we're teaching them this language. I mean although now they can use Turkish for communication, we tell them to learn Arabic, too. I mean we tell them "Say 'this' to granny, not 'that'. As a result, the idea that 'It's not necessary to learn it [Arabic].' can emerge in the children.

In line with her beliefs regarding the importance of speaking Turkish well for her children, Esra made Ceren read story books and she read for Nil in order to support her children's Turkish. Besides she made use of drama. She indicated that they acted out in role plays such as doctor-patient or server-customer. For instance, at weekend breakfast time she pretended to be a server taking customers' orders, and her daughters acted out as customers in a restaurant. Esra indicated that this enhanced her daughters' Turkish skills, and helped them to express themselves better. Finally, Esra stated that she made use of an application in which Ceren ordered scrambled letters to form a meaningful word: "Hani bazen onun daha önce duymadığı ya da bilmediği kelimeler çıkıyor, onlarda yardımcı oluyorum. Mesela ben kelimeyi söylüyorum o yazıyor. O arada 'Anne bu ne?' diye soruyor ben de anlamını söylüyorum." (Eng., "Sometimes words that she [Ceren] has not heard or seen before emerge, and I help her with those. For instance, I say the word, she writes it and asks 'Mom, what does that mean?', and I say its meaning").

Murat also said he encouraged Ceren to read. He stated that she asked him about the meanings of words or sentences that she had heard for the first time. In this way, she expanded her vocabulary and improved her Turkish. He also mentioned the vocabulary games that his wife had reported. He said this helped Ceren learn new words.

In Family 3, the only common language between Meltem and Ufuk was Turkish. So, they used Turkish with their children as the default language of interaction. In addition, Ufuk tried to teach their son Arabic words through vocabulary games. Meltem assisted her husband's efforts by joining these games although she wasn't a speaker of Arabic. The video data showed that the mother joined most of these vocabulary games. She even initiated them herself when the father was not present. What's notable here is that although the mother doesn't speak Arabic, she was eager to help Burak revise the Arabic words that he learnt previously. She even assisted him by providing clues when he didn't know or remember the answer. The following excerpt illustrates that:

Excerpt 22 [Video Recorded Data, January 2021]

1 Ufuk: '**Rimmen**' ne demek? '**Rimmen**?'

*What does '**rimmen' (pomegranate)** mean? **'Rimmen'?***

2 Burak: Ama sen söyledin bir tane.

But you've already asked one.

3 Meltem: Ama Burak çok seviyor onu. Ben biliyorum bunu. Bunu Burak çok seviyor.

But Burak loves that. I know what it means. Burak loves that so much.

4 Ufuk: '**Rimmen**.'

'Pomegranate'

5 Burak: ((Turning to his mother whispering)) ºNe? Ne?º

ºWhat [is it]? What [is it]?º

6 Meltem: Benden mi alıcan? ((Bends towards him)) ºNarº

Do you want to get the answer from me? ºPomegranateº

7 Burak: Nar!

Pomegranate!

8 Ufuk: Nar mı? **Rimmen** nar mı?

Pomegranate*? Is 'rimmen' pomegranate?*

9 Burak: **Ey.**

Yeah.

10 Meltem: **Ey**

$Yeah$

In this excerpt, in the first turn, the father asked an Arabic word to Burak and wanted him to provide its Turkish equivalent. In the second turn, Burak implicitly objected to answer by saying that his father had already asked one. He signalled that it was his turn to ask. In the next turn, the mother directed Burak's attention back to the game by commenting that Burak loved that thing a lot, and said she knew the answer. In the fourth turn, Ufuk repeated the Arabic word, signaling that he was waiting for the answer. In turn 5, Burak whispered into his mother's ear and asked his mother to tell him the answer. In turn 6, the mother whispered the answer to her son. In turn 7, Burak said the answer out loud, and the father asked for confirmation. Burak used the Arabic word **"Ey"** (Eng., "Yes") as a response, which the mother repeated with smile voice. The excerpt shows how the parents collaborate to create vocabulary-based games to teach their son Arabic words in a natural and engaging way. The fact that both of the parents actively engage in such games despite their different languge backgrounds signals parental commitment to teaching the community language. This excerpt and similar ones in other video recordings suggested that the vocabulary games provided "double-opportunity spaces" for both the mother and the son (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 2004, cited in Kheirkhah, 2016, pp.40-41). These games gave the son an opportunity to learn new words and at the same time helped the mother rehearse and practice the vocabulary she had already learnt.

Meltem reported that they utilized vocabulary games to make vocabulary learning more appealing for their son. She expressed their reason as:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> […] çünkü sürekli sorunca kendini sınavda gibi hissedip öğrenmeye çok kapatıyor kendini. Zaten hala bu kadar öğrenmesinin sebebi bu. Yani bütün dil öğrenimlerinde öyle, hani Arapça Türkçe, İngilizcede de öyle. [Anne babası ona kelime sorduğunda]

> "Yok artık tamam ben soracağım." deyip bambaşka bir şey de sorabiliyor yani. Hani ama onu yapmayınca ilerlemiyor.
>
> […] because when [we] constantly ask him [words in Arabic], he [her son] feels himself as if in an exam and shuts himself off from learning. That's the reason why he can't still learn. This is true for all of his language learning experiences-for Arabic, Turkish and English [When parents ask him words] He says "OK, that's enough. Now it's my turn to ask.", and he can ask something totally irrelevant. But, when we don't that [play vocabulary games], we cannot proceed.

Meltem indicated that in time Burak started to resist vocabulary games, and therefore, they started to play them less frequently to be able to maintain harmony at home. She narrated their experiences as:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Hani söylediğinde şimdi sürekli "Ya bana ne!" deyip böyle tuhaf bir hal alıyor. Ondan sonra da böyle değişik bir mimikle bize bakmaya başlıyor. Bi yerden sonra bu aile için çok iyi bir şey değil. Bu defa şey oluyoruz kavga ortamına girmeye başlıyorsun ama bu defa o güven de sarsılıyor saçma sapan bir durum yaşıyorsun. Ve şimdi yani şey arasında kaldık. Aslında hani öğretmeye devam edelim bunu böyle çekelim mi yani daha açık olacak şekilde yansıtılması (gülüyor) "Böyle çekelim mi?" çünkü sonrasında da bir işte bir kavga geliyor. "Oğlum bak konuşman gerek, oğlum kendini kapatma" hani işte yok. Ya da Türkçe de konuşmuyor mesela. Bu defa o ortam çok şey oluyor. Gerginlik oluyor. Gerginlik bütün aileye yansımaya başlıyor. Hani "Al işte, Arapça! Böyle mi oldu?" falan gibi hani. Yani sonra diyorsun ki "En iyisi hani bugün de sormıyım" mesela tam sorasım geliyor, "Bu ne?" diyeceksin "Ah o taraklara girmiyim." diyip "Afiyet olsun" diyip bırakıyorsun (gülüyor).
>
> Now, when we say [lets's play vocabulary games], he says "Ugh, not interested!", and things are taking a weird turn. Then he starts to look at us with a strange facial expression. After a while, this turns out bad for the family. This time [When he resists], we start to get into an argument. This shakes the confidence [between family members,] and we end up in a nonsense situation. And now have the dilemma "Shall we go on teaching him and going through this?" I say "going through" because an argument follows. We say 'Son, you have to speak. Don't shut yourself.' But no way. Or, for instance, he doesn't speak Turkish, either. This time there's a tense atmosphere at home. This tension affects the whole family, and you think to yourself 'You wanted him to learn Arabic; here you go.' So, when the urge comes to ask 'What's that word [in Arabic/Turkish]?', you say [to yourself] "Let's not ask him today" and just say "Enjoy your meal' and leave it at that." (laughing).

Based on Meltem's accounts, their strategy of teaching vocabulary through games did not go well because, in time, her son started to become resistant and avoided joining the games. In addition, their encouragement led to frustration and tension in the family. In this tense atmosphere, the parents found themselves in a dilemma

whether they should keep pushing or give up. With the aim of avoiding confrontation and not to escalate tension, Meltem stated that they preferred to restrain themselves when they felt like initiating the game. Meltem believed that their failure in sustaining vocabulary teaching efforts also stemmed from her son's character. She expressed her opinion as:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Bir de işte o çocuğun da gerçekten şeyi de önemli karakteri. Yani mesela Burak gerçekten bu anlamda çok inatçı gerçek anlamda inançlı. Hani böyle bir çocuktan beklenmeyecek kadar inat gösterebiliyor. Hiç hırçın değil ama kendini kapatıyor ve devam edemiyorsun. Öyle de olunca gerçekten vazgeçebiliyorsun yani, hakikaten.
>
> Besides, the child's character is really important. I mean Burak is really stubborn, he is so stubborn in this sense. You know, he can display obstinacy that can't be expected of a child. He's not ill-tempered at all, but he shuts himself, and then you cannot go on [with vocabulary teaching]. And when this happens, you can, indeed, give up.

Meltem highlighted Burak's obstinate character as an obstacle. By exercising agency through resistance, Burak prevented his parents from maintaining their Arabic teaching efforts. As a result, Meltem and Ufuk gradually decreased the strategy of teaching vocabulary through games. As Meltem reported: "Yani eskisi kadar oynamıyoruz, çünkü ilk biz hevesle başladık. Mesela ben ona İngilizce öğretiyordum. Ufuk da Arapça. Kendi adıma söylüyorum ben aynı yerde bıraktım." (Eng., "We don't play as much as in the past because first we started very ardently. I was teaching him [their son] English, and Ufuk was teaching him Arabic. I'm speaking for myself; I left it as it was").

When I asked Meltem about whether they ever considered to use the OPOL strategy as two parents with different mother tongues, she said they didn't because they believed it could affect their family adversely. Meltem said if her husband and children spoke Arabic in her presence, she could feel offended because she couldn't understand Arabic much. She stated that she knew her character and her husband knew her, too. She would feel herself left out in such a case. In addition, she believed that the things she experienced in her adaptation process surely had an influence on that. Her husband had witnessed all the feeling of alienation she had due to language barrier, so she believed he would not consider an option other than Turkish as the

home language. However, both she and her husband wanted their son to learn Arabic and asked the grandparents to use Arabic with their child all the time. Meltem stated that this was a strategy for helping her son learn Arabic. She stated her views as:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Benim kendi stratejim tamamıyla kayınvalideme ve kayınbabama, yani o aşağıya aslında çünkü mesela ben 3 görümcemin de neredeyse hiç uğramadığı, orada yarım saatini geçirmediği bir günün olmadığını düşünüyorum. Yani aşağı dememin sebebi o, yani ikisi değil aşağı çünkü orası hep böyle Arapçanın çok konuşulduğu bir dünya gibi düşün benim için. Benim stratejim oraya emanet etmekti; olmadı (laughter). Öyle. Benim- kesinlikle stratejiydi üstelik yani hani hakikaten de bu onu çok pekiştirir diye düşünüyordum ben.
>
> My own strategy was [leaving my son] with my mother-in-law and father-in-law, I actually mean down [at grandparents' house] because for instnace, I think there's almost no single day when three sisters-in-law of mine don't drop by and spend half an hour there. I mean that's why I'm saying 'down'; it's not only the two of them [grandparents]. To me, their house is like a world where Arabic is spoken very much. My strategy was entrusting him [her son] to there [grandparents' house], but it didn't work (laughter). It was definitely a strategy for me, and I really thought it would reinforce his Arabic.

Meltem had only basic knowledge of Arabic; Turkish was the common language between her and her husband. As a result, Arabic was not a language of interaction in their nuclear family, and they had expected that the paternal grandparents would teach their son Arabic through using their default language with him. In fact, for Meltem, it was not only the grandparents, but their house, which would support her son's Arabic acquisition. As a place where adults only spoke Arabic, 'down' [the grandparents' flat], was a perfect place to immerse their child in Arabic. However, things did not go as Meltem had expected because whereas adult members of the extended family spoke Arabic with each other when they came together at grandparents' house, as Meltem had mentioned before, they switched to Turkish whenever they spoke to a child. In that sense, although Meltem deemed the grandparents' house as a perfect site for immersion in Arabic, it did not prove to be so due to adults' accommodation to children's language choice. In accordance with her expectations, Meltem mentioned her initial explicit demands from the paternal grandparents to use Arabic with her son and stated that intitially she and her husband kept asking the grandparents to speak Arabic with their son. Meltem obviously tried to change the situation by demanding the grandparents to stick to their preferred

language while interacting with her son. However, according to her accounts, the grandparents went on using Turkish with her son. Due to the aforementioned reasons such as her son's resistance and grandparents' or other adults accommodating to children's preferred language, in time, Meltem assumed a laissez-faire attitude towards her son's learning of Arabic. Her own words were:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> […] şu an destekliyorum da diyemiyorum; engel olmuyorum diyorum şuan. Yani tamamen böyle daha akışına, doğalına bıraktım çünkü çünkü şey dediğimde de yanlış anlaşıldı ben hani. İşte "Siz öğretseniz" dediğimde sanki hani böyle onları suçluyormuşum yani hani suçluyorum ama onları suçlamadım hiç diyelim yani çünkü bunun suçlusunun onlar olduğunu düşünüyorum ama suçlamadım. Hani "Sizin yüzünüzden öğrenmiyor, niye Türkçe konuşuyorsunuz?" tarzında bir şey kullanmadım. Yani "Bak" dedim, "Sizin de çocuğunuz. Nasıl Ufuk'u büyütürken Arapça konuştuğun için öğrendi, bunun yanında da Arapça konuşun, ben geldiğimde Türkçe konuşmanı istiyorum sadece" hani dedim ama hani bu da onlar için daha hani çok iyi olmayabilir diye artık bunu demek istemiyorum yani.
>
> […] now I can't say that I'm supporting [her son's Arabic learning]; rather I'm not preventing it. I totally let it flow naturally because I was misunderstood when I said "You teach him [Arabic]." They construed it as an accusation. I believe that they are responsible for that [her child's not learning Arabic], but I haven't accused them. I mean I didn't say something like "He cannot learn because of you. Why are you speaking Turkish to him?" Rather, I said, "This [Burak] is your son, too. Ufuk acquired Arabic because you spoke to him [in that language] when you were raising him. Please speak Arabic to him [Burak]. I just want you to speak Turkish when I come." Now, I feel as if this does not sound good for them, so I don't want to ask them to speak Arabic to him anymore.

Meltem mentioned another cause for her current non-interfering attitude:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> […] hani engel olmuyorum. Ama artık hani bir iki kere teşvik ettim, hani "Bak, ne olur öğretin bu dili" ama sonra dedim ki, yani açıkçası yani Arapçası olmasa da bir şekilde bir yere gelir. Çünkü içten içe bende dışlanabilirim diye korkuyor insan bir anne olarak hani.
>
> […] now, I'm not interfering. I encouraged them [the grandparents] a couple of times as "Please, teach him [her son] Arabic." But, later I thought "He [Her son] will somehow gain a footing even if he doesn't speak Arabic." because inwardly I feared of being excluded as a mother.

Her experiences about feeling left out due to the Arabic dominance in family gatherings despite her presence and her asking them constantly to switch to Turkish had a role in the formation of this laissez faire attitude. She mentioned her

experiences about feeling left out in family gatherings when her sisters-in-law and they come together at grandparents' house in the following way:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Mesela şey diyorum, "Bu defa sabahtan akşama oturalım tamam mı ya? Valla çok sıkıldım bunaldım" falan diyorum mesela. Sonra sabahtan akşama oturalım diyoruz, hadi 3 saat 4 saat gayet iyi bence burası için. Sonra onun en fazla yarım saati Türkçe oluyor. Ve sonra ben diyorum ki hani çok fazla seviyorum gerçekten hani çok da saygılılar burada gerçekten mutluyum hani şikayet değil ama hani o Arapçadan fazla fazla soğuyorum […] Onun için Arapça şu an muhtemelen çocuğun bu kadar az öğrenmesinin sebeplerinden biri de bu olabilir. […] çoğu kişi bu yüzden çocuğunu kapatıyordur diye düşünüyorum. Şu an engellemiyorum ama artı bir şey yapmıyorum öğrensin diye. […] Artık akışına bıraktım birkaç şeyden sonra dışlamadan sonra dışlanmışlık hissinden sonra. Dışlanma demeyelim çünkü farkında bile değillerdir, muhtemelen çünkü.
>
> For instance, I tell them "Let's spend time together from morning to evening this time; I'm so bored." We say we'll spend time from morning till evening; they come for 3-4 hours, which is really good for here. But Turkish is used only for half an hour of this time at the most. I really love them; they're respectful. I'm happy here and I'm not complaining, but I really feel pulled away from Arabic. […] That could be one of the reasons why my child is learning Arabic so little. […] I think most people [outsider mothers] are shutting their children due to this. Now, I'm not preventing [his learning Arabic] but not doing anything extra [to support his learning], either. […] I've let it flow after being left out. Let's not say being but feeling left out because they're probably even not aware [that they are excluding her by using Arabic constantly].

In addition to assisting her son's learning of Arabic words, Meltem tried to teach him English vocabulary through flashcards and some mobile phone applications. Meltem mentioned that although she was an English teacher, she didn't find herself proficient enough to teach her son English by speaking English with him. Instead, she aimed to teach him vocabulary with flashcards. According to her accounts, Burak could introduce himself in English, and knew some words that he learnt from the flashcards like car and fire engine. She added that he probably knew like 50 words in English. She said in time Burak lost interest in flashcards and started to react as 'Ugh mom, are we going to play this game again?' To spark his interest, she tried a mobile application which aimed to get children learn words and pronounce them. She stated that a character would say a word and ask the child to repeat it. She explained Burak's experience with the application as follows: "Bazı kelimeleri düzgün telaffuz edemiyordu, uygulama da telaffuzunu kabul etmiyordu. O kadar kızıyordu ki sonunda uygulamayı silmek zorunda kaldım." (Eng., "He was unable to pronounce

some words correctly, and the application didn't accept his pronunciation. So, he was so angry that in the end I had to delete the application)".

In the same vein as his wife, Ufuk reported that, as parents, they made use of vocabulary games to teach their son Arabic vocabulary. He stated that his wife wanted their son to learn Arabic, too and therefore supported Ufuk's endeavors. I asked Ufuk whether he ever considered to use the OPOL or a similar strategy as I had asked his wife. He said:

> **[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]**
> Eşimle muhakkak Türkçe konuşmam gerekiyor iletişim kurabilmek için. Yoksa evet isterdim, hani sürekli Arapça konuşunca çocuk maruz kalsın, öğrensin ama bu durumda zor. Eşim sadece Türkçe bildiği için ben de onunla Türkçe konumak zorundaydım. Bir de ben dil öğretmeni değilim; kelime öğretmek bildiğim tek yoldu. Bu yüzden sadece kelime öğrettik.
>
> I must speak Turkish with my wife to communicate with her. If it weren't so, I'd like to speak [to my child] Arabic all the time to expose him [to the language], but that would be difficult in our situation. Since my wife speaks only Turkish, I had to speak Turkish with her. And I'm not a language teacher; teaching vocabulary was the only way I knew. So, we taught him only vocabulary.

In Ufuk and Meltem's case, Turkish was the shared spouse language, and Meltem only had little comprehension of Arabic. Ufuk stated that he would prefer to use Arabic for communication with his son, and expose him to the language in this way. Nevertheless, given their circumstances, this would not be a practical way to help his son acquire Arabic due to the language constellations in their nuclear family. Furthermore, since he lacked expertise in language teaching, Ufuk was left with no choice but to teach vocabulary, the only way he could assist his son's learning of Arabic. Ufuk reported that until his son was three years old, he and his wife tried to teach their son Arabic and English vocabulary through games because their son could easily get bored. He indicated that he was trying to teach his son Arabic and Turkish, and his wife was occasionally trying to teach him English. Based on the father's accounts, vocabulary games worked well until Burak was three years old. However, in time, particularly with the outbreak of the pandemic, they started to face their son's resistance, which caused them to forsake these attempts. Ufuk expressed his experience as:

[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]
Biz birazcık yükleniyorduk başlarda. Bir şeyin Türkçesini öğretirken aynı anda Arapçasını da daha sonra İngilizcesini de öğrettik ama çocu:k fazla mı yüklendik o ilk etapta bilmiyorum ama sıkıldı. Sıkıldığı anda biz yavaş yavaş öğrettiğimiz kelimeleri azalttık. Şuan bakıyorum ben mesela kendi adıma çok nadir veriyorum. Yoksa biz en başta ben çok fazla Arapça kelime öğretmeye çalışıyordum. Sürekli. Yani öğrendiği işte tabaktır, sehpadır bardaktır ne gördüysek o türkçesini öğrenirken onun arapçasını da vermeye çalışıyordum. Sürekli. Belki de dediğim gibi hani dil öğretmeyi bilmiyorum (smiling). Belki çok fazla boğdum.

Initially, we put the squeeze on him a little. When we were teaching him a Turkish word, we were trying to teach its Arabic and English equivalents simultaneously. I don't know whether that was too much for him, but he got bored. When he got bored, we gradually decreased [teaching vocabulary]. I do not teach him as much as in the past now. Initially, I tried very hard to teach him Arabic words. All the time. Whatever he learnt in Turkish, say plate, coffee table, glass, I tried to teach the Arabic equivalent of it. All the time. I don't know how to teach languages (gülümsüyor). Maybe that was too much for him.

Ufuk's statements suggest that at first he and his wife were ambitiously teaching their son Arabic and English meanings of all the words that the child was learning in Turkish. However, the child withdrew himself from learning over time, leading the parents to gradually reduce their vocabulary teaching endeavors. Acknowledging the possible negative effects of his vocabulary teaching approach as a non-professional and reflecting on the way he tried to teach his son vocabulary intensely, Ufuk thought he might have overwhelmed his son. In other words, deeming intense vocabulary teaching as a cause for his son's withdrawal, he decided to ease upon his way of teaching through gradual reduction of vocabulary teaching and games.

Ufuk had mentioned that before the pandemic his parents were taking care of his son while he was at work and his wife was at university. During that time, their son spent a big part of the day at his grandparents' house. As a result, he was exposed to a big amount of Arabic input. Even when there was no speech directed at him, he could hear his grandparents use Arabic. In other words, grandparents' house was a source of rich Arabic input for his son. As already mentioned, according to Ufuk, in that period Burak was gaining a good basis of Arabic, and had learnt most words, particularly exclamations remarks in Arabic. With the outbreak of the pandemic and the lockdowns, Burak started to spend all his time at home with his parents. He could rarely see his grandparents. This had a great impact in his evolving language choices:

[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]
Pandemi onun dilini çok değiştirdi. Biz annesiyle beraber burada oturup Türkçeye döndük. Hani çocuk gündelik hayatta hep Arapça duyuyordu o zaman. Sürekli Arapçaya maruz kalıyordu kendi de Arapça konuşmaya başlamıştı. Bayağı Arapça Türkçeden önde gidiyordu o dönemlerde sonra pandemiyle birlikte evde sürekli Türkçe konuşulmaya başlandı. Ben ders veriyordum, sürekli Türkçe duyuyor, birlikte sürekli Türkçe konuşuyoruz. Orada bayağı bir problem yaşadı ve Türkçe ona daha rahat geldi o dönem. Türkçe konuşmaya başladı sonra bizim Arapça öğretmemize karşı direnmeye başladı.

The pandemic changed his [Burak's] language a lot. I and his mother were here [at home] speaking Turkish all the time. Earlier, the child was hearing Arabic all the time in daily life. He was exposed to Arabic, and he had started to speak Arabic. Arabic was far ahead of Turkish at that time and with the pandemic, he started to hear Turkish at home all the time. I was teaching my lessons [online]. He always heard Turkish, and we were speaking Turkish. At that time, he found Turkish easier. He started to speak Turkish, and became resistant to our teaching Arabic.

As is clear from Ufuk's statements, before the pandemic his son spent a considerable amount of time with his grandparents. He was immersed in Arabic dominant environment there, and this contributed to his learning of Arabic. With the lockdowns during the pandemic, Ufuk and his family were together in their house all the time. Since Turkish was the shared family language, Burak started to hear Turkish more. As Turkish was an easier alterantive to Arabic, Burak favored Turkish during that time. The changes that happened in the child's linguistic environment due to the pandemic, in turn engendered resistance to Arabic in Burak. Ufuk also mentoined how the pandemic influenced his language teaching efforts by constraining him in terms of time. His own words were as follows:

[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]
Mesela ben pandemiden önce tamamen onunla ilgilenebiliyordum. Şu an yok öyle bir dünya. O dönemde çok güzel yardımcı olabiliyordum. […] Pandemiyle birlikte evde hep Türkçe duydu ve o Türkçeden sonra kendisi direnç göstermeye başladı. Orada sekteye uğradı. Oraya kadar gayet iyi gidiyorduk yani. Yani bu çocuğun dil öğrenmesinin ilk engeli pandemi oldu.

For example, before the pandemic I could fully take care of him. Now there's no such world. I could assist him really well [in terms of learning Arabic] during that time. […] With the pandemic, he heard Turkish at home all the time, and after [hearing] Turkish, he started to show resistance. [The child's learning of Arabic] was disrupted then. Up to then, we were really going well. I mean the pandemic was the first obstacle in his learning the language.

Ufuk reported that until the pandemic broke out, he could spend a lot of time with his son. Meanwhile his wife was going to university, so he was taking care of his son with his parents. At that time, he was not busy at shool. However, with the pandemic his working hours became very irregular because of teaching online. During that time he could not spend time or play with his son and there was an interruption regarding his Arabic teaching efforts. In addition, his son's language preferences were set in favor of Turkish. In short, the changing language preferences and environment of his son with the outbreak of the pandemic and the resistance that emerged against Arabic and English at that time caused Ufuk to reduce his Arabic teaching efforts:

> **[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]**
> Küçükken daha çok öğrenmişti ama muhtemelen bir yerde artık patlama noktasına geldi çocuk. Artık al- alıcılarını kapattı bize karşı biz de yavaş yavaş azalttık. Şu an bakıyorum ben mesela kendi adıma çok nadir veriyorum. Annesi belki İngilizce veriyordur. Benim olmadığım zamanlarda ama Arapça neredeyse yok artık.
>
> When he was little, he learnt more [Arabic], but probably at some point he reached a boiling point, and closed himself to us. So, we gradually decreased our efforts. I'm speaking for myself, now I rarely teach him [Arabic]. Maybe his mother is teaching him English when I'm not at home. But there's almost no Arabic now.

I asked whether that meant they left the process to the leadership of the child and he said:

> **[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]**
> Yes, we did. It's difficult to accept it, but the child is directing us (smiling). […] They are the boss […] I mean as I said after the child made his own preference I withdrew. He probably chose it [Turkish] because it is easier. When teaching a language, I think the greatest difficulty is presenting an easier language as an option.
>
> Evet öyle oldu. Kabullenmek zor ama (smiling) çocuk yönetiyor bizi. […] Patron onlar. […] Yani zaten dediğim gibi çocuk kendi tercihini yaptıktan sonra ben tamamıyla geri çekildim. Bıraktım. O da o muhtemelen daha kolay olduğu için onu seçti. Dil öğretirken bence en büyük zorluk daha kolay bir dilin seçenek olarak sunulması.).

Furthermore, Ufuk's judgments of the local Arabic as a degenerated form of language as mentioned in earlier sections has also laid the basis for his laissez-faire attitude regarding the transmission of it to his children:

[Interview, Ufuk, March 2022]
Ya zaten [yerel Arapçanın] tam bir dil olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Tam bir dil olmuş olsaydı belki [çocuğuma öğretmek için] daha fazla çabalardım. Burada konuşulan Arapça çok fazla fayda sağlamıyor. Buradaki kültürün dışına çıktığın anda, yani en yakın yerdeki sallıyorum Adanadaki Arapça bile çok farklı ya da iskenderunda konuşulan Arapça, Reyhanlıda konuşulan Arapça. [Yerel Arapça] Çok farklı küçük bir yerde sıkışmış bir dil. Ve çok değişik, değişmiş bir dil. Bunu öğrendiği zaman sadece buradaki, bu yöredeki insanlarla iletişim kurabilecek. Yani öyle çok büyük bir coğrafyada çok büyük bir işe yararlılığı yok. O yüzden bu kadar çok çabalamıyorum açıkçası.

Well, I don't really think it's [the local Arabic] a complete language. If it were a complete language, maybe I would put more effort [to teach it to my child]. The Arabic spoken here isn't very useful. When you go out of the community, the Arabic in the closest province, let's say in Adana or İskenderun or Reyhanlı is so different. [The local variety] is stuck in a very small place. And it is very different, it has changed a lot. When my child learns this, she or he will only be able to use it with the people living in the neighborhood. I mean it has no utility over a big geography. That's why, I don't put much effort [in teaching it to my children], frankly.

These statements suggest that mutual unintelligibility between the local Arabic and the Arabic spoken in the neighboring provinces and districts, in other words, the restricted locality and utility of the local Arabic in its current form caused Ufuk to regard the local variety in low esteem. Furthermore, it deterred Ufuk from investing in the local Arabic. According to Ufuk, as a variety which has been changed a lot by its users and which is confined to a restricted area, the local Arabic is not likely to provide his children with any benefits.

In Family 4, Sevgi indicated that they didn't use any specific strategy to teach their children Arabic. She stated that they "Let if flow" with regard to how and with what order to teach languages. In addition, she reported that no one interfered in each other's language choices:

[Interview, Sevgi, January 2022]
Valla kimse kimseyi sıkmıyor dediğim gibi. Hani herkes istediği dili konuşuyor ya, o yüzden rahatlar. Yani kimse kimseyi etkilemiyor. Karşılıklı böyle artıları oluyor birbirlerine. Mesela, onlar Arapçayı öğrenirken onların sayesinde de nene Türkçeyi öğreniyor.

Honestly, no one is putting pressure on the other [regarding language choices]. I mean vereyone speaks the language they prefer, so they are comfortable. Even they make mutual contributions [to each other]. For instance, while they [her children] are learning Arabic, the grandmother is learning Turkish thanks to them.

Sevgi suggested that they adopted a laissez-faire attitude. However, she did not report any specific reason for that unlike the other participants. Furthermore, she viewed this attitude as conducive to an environment where both Arabic and Turkish could flourish through interactions among family members. She believed that the non-interfering attitude fostered mutual contributions in terms of language development between her children and their grandmother. She also stated that she was planning to send her children to the Quran course in line with her wish that her children would learn literacy (standard Arabic) rather than the local Arabic, which she deemed as defective.

In Family 5, Ulaş stated that his late wife was in charge of their children because he was not with them due to work. He indicated that his wife usually dealt with the children's Arabic learning and taught them words like "This is ladle, this is spoon, this is fork etc." He added that since he was always away due to work, he would ask his wife to send their children to the Quran course so that they'd improve their Arabic and learn how to write. His own words were:

> **[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]**
> **Ulaş:** […] rahmetlik eşime ben sürekli derdim hani ben sürekli şehir dışına çıkıyorum ya iş amacıyla ben oradan telefonla diyordum yani bir araştır mesela nerede bu Kuran dersi veriliyor daha Seren'in döneminde.
> **Seren:** Ben gittim harfleri öğrendim sonra bıraktım, ama neden bıraktım hatırlamıyorum.
> **Ulaş:** Gitti işte Arapça alfabeyi öğrendikten sonra niye bırakmış bende bilmedim ve araştırmadım yani. […] Yani ben isterdim öğrenmelerini ama maalesef olmadı.
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> **Ulaş:** […] because I was always away working in another city, as early as Seren's time, I would call my late wife and tell her to search for where there are Quran courses.
> **Seren:** I went [to the Quran course], learnt the alphabet and then I quit, but I don't remember why I quit.
> **Ulaş:** She went [to the course], and after she learnt the alphabet I don't know why she quit; I mean I didn't inquire about that. […] I mean I really wanted them to learn [Arabic and literacy] but unfortunately that didn't happen.

These statements suggest that Ulaş sought external support to help his children improve their Arabic. He also believed that attending the Quran course would yield his children benefits in terms of understanding other varieties. He expressed his thoughts as: "Kuran Arapçasını öğrenselerdi, bütün Arapça türlerini anlayabilirlerdi.

Mesela dünyada kaç tür var? Hepsini kolaylıkla konuşabilirlerdi." (Eng., "If they [his children] had learnt Quran Arabic, they would understand all kinds of [Arabic] varieties. For instance, how many varieties are there in the world? They would be able to speak with all of them easily").

When I asked him whether he was currently involved in any strategy, he replied:

> **[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]**
> Yok bu saatten sonra hani artık birşey yapmam. Yani kendi aramızda işte bazen ben konuşturuyorum kendilerini. Bilerek yani ben zaten Arapça konuşturuyorum. […] Yani ben keşke iki dili yani konuşmuş olsaydık. Hani mesela şuan Seren tamam anlar ama konuşamıyor. Mesela Yaprak konuşabilir, şimdi Arapçayla konuşsam kendisiyle cevap verebiliyor ama Seren maalesef. […] Bu bir alışkanlık hani artık ee başladık Türkçeye artık Türkçeyle şey yapıyorlar.
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> No, there's nothing I can do now. I mean I sometimes talk to them [in Arabic]; I consciously speak Arabic with them. […] If only we had spoken the two languages [with their children]. For example, now, Seren can understand but she cannot speak. For instance, Yaprak can speak. If I talk to her in Arabic, she can respond but Seren cannot unfortunately. […] This is a habit. I mean we started with Turkish, so they speak Turkish.

Ulaş's remarks pointed to his weak impact beliefs and a sense of being late for taking any action regarding his children's Arabic learning. He also seemed to repent teaching only Turkish to their children in their early childhood.

Their conscious pro-Turkish choice and the sociopolitical reality of Türkiye, where Turkish dominates led to development of Turkish at the expense of Arabic in their family domain. Furthermore, use of Turkish dominantly turned into a habit, which was difficult to change or quit.

In a nutshell, all of the participant parents had declared a wish that their children would learn the community language; however, they lacked parental involvement and agency to create an environment conducive to the bilingual development of their children. This laissez-faire attitude stemmed from past failures related to mother tongue transmission efforts, personal experiences with the community language, perceptions about the utility of the community language and children's agentive role, which manifested itself as lack of willingness and interest or as resistance to parental

language transmission efforts. These factors seemed to prevent the parents from putting effort in passing on their mother tongue to their children.

4.5. Child Agency Related Themes

4.5.1. Varying Attitudes and Aptitude to Arabic: Children's Differing Relationship with the Community Language

All the participant parents reported that their children were Turkish dominant. The parents also indicated that their children could understand Arabic to varying extents, and added that their speaking skills were weaker. Notably, the interview data suggested that there were individual differences in attitudes and aptitude to Arabic among siblings irrespective of their order of birth. In other words, in the same family later born children could display more interest and greater proficiency in Arabic than the first-born child or vice versa. According to the parents, differences among siblings were affected by children's level of comprehension in Arabic, their perceptions about the value or utility of Arabic, changes in the quantity of input to Arabic, peer effect, or a personal interest in languages. In the previous section, it was shown that children's attitudes such as resistance, reluctance or willingness to the community language affected adult family members' language choices with them, highlighting child agency.

In Family 1, based on Gaye's accounts, her eldest child (Berk) and third child (Mehtap) were not interested or actively involved in learning Arabic. In contrast, her second child (Derya) was eager to speak Arabic. Her youngest child (Ayça) considered Arabic as a form of entertainment. The following excerpt reveals Gaye's accounts about all of her children's attitude and aptitude to the community language:

> **[Interview, Gaye, November 2021]**
> [Arapça öğrenme ile ilgili] Hepsinin fikri farklı. Hani en büyüğü "Ben anlıyorum, yeter" [diye düşünüyor]. Bir küçüğü Derya diyor ki "Uğraşıyorum." Hani "Konuşmak için uğraşıyorum ama senin gibi konuşamıyorum." Mehtap hiç uğraşmıyor. (hafifçe gülüyor). Ufaklık işte bizden görünce espriler yapmaya çalışıyor falan bir şeyler konuşmaya [çalışıyor]. Sayı saymayı biliyor. Mesela sayı saymayı öğretti babası Arapçayla. Onları sayabiliyor. Eğlence sayıyor herhalde o dili (gülümseyen ses tonuyla).

> They all have different opinions [about learning Arabic]. I mean the eldest one thinks "I understand, and that's enough." The younger one, Derya says "I'm trying." I mean "I'm trying to speak, but I can't speak like you." Mehtap doesn't make any efforts (chuckling). The little one is trying to make jokes when she hears us [speak Arabic] or she tries to say something. For example, her father taught her to count to ten in Arabic. She can count to ten. I think she considers that language just for fun (smiley voice).

Mustafa had similar observations about his children's Arabic comprehension levels and attitudes. He reported his observations as:

> **[Interview, Mustafa, March 2022]**
> Berk'in Arapçada biraz eksik yönleri var. Yani biraz değil, daha ço:k eksik yönleri var. Yani mesela Arapça konuştuğumuz zaman veya Arapça bir soru sorduğumuz zaman ne sorduğumuzu anlıyor ama kendi [Arapça] cevap veremiyor. Türkçe cevap veriyor. Derya abisiyle kardeşinden biraz daha iyi. O yani çabalıyor yani konuşmak istiyor. Ne olduğunu anlamaya çalışıyor; istiyor yani kardeşlerine göre. Kullanım açısından gene onlardan biraz daha iyi. Hani arkadaş ortamından dolayı. Çünkü arkadaş ortamında da Arapça konuşan çok kişi var. Onlarla da sürekli sürekli konuşuyor. Yani Arapça kullanıyor. Mehta:p. Yine Türkçe. Yani Arapça soru sorduğumuzda yine telaffuz edemiyor. Yani [Arapça cevabın] ne olduğunu bilmiyor. Onun için gene Türkçe cevap veriyor. Ha anlıyor yine ama karşılığını Türkçe veriyor. Bir de bazı şeyleri anlıyor, hepsini değil. Bazı kelimeleri anlıyor sadece. Ufaklık zaten daha yok. Sadece Türkçe. Yani sağdan solda duyduğu kelimeleri tekrar ediyor. Mesela bizden bazen Arapça kelimeler duyuyor, onları tekrar ediyor. Oyun oynar gibi şey yapıyor, algılıyor ve bazı kelimeleri çıkarıyor.
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> Berk has some weaknesses in English. I mean not some, a lot of weaknesses. I mean, for example, when we speak Arabic or when we ask a question in Arabic, he understand what we are asking, but he cannot answer himself [in Arabic]. He responds in Turkish. Derya is a little better than her elder brother and younger sister. I mean she's trying, I mean she wants to speak, she wants to understand [what we're saying] compared to her siblings. In terms of use [of Arabic], she is a little better than them. This is because of her friend group. Because there are a lot of people speaking Arabic in her friend group. She talks to them Arabic all the time. I mean she uses Arabic. Mehta:p. Also Turkish. I mean when we ask her a question in Arabic, she can't pronounce. I mean she doesn't know [how to answer in Arabic]. So, she also responds in Turkish. Yes, she understands, but she responds in Turkish. Also, she understands some things, not everything. She understands only some words. The little one doesn't speak Arabic yet. Only Turkish. I mean she repeats what she hears around her. For example, she hears Arabic words from us; she repeats them. She takes it as a game and produces some words.

As it is clear from Gaye and Mustafa's accounts, their second child Derya had relatively better comprehension skills in Arabic than her siblings. In addition, she displayed greater interest in understanding and producing Arabic statements. On the other hand, the eldest child, Berk and the third child, Mehtap had weaker

comprehension skills in Arabic. The youngest child, who was engaged in imitative speech, considered Arabic as fun or a game. Actually, during one of my observations, Ayça pretended to hit Mehtap saying 'tettettet', an Arabic word in infantile speech which refers to beating. This may corroborate her parents' belief that she associates Arabic with fun or playful contexts rather than as a tool of communication. Regarding Derya's positive attitude to Arabic compared to her siblings, the father believed that Derya's willingness to Arabic stemmed from peer influence. On the other hand, Gaye related this to Derya's inherent interest in languages in general. Gaye stated that Derya had an inclination not only to Arabic but also to English, and that she liked languages in general. During one of my home visits, the family was having dinner. While eating, Derya told her mother she realized that the Arabic word meaning "to be full" was similar to another verb meaning "to look like". Since she was struggling with their pronunciation, her mother uttered the verbs as "**šabēᶜ"** and **"šabbeh",** meaning "to be full" and "to look like", respectively. This reflects Derya's metalinguistic awareness about the community language, and can be interpreted as an indicator of her eagerness and active involvement in the Arabic learning-process.

In the previous section, child agency was shown as a reason for lack of parental involvement in the transmission of Arabic. For instance, Gaye had given up her attempts to use Arabic with her eldest child when he resisted. When talking about the challenges she had in the transmission of Arabic, Gaye stated that she had to accommodate to her children due to their lack of comprehension or willingness. Gaye's own word were: "Arapçayı aktarırken anlamıyorlar ya da istemiyorlar. Sonra ben Türkçeye dönmek zorunda kalıyorum." (Eng., "When I'm transmitting Arabic, they don't understand, or they don't want it. Then I have to switch to Turkish").

Similar to his wife, Mustafa also stated that his occasional efforts Arabic maintenance were undermined by his children's attitude to and comprehension skills in Arabic: "Bazen şey amaçlı hani öğretmek veya merak uyandırmak amaçlı ben mesela Türü- Arapça konuşmak istiyorum onlarla ama işte çok kısa sürüyor çünkü hiçbir şey anlamıyorlar. Onun için direk tekrar Türkçeye geçiyorum. (gülümseyen ses tonuyla)" (Eng., "Sometimes I want to speak to them in Turk- in Arabic for-, you

know, to teach [them Arabic] or to spark curiosity [in Arabic]. However, it lasts too short because they don't understand anything. So, I directly switch to Turkish.") (smiley voice)

As is clear from the parents' accounts in Family 1, the differences among their children's skills and inclination to Arabic had an impact on their language practices. In other words, children had a role in shaping the home language environment. Although the default language between the parents and children was reported to be Turkish, both of the parents wanted their children to learn the community language. Thus, while the mother had some past attempts for the transmission of Arabic, the father reported that was still engaged in occasional efforts to support the use the community language with his children at home. Nevertheless, affective factors like children's resistance or lack of interest hinder children's responsiveness to these efforts. As shown in the previous section, children's attitudes also shape parents' impact beliefs. For instance, despite the fact that her second child displayed a markedly different attitude to Arabic than her eldest brother, the mother did not involve in conscious efforts to teach her children Arabic. Her experience regarding her first child's strong resistance and third child's lack of interest convinced her that she could do nothing about language transmission. Rather, acquiring this was all up to the child, a belief reified by the attitudes and language behavior of her first child and the second child. In this regard, the eldest child's agency which emerged as resistance to learn Arabic reinforced the Turkish dominant home environment. While the second child did not have any impact on changing the home environment to a more supportive one in terms of language transmission, her proactive interest, curiosity and engagement in Arabic possibly enabled her to be more open to the Arabic input she was exposed to. Therefore, she gained greater comprehension and proficiency skills in Arabic. In other words, her active agency in embracing the community language paid off in her personal journey of learning the community language.

In Family 2, Esra and Murat also reported differences between their daughters' comprehension and inclination to Arabic. Esra stated the differences between her elder child (Ceren) and the younger child (Nil) in the following way: "Ceren,

[Arapça'ya karşı] hevesli. […] Konuştuğu için mutlu oluyor. Hani ben konuşabiliyorum diye. […] Nil-Yani. Hevesli ama [Arapça] anlamıyor diye şey olumsuz gibi görünüyor. Çok fazla anlamıyor, konuşmaya da isteği yok." (Eng., "Ceren is enthusiastic [about Arabic]. […] She feels happy because she speaks [Arabic]. You know, like "I can speak Arabic". […] Nil is kind of enthusiastic, too but because she doesn't understand [Arabic], she seems to have a negative attitude. She doesn't understand [Arabic] much, and she isn't willing [to speak Arabic]").

In the interview, Esra acknowledged that her daughters were Turkish dominant. Furthermore, she observed that her elder daughter Ceren was more enthusiastic about Arabic than Nil. According to Esra, although Turkish was the dominant language in their nuclear family, when her elder daughter was a baby, she sometimes used Arabic with her so that she would be familiar with the mother tongue. Furthermore, when Ceren was a baby, Murat would frequently go on business trips, therefore Esra used to stay with her parents frequently. Esra stated that Ceren was exposed to Arabic at her parents' house because her mother mostly used Arabic with her. Esra believed her daughter became familiar with the language in that way. Nevertheless, Esra reported that she did not use Arabic much with her second daughter, and they did not stay with grandparents as much as they did when Ceren was a baby. Esra believed that this difference in the quantity of input to Arabic and the differences of the linguistic milieu of her daughters' babyhood may have led to differences in comprehension and production of Arabic between her daughters. Furthermore, Murat and Esra stated that there was a period in which they hired a caregiver for their daughters, and this time coincided with Nil's toddlerhood. At that time, the caregiver used Turkish with their daughters, so Nil was not interested in learning Arabic. For Nil, the grandparents' houses constituted a source of exposure to Arabic. When the girls started to stay at their maternal and paternal grandparents' houses after school prior to the outbreak of the pandemic, Nil started to develop more willingness towards Arabic. However, she was not as competent as her sister. Based on the parents' accounts, Nil could understand Arabic only a little at the time of data collection. Moreover, whereas Ceren was more eager to learn Arabic, Nil seemed to be reluctant towards Arabic and did not like being spoken to in that language.

Murat agreed with his wife pertaining to his daughters' varying level of Arabic comprehension. In the same line with his wife, Murat observed that Ceren was better at Arabic, and also she enjoyed using that language. On the hand, Nil wasn't eager towards Arabic. He expressed his thoughts as:

> **[Interview, Murat, January 2022]**
> Cerenin Arapçası daha iyi. Eee [Arapça] konuşabiliyor. Hani konuştuğunda da hoşuna gidiyor. Eee Nil bilmiyorum, çekingen davranıyor. Arapçaya karşı çok şey değil, hevesli değil. Hem az konuşuyor. Yani anladığını düşünüyoruz birçok şeyi ama o da böyle ufak tefek, birkaç kelime hatta. Yani biraz daha zayıf Arapçada. Ceren Arapçada daha iyi.
>
> Ceren's Arabic is better. Erm she can speak [Arabic]. She also enjoys speaking Arabic. Erm, Nil, I don't know. She appears to be shy [when it comes to speaking Arabic]. She's not so-, not so enthusiastic about Arabic. Also, she speaks very little. I mean we think she understands most things, but only a little bit; just a few words really. I mean she is a little weaker in Arabic. Ceren is better at Arabic.

Murat was cognizant of Ceren's willingness and enthusiasm about learning Arabic, and Nil's reluctance towards Arabic unlike her sister. According to Murat, whereas Nil's lack of willingness caused difficulty in terms of language transmission, Ceren's positive attitude and eagerness facilitated parental efforts to teach their children Arabic. His own words were: "İşte Nilde dediğim gibi biraz zorlanmasından, anlamamasından kaynaklı bir zorluk var. Ama Cerende mesela heva- heves vardı diye zorluk değil ee kolaylık oldu." (Eng., "As I said before, we have a challenge [in efforts to teach Nil Arabic] because Nil has a little difficulty in understanding [Arabic]. But Ceren was enthusiastic [about Arabic], and that brought erm ease rather than a challenge").

Murat's observations and experience about his daughters' varying attitudes to the community language point to the role of individual agency in language transmission. Whereas Nil's difficulty and lack of comprehension in Arabic posed challenges for the transmission of Arabic, Ceren's positive disposition played a supportive role. This situation shows how individual child agency can either impede or facilitate parental efforts in intergenerational language transmission.

However, children's attitudes did not only affect parents' language transmission efforts, it also shaped grandparents' language choices. The excerpts below are from

the video data, and they illustrate the way the grandmother negotiates language choice with each of her granddaughters in separate interactions. As the interactions unfold, it becomes clear how Nil's medium requests force the grandmother to quit her preferred language (Arabic) whereas Ceren's positive attitude and willingness towards Arabic enables the grandmother to sustain the conversation in Arabic.

In the excerpt below, Nil was sitting on her grandfather's lap pretending to be a baby. Her grandmother was sitting on a couch across from her. The grandmother initiated a conversation using Arabic. Upon Nil's medium request, she switched to Turkish in the remainder of the conversation:

Excerpt 23 [Video Recorded Data May 2022]:

1 Grandmother: Ni:l, **baktitḫasle lyōm?**

Ni:l, will you a shower today?

2 Nil: Ne?

What?

3 Grandmother **Baktitḫasle lyōm?**

Will you have a shower today?

4 Nil Anlamadım.

I don't understand.

5 Grandmother (Looking and smiling at Nil. Gesturing scrubbing her head)

6 Nil Hı ıı ((Smiling, moving her head backwards to indicate 'no'))

Uh-uh

7 Grandmother [**Ā?**]

Huh?

8 Grandfather [Banyo] [yapacak mısın bugün?] diyor.

She says "Will you have a shower today?"

9 Grandmother [**Kwa** anladın!]

***See,** you got it!*

10 Nil: Bugün değil. ((Speaking in a babyish voice, pretending to suckle her thumb)).

Not today.

11 Grandfather Ne zaman?

When?

12 Nil: Yani- yani anne gelince.

I mean – I mean when my mother comes.

13 Grandfather Yıkadı mı birgün seni nine? Hı:?

Did your grandmother bath you once? Huh?

14 Nil [Hayır]

No

15 Grandmother [Leğenle]?

With [22]a basin? [In a basin?]

16 Grandfather Leğenle yıkadı mı nene?

Did granny bath you with a basin? [Did granny bath you in a basin?]

17 Nil [İstemiyoru:m.] ((In an objecting manner))

I don't want.

18 Grandmother: [Yarın leğenle] 0.2 banyo yapacam seni.

Tomorrow I'll bath you with a basin. [Tomorrow I'll bath you in a basin]

19 Nil: Annem INCOMPREHENSIBLE

My mother INCOMPREHENSIBLE

20 Grandmother **Ā**?

Huh?

21 Nil: Annem beni şey yapsı:n. ((In a pleading manner))

I want my mom to, you know, bath me.

22 Grandmother **'İy** niye?

***But** why?*

23 Nil: Öy↑le↓.

For no particular reason.

24 Grandmother **'İy** annen çok yorgun

***But** your mother is very tired.*

25 Nil Annem INCOMPREHENSIBLE

My mother INCOMPREHENSIBLE

In this excerpt, in turn 1, the grandmother initiated a conversation in her preferred language, Arabic, and asked Nil if she would have a bath that day. In turn 2, Nil responded using the Turkish word "Ne?" meaning "What?" to indicate that she did

[22] Direct translation from Arabic.

not understand her grandmother. Since Nil was playing meanwhile, in turn 3, the grandmother probably interpreted Nil's response as a failure of hearing and repeated her question in Arabic. In turn 4, Nil responded in Turkish again and explicitly stated that she did not understand what her grandmother asked. Then her grandmother shifted to gestural communication and pretended to scrub her head to help Nil understand what she had said. In the next turn, Nil moved hear head backwards and used the negation token "Hı ıı" meaning "Uh uh" to indicate that she wouldn't have a shower. In turn 7, the grandmother probably failed to process or hear Nil's answer and said "Huh?" indicating she was waiting for a response. In turn 8, the grandfather translated what the grandmother had asked to Nil. In turn 9, processing and understanding Nil's response, the grandmother overlapped with the grandfather, and she used the intra-sentential codeswitch "**Kwa**, anladın!" meaning "**See,** you got it!" In turn 10, sustaining her pretend play, Nil answered in a baby voice and said "Bugün değil" meaning "Not today." In the next turn, her grandfather asked her "When?" using Turkish. In turn 12, Nil clarified that she would have a shower when her mother came. In turn 13, the grandfather shifted the focus of interaction. Using Turkish, he asked Nil if her grandmother had bathed her once. In turn 14, Nil answered in Turkish and said "No". In line 15, grandmother accommodated to Nil and used Turkish. Probably in an attempt to make Nil remember, the grandmother said "Leğenle?" translated from Arabic verbatim as "With a basin?" meaning "in a basin". In line 16, the grandfather expanded the question and asked Nil if her grandmother had bathed her in a basin. In turn 17, referring to the grandmother's question in the first turn, Nil said she "İstemiyorum." meaning "I don't want." in a confrontational manner. In turn 18, the grandmother overlapped with her and using rudimentary Turkish, she said she would bath her in a basin the next day. In turn 19, Nil's utterance was not clear except for the first word "Annem" ("My mother"). Due to that, in turn 20 the grandmother responded with "Huh?" as a request for clarification. In turn 21, probably repeating what she had said in her previous turn, Nil stated in a pleading manner that she wanted her mother to bath her. In turn 22, the grandmother used the one-word codeswitch **"İy"** (meaning "But" in the present context), which functions as a discourse marker or an emphatic colloquial partical and the Turkish word "niye" meaning "why". In turn 23, Nil just said "Öyle" meaning "For no particular reason" to indicate that there was nothing significant

behind what she wanted. In turn 23, the grandmother used a Turkish statement inserting "**'İy**" (meaning "But" in this context, as well) to the beginning of her statement. She told Nil that her mother was too tired and tried to convince her to give her a bath. In turn 25, Nil's utterance was incomprehensible except for the initial word "Annem" meaning "My mother". Based on the context and Nil's previous turns, Nil probably repeated that she wanted her mother to bath her, implying her rejection to be bathed by anyone else.

The excerpt clearly demonstrates how Nil affected her grandmother's language choice. Through her medium request signaled by the expressions "Ne?" ("What?") in turn 2, and "Anlamadım" ("I don't understand") in turn 4, Nil implicitly asked her grandmother to change her code to Turkish. To keep the flow of conversation, the grandmother complied with that request and switched to Turkish from her 15th turn on employing occasional one-word codeswitches like the Arabic particle "**'İy**". Based on the grandmother's rudimentary Turkish statements, we can infer that the use of Turkish puts a cognitive strain on her while trying to accommodate to her granddaughter. It also reflects the pressure that she feels to prioritize intelligibility over identity by switching from her default language to Turkish while interacting with her younger granddaughter. The reversal of language accommodation contrary to the expected sociolinguistic norms where the young adjusts to the old illustrates how language shift is being talked into in daily interactions of Nil with her grandmother.

Whereas the grandmother had to switch to Turkish or codeswitched while interacting with Nil, she could engage in Arabic conversations with Ceren. The following excerpt reveals how the grandmother could stick to her preferred language and how Ceren tried to accommodate to her by using Arabic. During this interaction, Ceren was sitting on the backrest of the sofa, brushing her grandmother's hair:

Excerpt 24 [Video Recorded Data, March, 2022]:

1 Ceren Nene, saçın kına kokuyor. ((She stops brushing her grandmother's hair, stands up and

Granny, your hair smells like henna. walks towards the TV unit.))

2 Grandmother M**ā mıššaṭṭē. Mıššaṭṭē**? **Hiyyaytē**?

You haven't brushed [my hair yet]. Did you brush [my hair?] Are you finished [with brushing my hair?]

3 Ceren Tamam. **Waqfe waqfe**. Diğer tarağı [alaca:m].

OK. ***Wait wait.*** *I'll get the other hair brush.*

4 Grandmother **Lē** [**lē**:].

No [no:].

(Irrelevant talk with others omitted.)

5 Ceren ((Comes back with another hair brush and starts to brush her grandmother's hair again)) Nene, saçın kına kokuyor.

Granny, your hair smells like henna.

(Irrelevant talk with others omitted.)

((Taking a lock of hair to her hand and brushing it)) **Hīy:k** ((Taking another lock and brushing it)) ***Like that***

H īy:k.

Like that. ((Trying put grandmother's headscarf on her head)) **Waqfe** nene, ((Bending towards grandmother's face to see if the headscarf looks OK)) **Waq↓fe↑**

Wait

granny ((Ceren chuckling and trying to put the headscarf properly)).

6 Grandmother **Lē: latsayre hīyk**.

No: Don't do that.

7 Ceren Tamam, **waqfe**. ((Ceren takes the headscarf off her grandmother's head and puts it on the sofa next to the grandmother))

OK, ***wait***

8 Grandmother Šō **hıṭṭaytilē? Latsayre**.

What did you put [on my head]? Don't do that.

9 Ceren ((Smiling, brushing grandmother's hair) Tamam

OK.

10 Grandmother ((Looking at the headscarf next to her)) H**ā:**, **išš**a**mlē?**

Ah OK, [is it] the headscarf?

11 Ceren Hmm

Mm

((Still brushing her grandmother's hair stands up as if something occurred to her)) **Waqfe**. **Waqfe.** ((Walks towards the TV unit, to get something from the drawer))

Wait. Wait.

12 Grandmother ((Looking at Ceren)) **Ceren, abaqa itcībe bihaššıġēl.**

Ceren, stop bringing stuff.

(Irrelevant talk with others omitted)

13 Ceren ((Comes back and sits on the backrest of the sofa again. Fixing her grandmother's hair)) **Bārbıtō.**

I'm gonna put it [grandmother's hair] up.

((Stretching her hand across to the coffee table next to her grandmother and wiggling her fingers)) Alıyım telefonu ıı şey- **Hētē hēkē hētē**

Give me the phone erm you know- ***Give me that give me***

14 Grandmother ((Looking at the coffee table)) **Šō "Hētē hēkē hētē"? Šō taᶜṭīkē?**

What's "give me that give me"? What do you want me to give you?

15 Ceren **Faksā**

Hair clip.

16 Grandmother ((Giving her the hair elastic on the coffee table)) **Kinte maštinē issa.**

You could have brushed my hair a little more.

17 Ceren **Maᶜlēš maᶜlēš.**

No problem no problem.

In the excerpt above, in turn 1, Ceren untied her grandmother's headscarf and hair and using Turkish, she told her grandmother that her hair smelled like henna. Then she stood up to get another hair brush from the drawer of the TV unit. So, in turn 2, the grandmother asked her in Arabic whether she had finished implying that she couldn't have finished yet. In turn 3, Ceren explained that she would get another hair brush. Here, she used Turkish and Arabic in the form of inter-sentential codeswitches. In turn 4, the grandmother overlapped with Ceren and used "No" in Arabic iteratively suggesting that there was no need for another hair brush. In turn 5, brushing her grandmother's hair with the brush she got from the drawer, Ceren once more told her grandmother that her hair smelled like henna. She went on brushing her grandmother's hair demonstrating how she was doing that and using the Arabic word "**Hīyk"** (Eng., "Like that"). She was also trying to put her grandmother's

headscarf on her head again. In turn 6, the grandmother told Ceren not to do that. Evident in her next turns, she was not sure what Ceren was doing or putting on her head, so she attempted to stop her in that way. In turn 7, Ceren used both Turkish and Arabic and told her grandmother to wait. Meanwhile she was taking the headscarf off her grandmother's head and putting it on the sofa next to her grandmother. In turn 8, the grandmother was still not sure about what Ceren put on her head, and thinking that she was putting something that she was not supposed to, told her to stop. In turn 9, Ceren used the compliance marker "Tamam" (Eng.,"OK") in Tıırkish. In turn 10, the grandmother saw the headscarf that Ceren had put beside her and realized that it was the headscarf that Ceren was trying to put on her head. She sought confirmation by asking "**Hā:**, **iššamlē?**" ("Eng., Ah OK, [is it] the headscarf?"). In turn 11, Ceren responded with the confirmation backchannel "Hmm". While she was brushing her grandmother's hair, she stood up as if something occurred to her. She told her grandmother to wait using "**Waqfe**" in Arabic iteratively and walked to the drawer of the TV unit. In turn 12, the grandmother, used Arabic and told her not to bring stuff from the drawer anymore. In turn 13, Ceren used Arabic and told her grandmother that she would put her hair up. Stretching her hand to the coffee table next to her grandmother and wiggling her fingers, she used Turkish and told her grandmother to give her the phone (Her grandmother's mobile phone was on the coffee table, and she probably mixed up the words). Then she self-corrected herself and using Arabic told her grandmother to give her that thing by pointing to grandmother's hair elastic on the coffee table. In turn 14, the grandmother asked for clarification and wanted Ceren to tell her what she exactly wanted. In turn 15, Ceren responded with the Arabic word **"Faksa"** meaning "hair clip". In turn 16, the grandmother implicitly asked Ceren to keep brushing her hair**.** In turn 17, Ceren responded with an iterative expression in Arabic ("**Maᶜlēš maᶜlēš.**") meaning "No problem no problem" or "Anyway anyway". In this context, there was no subsequent statement, therefore, I could not figure out what Ceren exactly meant. However, in both cases, she did not comply with her grandmother's implicit request and stopped combing her hair. What's notable in this excerpt is that unlike Nil, Ceren had sufficient comprehension and speaking skills in Arabic to carry on conversation with her grandmother. Moreover, her level of comprehension and proficiency made it possible for the grandmother to stick to her default language and sustain the

conversation effortlessly from linguistic perspective. In other words, unlike her interactions with Nil, she did not feel constrained about her language choices and did not have to accommodate to her elder granddaughter. This further enabled Ceren to practice her Arabic skills, increasing her proficiency and confidence in Arabic. In other words, her agency acted as a catalyst for intergenerational language transmission and for learning the community language.

During my observations, I had noticed the two sister's differing attitudes to and proficiency in the community language as shown in this excerpt from my field notes: "The grandmother mostly starts conversations in Arabic, probably because this is her preferred and dominant language. When the grandmother asks or says something to Nil in Arabic, she mostly responds in Turkish saying things like "Anlamıyorum." or "Ne?" meaning "I don't understand." Or "What?" The grandmother switches to Turkish in such cases. Actually, I think Nil understands a little Arabic because sometimes when her grandmother asks something in Arabic, she answers in Turkish. For example, today, when her grandmother asked her what she bought from the grocery store, she answered using the name of a snack. But Ceren can respond to her grandmother in Arabic, or at least she is trying. (OC: Ceren's willingness to use Arabic suggests that she has a positive attitude to the language. In contrast, Nil seems to be negative. I wonder what this difference between the sisters' inclinations and attitudes stem from. I also wonder whether Nil's negative attitudes are a result of her low proficiency and difficulty in understanding Arabic because she seems to get frustrated when her grandmother insists on speaking Arabic. I should ask the parents about that) [Observation, March 2021].

I had also some notes about Ceren's metalinguistic awareness about Arabic. For instance, once, she told her sister about the difference between **"Šō matsayre?" and "Šō matsayyer?"** While both of these questions mean "What are you doing?" in Turkish, the former reflects third-person feminine singular whereas the latter is used with third-person masculine singular. Ceren told Nil that she should use the former for girls and the latter for boys. This illustrates Ceren's knowledge of verb inflections revealing gender in Arabic, which is different from Turkish. As a result, it reflects her proficiency and interest in Arabic. Furthermore, this positions Ceren as the expert

one in Arabic, and also creates “double opportunity spaces” for the sisters (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 2004)**.** Nil learns about gender-based verb conjugation in Arabic. At the same time, Ceren has the opportunity to revise her grammatical knowledge about that language.

In Family 3, the way that Burak exercised agency against learning Arabic through resistance was reported by his parents. Both of the parents reported that the language of the nuclear family was Turkish because that was the common language between the mother and the father. However, similar to other participant parents, both parents wanted their son to learn the community language, and they incorporated vocabulary games into their language practices to help Burak learn Arabic words in an entertaining way.

The mother did not speak Arabic; despite that she joined these games and supported her husband’s efforts. The video recordings even showed that Meltem herself, initiated Arabic vocabulary games with her son. The following extract illustrates this:

Excerpt 25 [Video Recorded Data, February 2022]:

1 Meltem Bu da deniz aslanı. Burnuna bak. Burnu böyle olan deniz aslanı.

And that’s a sea lion. Look at its nose. The one with such a nose is a sea lion.

2 Burak Biliyorum. ((Pointing to his mouth)) Ama böyle ağzı olan, bu renkli olan böyle:?

I know. But the one whose mouth is like that, the one which is colorful?

3 Meltem ((Turning her head towards him)) Hıı?

Hmm?

4 Burak Uzu::n?

[*the] Lon:g? [thing]*

5 Meltem ((Pointing to something on TV)) Tamam, bu. Bu mu?

OK, this [one]. This one?

6 Burak ((Pointing to something on TV)) Onun gibi değil. Uçan şey; kanatları var uçabiliyor.

[That nose] is not like the other. The flying thing, it has wings, it can fly.

7 Meltem ((Pointing to something on TV)) Onunki burun değil, o gaga.

It is not nose; it's a beak.

Kuşların burnunun orda öyle olan var ya ((Gesturing something protruding from her nose))

Isn't there that thing near the birds' noses? Turuncu, Ona 'gaga' denir annem[23].

[The] Orange [thing]. We call it a beak, sweatheart.

8 Burak Ama-

But-

9 Meltem Tüm kuşlarda var.

All birds have it.

10 Burak Ama burnuk gibi duruyor ama.

But it looks like a nose. ((Mispronounces the Turkish word "burun" meaning "nose" as "burnuk"))

11 Meltem Burnuk mu?

A nose? ((Repeating the mispronounced word))

12 Burak ((Smiling)) Evet, öyle gibi duruyor.

Yes, seems like it.

13 Meltem Peki burun ne demek?

Well, what's nose [in Arabic]?

14 Burak **Minhor**[24]

***Minhor** (nose)*

15 ((Smiling)) **Min_hor**. Aferin sana. 0.5 Göz ne demek? 0.8 ((Burak does not respond.))

***Min_hor** (nose) Good job*. 0.5 *What's eye [in Arabic]?* 0.8 ((Turns her head towards Burak and whispers)) ◦**ʿayn**◦ (Eye). 0.3 Oynamican mı?

◦***ʿayn***◦ *(Eye). 0.3 Won't you play [the vocabulary game?*]

((Burak does not respond and starts to make funny faces))

[23] This literally translates into English as "my mother". It is a common endearment term used by parents for their children. Its a loving and affectionate way of calling a child "my sweatheart" or "my dear".

[24] This word normally includes the voiceless uvular fricative h sound (i.e. minḥor); however, both Meltem and Burak pronounced it with the regular voiceless glottal fricative h sound. The h sound was trabscribed as it was pronounced by them.

In the excerpt above, Meltem and her son Burak were watching a cartoon and talking about the characters. Meltem was teaching her son names of some of the animals in the cartoon, and they were talking about these animals. In turn 1, Meltem introduced the sea lion by directing Burak's attention to the animal's nose. In turn 2, Burak expressed his familiarity with the animal by saying "Biliyorum" (Eng., "I know"), and shifted the topic to something that drew his attention. He asked his mother about another animal by describing it. In turn 3, Meltem responded with the listening cue "Hıı?" (Eng., "Hmm?") indicating that she was listening and encouraging Burak to sustain his turn. In turn 4, Burak made a descriptive expansion to the question in his prior turn. In turn 5, Meltem figured out what Burak referred to, but asked him by pointing to something on TV to make sure whether he referred to it. In turn 6, referring to a bird, Burak stated that its nose was not like the other nose. In turn 7, Meltem clarified that it was a not a nose, but a beak. She expanded on her statement through description and a naming sequence. In turn 8, Burak initiated a contrastive response, which was interrupted by his mother's explanation in turn 9. In turn 10, Burak reclaimed the floor and finished his statement by stating that the beak looked like a nose. Burak mispronounced the word nose. In turn 11, Meltem repeated the mispronounced word in question form to direct Burak's attention to mispronunciation, but did not engage in correction. In turn 12, Burak interpreted his mother's question as a clarification request and repeated his answer with confirmation. In turn 13, Meltem took the interaction as an opportunity to play an Arabic vocabulary game. She asked a question to check her son's knowledge on Arabic vocabulary regarding parts of the face. Building on their conversation about "nose", she asked Burak "Peki minhor ne demek?" (Eng., "So, what's nose [in Arrabic]?") In turn 14, Burak answered correctly, displaying his knowledge of that particular word. The fact that he answered with the Arabic equivalent of the word although his mother did not explicitly mention Arabic illustrates his familiarity with the game. In turn 15, Meltem repeated Burak's response by stressing the syllables, and gave him positive feedback. After a 5-second pause, Meltem asked another question, but there was silence for 8 seconds. Burak did not answer the question; instead, Meltem said the answer silently. Interpreting Burak's silence as unwillingness to carry on the naming game, she turned her head towards Burak and asked him whether he didn't want to play. Burak did not respond and started to make

funny faces, and in this way, he shifted the mode of the conversation. This interaction between Meltem and her son depicts how a parent-child conversation based on sharing and constructing knowledge shifted in frame to an instructional IRF (initiation-response-feedback) sequence and was followed by termination of the interaction. Up to turn 13, Meltem and Burak's conversation was flowing naturally. However, from that turn ahead, the mother shifted the focus of interaction from collaborative knowledge building to a kind of knowledge test. The mother, who was talking about animals and negotiating knowledge about some parts of animal faces with her son, turned this interaction into a quiz-like evaluative structure. First, she asked her son the Arabic equivalent of "nose". Her son provided the correct answer, which was followed by the mother's positive feedback. This part of the interaction was similar to an instructional IRF sequence, which can be observed in formal educational settings, including language lessons (Seedhouse, 2004, cited in Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015, p. 328). When the mother asked her son to name another body part (eye) in Arabic, the child did not respond. Therefore, the mother self-answered her question. She interpreted her son's silence not as a lack of knowledge, but as a sign of unwillingness or disengagement. Hence, she did not pursue the vocabulary game any further, and the game reached a natural end. What's significant in this interaction is that Burak's silence and the following nonverbal behavior (making funny faces), can be interpreted as resistance or assertion of agency. Furthermore, it shows how the child responds to a vocabulary teaching strategy that the parents have been engaged with to help him learn words in the community language. Burak clearly did not respond to his parents' vocabulary teaching efforts as they had expected, and as indicated in the previous section, the parents had to reduce the frequency of these games in time. In this regard, Burak's resistance or act of noncompliance (Fogle and King, 2013) hindered parents' involvement in Arabic maintenance, and it solidified the status of Turkish as the default language of the nuclear family.

The parents reported that their son was more willing towards Arabic initially and acknowledged Burak's resistance that developed in time. They stated that Burak lost enthusiasm and interest in Arabic through time. This caused them to play such vocabulary games less often, and undermined their efforts in familiarizing their child

with the community language. According to Meltem, one of the reasons why her son did not display interest in learning Arabic words anymore was realizing the ease of Turkish as opposed to Arabic. Meltem had already mentioned that some of the words (including melon) that Burak first learnt were Arabic. She had said that Burak didn't even know that the word was Arabic, and he was using it all the time. However, learning an easier option, the Turkish equivalent, caused him to view Arabic as less useful. Meltem's own words were:

> **[Interview, Meltem, January 2022]**
> Yani Arapça, İngilizce, yani bir dile karşı bir isteği yok. Yani onu şey olarak algılıyor hani "Üff anne, yine mi bunları öğreneceğiz? Yani hani kullanılacakmış gibi değil de. Zaten bu kullandığı bir şey değil yani. Hani mesela şeyi öğrenirken hiç zorlanmadım, mesela çok kavun seviyo ya "**baṭṭīha**[25]" diyor. Ama mesela peynir dediğinde anlatabildiğini fark ettiğinde, yani onu kavun olarak anlatabildiğini fark ettiğinde artık o "**baṭṭīha**"yı gereksiz görmeye başlıyor. Nasılsa anlıyorlar. Bu zor, yani Arapça onu zorluyor.
>
> He doesn't have willingness towards a language, be it Arabic or English. He regards them like- I mean [when she starts to teach him Arabic or English words], he says: "Oh, mom. Will we learn these again?" I mean [he thinks as if these are] not as something that he'll use. This [an Arabic or English word] is something that he doesn't use already. For instance, I didn't have difficulty at all when I taught him "**baṭṭīha**" (melon) because, you know, he loves it. But, when he realized that he could express it as "peynir" (cheese], I mean when he realized that he could refer to it as "kavun" (melon), he starts to consider "**baṭṭīha**" as useless. After all, they [family members] understand "kavun". This [**baṭṭīha**] is difficult, I mean Arabic puts a strain on him.

Based on Meltem's accounts, when Burak realized the presence of Turkish words for things which he had acquired in Arabic first, he started to quit the Arabic ones because the Turkish equivalents were easier. Furthermore, the lack of communicative utility of Arabic or English also led Burak to refuse his parents' attempts to teach him vocabulary in these languages. Since Arabic and English did not have any communicative function in the family, Burak started to refuse learning or using words in these languages. Moreover, based on Meltem's accounts as already indicated in the precious section, Burak's obstinate character also posed a challenge in the parents' Arabic transmission efforts. Ufuk, the father, also reported that

[25] This word is pronounced with the voiceless uvular fricative h sound (i.e. **baṭṭīḥā**); however, Meltem pronounced it with the regular voiceless glottal fricative h sound. The h sound was trabscribed as it was pronounced by her.

easiness of Turkish as opposed to Arabic shaped Burak's language preference. Ufuk observed that the COVID-19 Pandemic was a turning point in shaping his son's language preference by creating a Turkish-only language environment. Based on Ufuk's accounts, before the pandemic, his son was exposed to Arabic intensely at his parents' house. Meltem was studying at university and he was working at that time, therefore, his parents were taking care of Burak. Meltem also reported that Burak was an 8-month-old baby when she put him into his grandparents' care. Considering that at pre-verbal period the grandparents used Arabic with their grandchildren, Burak was exposed to Arabic directly and indirectly during that time. In line with this, Ufuk indicated that his son learnt food names in Arabic first. His expressions of surprise and happiness, which were still persistent in his Turkish speech, were in Arabic as well. Ufuk stated that during that time his son had a little willingness and inclination towards Arabic. However, when the pandemic broke out the family stayed in house for 4 or 5 months. During that time, they did not go out, not even to his parents' house. As a result, Burak's exposure to Arabic stopped, whereas Turkish exposure increased and he learnt Turkish "just when his receptivity was at its peak" ("tam da alıcıların en yüksek olduğu zamanda"). According to Ufuk, his son realized that there was an easier alternative to Arabic during the pandemic, and that led to decreased willingness and engagement with Arabic. Ufuk concluded that "pandemi her şeyi değiştirdi." (Eng., "the pandemic changed everything" and "çocuğun Arapça öğrenme sürecini tamamen baltalamış olabilir." (Eng., "[the pandemic] could have totally undermined the child's Arabic learning process"). As is clear from the parents' accounts, in this family Burak's acts of agency developed in time particularly after his language environment changed to a solely Turkish one due to the pandemic. During this period, the family did not have face-to-face contact with the grandparents. Furthermore, while Burak used to spend much of his day at this grandparents' house, he wnet into isolation in his house with his family. This decreased his exposure to Arabic dramatically. In addition, at this time, Burak was exposed to Turkish a lot. His compulsory detachment from Arabic and his realization of the ease of Turkish as opposed to Arabic led to a change of attitude in him. He started to display silent resistance through noncompliance or avoidance of Arabic vocabulary games. This in turn caused parents to gradually decrease and eventually give up their language maintenance efforts.

In Family 4, there was no evidence in the data concerning children's agency in influencing family language environment. Nevertheless, Sevgi, the mother, reported individual differences between her children's Arabic aptitude. Whereas both of her children wanted to speak Arabic and loved that language, her younger child, Arda, was better at pronouncing Arabic words than his sister, Aslı. Sevgi's own words were:

> **[Interview, Sevgi, January 2022]**
> Yani şöyle aslında Aslı da Arapçayı istiyor ama konuşamıyor. Dili dönmüyor mesela; ağır geliyor Aslıya Arapça. Anlar, konuşur ama eee çok nadir kelimeleri çıkarabiliyor. Ama Arda mesela daha yatkın. Bak, ikisi de aynı ortam. Makillik [Sana diyorum] ya, Ardanın dili çok daha rahat dönüyor. Aslınınki çok rahat dönmüyor mesela. İsteği var, anlıyor ama dili dönmüyor.
>
> I mean Aslı also wants Arabic, but she cannot speak. She is unable to pronounce correctly, for instance; Aslı finds [pronouncing in] Arabic difficult. She understands, speaks but erm can rarely pronounce words. But Arda is more inclined [to Arabic], for example. Look, both of them are in the same [home] environment. As I'm telling you, Arda is able to pronounce words easily; Aslı isn't able to do that, for instance. She wants to, she understands, but she cannot pronounce [Arabic words] correctly.

Based on the mother's accounts, both of her children had positive attitudes and were willing to learn Arabic. However, the young one had greater language aptitude in that he could produce Arabic words more easily than his sister. The mother pointed to the fact that although both of her children were living in the same environment, their ability in pronouncing Arabic words differed. In this regard, the mother signalled that despite similar language input and environmental factors, individual aptitude could result in different language outcomes in children.

In Family 5, Ulaş, the father, indicated a difference among his children regarding their Arabic speaking abilities. According to Ulaş, whereas Yaprak and Ahmet were more fluent in Arabic, Seren and Melda had difficulty in pronouncing some words, and they did not use it as often as their sister and brother. Ulaş attributed this, to Ahmet's circle of friends, who spoke Arabic with each other. As for Yaprak, he believed that spending time with her grandmothers was effective in her Arabic proficiency. He indicated that his eldest daughter, Seren, did not like to speak Arabic and was less competent than Ahmet and Yaprak in using Arabic. Ulaş's own words were:

[Interview, Ulaş, February 2022]
Ahmet ile Yaprak, işte bunlar çocuklarımın arasından Arapçayı daha iyi konuşuyorlar. Seren ile Melda dediğim gibi yani anlıyorlar ama işte bazı kelimeler ağır geliyor; yani çeviremiyorlar. Şimdi anneleri rahmetlik olmadan önce hani çalışıyordu ya, e ben de işten geldiğim zaman sorardım mesela **"Ciyyet imkin? [miššiğıl]?"** Ahmet Arapçayla **"Le, issa meciyyet baba."** O da Arapçayla cevap verir ama Seren mesela Türkçeyle direk, direk Türkçeyle cevap verir. Ama Ahmet ve Yaprak Arapçayla cevap verir. (Seren: Bu benim hani isteğimdi aslında yani çok bilmezliğim değil de kendi tercihim yani oluyordu).

Ahmet and Yaprak, these are my children who speak Arabic better among their siblings. As I said [before], Seren and Melda understand [Arabic]; however, they find some words difficult; I mean they cannot translate them. You know, their late mother was working before she died. When I also came back from work, I used to ask [my children] "Has your mother come [from work] yet?" Ahmet [would say] "No, she hasn't come back yet, dad". He would respond in Arabic, too. But Seren for example, [responds] with Turkish directly, she answers directly with Turkish. But Ahmet and Yaprak answer in Arabic. (Seren: Actually, that was my choice. I mean it was not due to my lack of knowledge [in Arabic]. Rather, it was my own preference).

As she herself indicated, Seren was pro-Turkish. That's why her preferred language was Turkish. In addition, as the interview and video data also revealed that Seren had negative views and attitudes towards Arabic due to its effect on Turkish. The following excerpt illustrates Seren's views about Arabic:

Excerpt 26 [Video Recorded Data, March 2022]:

1 Seren: Çilek kızı beğendin? ↑ ((Looks at Melda who is standing up to get the remote control))

[Do] You like 'Çilek Kız'?

0.3. Çilek kızı beğendin mi? ((Melda looks at Seren and Seren looks at Melda smiling))

Do you like 'Çilek kız'?

2 Meldaa: ° Hıhı ° ((Looks at Seren slightly smiling and nodding))

Hm mm.

3 Seren: Beğendin ne ya:!

Ugh, what's "Beğendin?↑" [What kind of question is that?]

((Looks at Melda, then turns her gaze down to her bowl and eats her soup) Anne:↑ Arapçayı öğretmeyin bana demiştim size değil mi?

Mom! I had told you not to teach me Arabic, haven't I?

((Irrelevant talk omitted))

4 Seren: Arapça öğrene öğrene 0.3. ((Turns her head towards her mom)) [soru ekini unutuyorum.

I forget to add the question affix due to learning Arabic.

5 Melda: ["Gidiyo:n?↑" değil, "Gi-di-yor- musun?"

Not "You are going?↑" [it should be] "Are you going?" ((Looking at Seren gesturing with her finger at every syllable))

6 Seren: Değil mi Melda!

Exactly, Melda!

((Looking at Melda and stretching her arm towards her, her palms facing upwards))

7 Melda: ((Looking at Seren)) "Oturuyo:n?↑" değil "Oturacak mısın?"

Not "You are sitting?↑"[It should be] "Will you sit?"

8 Seren: ((Turning her head to the left to her mother, then pointing to Melda while saying her name)) Öğrenin Meldadan.

Learn from Melda

9 Melda: ((Shifting her gaze from Seren to her mother. Yelda looking at her, listening attentively. After Melda finishes talking Yelda turns her gaze to her bowl and goes on eating))

"Yastığı alaca:n?↑" "Alaca:n↑" değil "Alacak mısın?"

"You'll take the pillo:w?↑" Not "You'll take?↑" [it should be] "Will you take?"

10 Seren: ((Turning to Yaprak)) Anne yazar ee [Ney? ((Looking up and as if trying to recall something))

Mom writes erm [What?

11 Yaprak: ["Ali derse girdi:?↑" "Ali derse girdi" ((Chuckling)

["Ali joined the online class:?↑" "Ali joined the online class".

12 Seren: ((Clicking her tongue and looking at Yaprak who is chuckling)) Cık. [26]Elektrik kesi↑

No Electricity went↑

Bak şey yazar "Elektrik kesildi" ((Wagging her index finger in the air while saying each word))

Look, she writes "The electricity went out."

[26]A negative interjection in Turkish that people use to express "No".

13 Seren: Diyorum “Nerde kesildi?” ((Looking at Yaprak)) “Elektrik kesildi”

I say [write] “Where did the electricity go out?” “The electricity went out.”

14 Yelda: ((Turning her head towards Seren sitting on her right side)) Kesildi mi?

Did [the electricity] go out?

15 Seren: ((Turning to her mom)) -mi eki yo:k, anne; yazmıyorsun. Yaz.

[There is] No question affix –mi, Mom; you don’t write it. Write it.

Prior to the excerpt, her elder sisters helped Melda to make a Strawberry Shortcake character costume from recycled material for an assignment. In the excerpt above, in turn 1, Seren directed a question to Melda in Turkish. However, as a result of transfer from Arabic, she omitted the question particle. She stressed the last syllable and uttered it with rising intonation instead. After a 3-second pause, she realized her mistake, and self-corrected herself. This time she used Turkish question formation rules. In turn 3, she made an evaluative comment about her ill-formed question back in turn 1, which revealed her frustration of mixing grammatical structures. Seren’s statement in this turn revealed that she blamed Arabic for this mistake. It pointed to her awareness of the structural differences between Turkish and Arabic, and also to language interference. Notably, it also reflected that Seren viewed Arabic inferior and disruptive. In turn 4, which captured language interference and her frustration at that interference, suggested that she did not want Arabic to “invade” her speech. In turn 5, Melda overlapped with her sister and purposefully formed a Turkish question incorrectly. Like her sister’s question in turn 1, Melda’s question also included negative transfer from Arabic. Melda produced the correct version of the question by reformulating it based on Turkish question formation rules. While doing that she directed attention to the correct form by stressing every syllable. In turn 6, Seren confirmed Melda. In turn 7, Melda provided one more example. In the following turn, although Seren’s statement “Öğrenin Melda’dan” (Eng., “Learn from Melda”) was formed with 2nd person plural implicit null subject, Seren turned her head towards her mother to suggest that she was the intended recipient. Upon that, in turn 9, Melda also shifted her gaze from the sister to her mother while giving one more example of ill-formed and correctly formed question in Turkish. The mother responded to that nonverbal cue targeting her as an addressee and listened to Melda attentively till she finished. In turn 10, Seren selected her sister Yaprak as the

addressee and shifted the focus to her mother's incorrect Turkish questions in her text messages. She initiated the topic and by using "Ney?" (Eng,. "What?") suggested that she was trying to find an example. In turn 11, Yaprak provided an example herself, suggesting her mother texted her in the same way. She read the sentence out loud "Ali derse girdi:? ↑" (Eng., "Ali joined the online class:?↑") as intended by her mother, then she read as it was in fact written by her mother with no question mark "Ali derse girdi" (Eng., "Ali joined the online class") In turn 12, Seren clicked her tongue meaning "No". She gave an example of her mother's ill-formed questions and directed attention to a miscommunication that occurred in the written medium due to her mother's mistake. Yelda's text message "Elektrik kesildi" (Eng., "The electricity went out") was meant as a question. However, the absence of rising intonation on the verb due to the written mode coupled with lack of question mark caused Seren to misinterpret the text message as an affirmative statement rather than a question. This further led her to text her mother back and ask her where the electricity went out. Looking at her sister Yaprak, Seren repeated her mother's sentence in a sarcastic manner. In the next turn, Yelda turned her face to Seren and re-formulated the question in a correct form probably with an aim to show her knowledge of the standard Turkish interrogative form. In turn 15, Seren interpreted her mother's turn as an attempt to show that she actually used the question particle – mi? In a defying tone, Seren stated that her mother never used the question particle. This interaction between the children and the mother reflects power asymmetry and the reversal of roles in terms of who holds the linguistic authority. Parents are typically considered the primary agents of language socialization modelling correct linguistic forms or correcting children's errors (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Revis 2019; Said & Zhu, 2017). In this excerpt, an ill-formed Turkish interrogative sentence by Seren, the eldest child, initiates metalinguistic talk about the proper question formation rules in Turkish. Reformulating her sentence correctly, Seren blames Arabic for her error, which implies her negative attitude to the community language as disruptive and inferior to the majority language. Melda, the youngest child, models the incorrect and correct Turkish question form and directs attention to the correct form. In this way, she assumes the role of an expert in the majority language and at some point addresses directly her mother instructing her on how to form Turkish questions in a correct way. In the same line, Seren looks at her mother

while telling the family to learn from Melda how to construct correct Turkish questions, and in this way chooses her as the target recipient. She also engages in a metalinguistic act of criticizing a pattern of nonstandard usage by her mother when she tells her she never uses the question particle –mi? In this way, both Melda and Seren claim linguistic authority in the majority language (Turkish in this case) and also conform to the institutional linguistic identities, thereby exert their agency.

In this family, unlike her siblings, Seren seemed to distance herself from the community language and a marginalized identity associated with it. During our interview with her father, she occasionally expressed her views on the topics we were discussing. Her statements belowe revealed how she assumed a pro-Turkish ideology and policed other family members' language use. Seren said:

> **[Informal conversation, Seren, February 2022]**
> […] genelde işte hani Türkçeyi düzgün konuşamadıklarında uyarıyorum sürekli, özellikle Meldayı. Yani devrik cümle kullanıyor. […] Şöyle anlatıyım mesela "Seren abla bisiklet sürebilir miyim?" değil de "Sürebilir miyim bisikleti bir saat" gibisinden falan, bu örnek sadece yani, devrik cümle. Hani yüklem genelde başta oluyor.
>
> "[…] generally, you know, I warn them constantly when they don't speak Turkish properly, [I warn] particularly Melda. She makes inverted sentences. […] Let me put it this way. For example, [She says] "Sürebilir miyim bisikleti bir saat?" not "Seren abla bisiklet sürebilir miyim?". This is just an example. I mean the verb is usually at the beginning [in Melda's statements].

Seren's statements revealed the significance she attached to speaking proper Turkish. In this regard, she monitored not only her own Turkish, but other family members', too. She seemed particularly sensitive to the negative transfer effects from Arabic such as inversion and omitting the question particle –mi in Turkish interrogative statements. She indicated that sometimes she omitted the question particle, too as in "Melda geldin?↑", and she self-corrected her statement: "sonra aklıma geliyor, -mi ekini ekliyorum çünkü o da [Melda] etkileniyor." (Eng., "then I realize that and add the question particle –mi because this affects her [Melda], too"). She believed that such transfer effects revealed one's identity when they went to another city, and she stated she didn't like that. In this regard, Seren viewed language as a symbolic resource that distances her from a marginalized identity and affiliates with a higher-

status language (Turkish in this case). Therefore, her language choice does not reveal a simple preference of a communication tool, but also reveals a strategic, agentive construction of identity that could help her navigate in a socially stratified linguistic environment.

In a nutshell, data from the participant families illustrated that children were not passive recipients of their children's language practices. In fact, they played an active role in the negotiation of language choices in day-to-day interactions with adult family members. They exerted their own power through resistance, medium requests, compliance or noncompliance acts. Notably, within the same household, siblings could display varying degrees of Arabic comprehension and proficiency and also varying attitudes. While siblings with an inclination towards Arabic facilitated Arabic transmission, those who held negative attitudes or had a lack of interest, posed challenges for parents and grandparents in Arabic maintenance efforts. In other words, individual aptitude of siblings could engender varying community language outcomes within the same family.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1. Chapter Presentation

The final chapter describes and interprets the findings of the present study in the light of the existing literature. The chapter is organized based on the research questions posed in the introductory chapter as well as the findings which were presented in accordance with Spolsky's tripartite FLP model. In this regard, initially the findings related to language ideologies are discussed with a focus on the external and internal factors that affected families' FLPs. Subsequently, families' language practices are situated within existing literature. Next, (lack of) parental involvement regarding the transmission of the community language is dealt with as it relates to earlier work. Finally, the chapter presents implications, and concludes with limitations and suggestions for further research.

5.2. Language Ideologies

A host of socio-linguistic, socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political factors (Spolsky 2004, 2012) have been influential in the construction of family language policies. In the present study, the parents reported that they wanted their children to learn the community language, Arabic, for pragmatic/practical or emotional motives. In other words, socio-economic and socio-cultural factors shaped parents' beliefs. Except for one participant who believed that Arabic was not essential in communicating with grandparents and the elderly, most of the participants stated that they wanted their children to be able to speak Arabic to communicate with their grandparents and the elder generation. This is in line with Eroğlu's (2022) study, in which Kurdish parents wanted to maintain Kurdish to enable their children to

communicate with their Kurdish monolingual grandparents. Except for the grandmother in Family 1 who was Arabic monolingual, all the grandmothers and grandparents in the present study spoke Turkish to varying degrees. Nevertheless, the grandmothers exhibited rudimentary Turkish, which could be characterized as a mixture of Arabic and Turkish (translanguaging) as shown by the grandmother in Family 5. In addition, as shown in Family 2, the younger granddaughter's medium requests put a strain on the grandmother as she was trying to formulate sentences in a language she was not so competent (Turkish in this case). In fact, Pillai et al. (2014) showed that older generations spoke the heritage language better. Aware of the Arabic dominance of their parents in particular, and other first generation elderly in general, most of the parents believed that Arabic would facilitate their children's communication with their grandparents. Arabic was viewed as a tool to maintain strong bonds with the grandparents. Considering the grandparents', especially grandmothers' limited knowledge of Turkish compared to their knowledge of Arabic, communication in the community language would allow more natural and nuanced interactions. Furthermore, it would help grandparents and grandchildren to build deeper personal relationships. In this regard, they wanted their children to be able to speak Arabic not just as a means of communication, but to preserve emotional closeness, intergenerational cultural continuity as well as to develop a sense of belonging within the family. Another reason for parents' desire to transmit Arabic to their children was because it was the mother tongue and also to sustain the culture (Bezcioğlu-Göktolga & Yağmur, 2018; Eroğlu, 2022). For all the bilingual participant parents in the present study, Arabic was the language that they acquired first. As a result, Arabic was tied to their personal identity, early life experiences and family bonds. Furthermore, as a vessel for traditions, songs, stories, proverbs, idioms, and values of a culture, Arabic was an essential part of their cultural heritage. In that sense, Arabic allowed the maintenance of cultural continuity. Two of the parents believed that children should learn Arabic to perform ritual prayers and religious practices. This resonates with Sepriati et al. (2021) who reported that bi-/multilingual families in Indonesia wanted their children to learn Arabic to carry out religious practices and preserve their religious identities. As an ethnoreligious community, Arabic had an important role within the community. Arabic is the language of Quran. Moreover, the religious doctrines of the community are passed

down through Arabic within the uncle hood tradition. In this regard, preserving Arabic was essential for understanding as well as memorizing the prayers and the doctrines. In other words, sustaining the religious identity of the community required the learning of Arabic by children, particularly boys. Most of the participants mentioned the importance of Arabic in terms of communicating with other Arabic-speaking people, particularly Syrians. The participants believed that speaking Arabic could provide their children with economic advantages by creating job opportunities that required translation. In her study based on extensive fieldwork and interviews with ethnically Arab Alawites, Christians and Jews in Antioch, İstanbullu (2024) reported that despite the changing image of the local Arabic among these communities and despite the recent popularity of MSA in Türkiye, language shift was still underway in Antioch. Despite this trend, based on the participants' accounts regarding communication with Syrians and their perceptions of the possible job opportunities it could create, the flux of Syrian immigration seems to have affected their ideologies about the possible benefits of speaking Arabic as corroborated by Yalım-Ege (2019). At the same time, the participants in the present study unanimously stated negative views about the local Arabic variety in the same line as the participants in İstanbullu (2024) who labelled the local Arabic as "bad" or "flawed". However, they did not overtly state their negative perceptions of the local Arabic as a reason for their non-transmission of it. This resonates with Kendal and King (2000) who reported that the Saraguros communities in the Ecuadorian Andes simultaneously held pro-Quichua and anti-Quichua ideologies. Associating Spanish with economic, educational and social success while ascribing Quichua a lower status, community members embraced clashing implicit and explicit ideologies about their community languages. Much in the same way, the participants in the present study were affected by their loyalty to Arabic as well as by the broader level ideologies ascribing Turkish a higher prestige as the official language and the language of education.

Pertaining to participant parents' ideologies about Turkish, socio-political factors surfaced as significant determinants affecting their Turkish preference. All of the participants employed Turkish as the default medium of interaction with their children. They reported prioritizing Turkish for its official status, which brought

along currency in all domains. The monolingual state-language policy which recognizes Turkish as the only official language policy has a pivotal role on parents' decision. During the early years of the Turkish Republic, the founding elites aimed to build a homogenous nation-state, which was based on Turkishness, and therefore named as "Turkish Nation" (Mertcan, 2013). With the aim of unification, Arab Alawites were also subjected to assimilationist policies like other minorities, at that time. In line with that, false claims were made about their ethnic background, and it was claimed that they were of Eti Turk origin. Language homogenization also played a key role in nation-building during that time. From 1939, Turkish was established as the compulsory language of education and official documents. Language was a central element in Turkifying minority groups. Against this backdrop of monolingual Turkish ideology, the parents in the present study acknowledged the dominance and prominence of Turkish across the country and in every domain. As a consequence, they chose Turkish as the medium of instruction with their children to support their social integration, acceptance and mobility as well as ease their access to social capital. In other words, they chose "what will strengthen their family's social standing and best serve and support the family members' goal in life" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 326). Lane's (2010) study of language shift in Bugoynes, a bilingual Kven community in Norway depicts a similar situation. Shifting from their mother tongue Kven to Norwegian in the mid-20th century as a result of Norwegianization and modernity, the Kven community went through similar processes of assimilation. As a result, older generations preferred to speak to their children in Norwegian rather than their mother tongue thinking they did what they believed was "best" (emphasis added) for their children.

The participant parents in the present study also highlighted the impact of school on their Turkish preference with their children. According to Spolsky (2004), school is one of the most important domains for language policy and language education policy. In this regard, school takes over the task of socialization from the family. Based on the Arabic-Turkish bilingual participants' accounts, they all grew up speaking Arabic until they started school. When they started school they had limited or no knowledge of Turkish. This led to negative experiences in the participants' early school years. For instance, Gaye could not understand even the shortest text,

and had great difficulty at school. Similarly, on her first day of school, Esra could not express a fundamental human need to her teacher and cried in distress. Over time, all of the bilingual participants added Turkish to their repertoire and mastered it. As the participants reported as a consequence of school Turkish started to become more dominant in their lives. It even became the sibling language in Gaye's family changing the dynamics of language choices among the household. As their circle expanded, Turkish started to become their dominant language. In other words, the parents themselves experienced a shift to Turkish as a consequence of leaving the confines of their home domain and integrating with the wider society. For these parents, leaving the home domain meant entering a venue where the language of their home was no longer required, recognized or valued. Thus, they depended more on Turkish, which eventually shaped their language choices with their children.

In relation to the importance of Turkish in terms of education and schools, the participants stated that they viewed Turkish as crucial for academic achievement. Participants believed that proper Turkish and a good level of Turkish proficiency were required for students' understanding lessons and achieving academic success. In line with previous research (Yalım-Ege, 2019), driven by the belief that Arabic would negatively influence children's acquisition of the societal language, parents prioritized Turkish in the early years of socialization. There's ample evidence showing that parents align with the expectations of schools in determining language preferences with their children (e.g. Bezcioğlu-Göktolga & Yağmur, 2018; Curdt-Christiansen 2014, Gkaintartzia et al., 2014, Rindstedt and Aronsson 2002). Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) revealed that members of the Ecuadorian Sierra community preferred to use Quichua and/or Spanish in adult interaction whereas they chose to use Spanish while interacting with their children. Similar to the participants in the present study, the parents' concern that children would start school with half Quichua half Spanish urged them to prioritize Spanish in a Spanish-dominated institutional context The researchers suggested that this choice contributed to the ongoing language shift from Quichua – Spanish bilingualism to Spanish monolingualism within the community. Seloni and Sarfati's (2012) study yielded similar findings among a minority group in Türkiye's context. The study revealed how the decline of Judeo-Spanish started with the estanlishment of Alliance

schools in line with the modernization initiatives of the Ottoman Empire. These schools created a language hierarchy on which Judeo-Spanish ranked the lowest while French was at the top. These schools also disseminated ideologies which were later internalizaed by community members. The ideologies asscoiated Judeo-Spanish with backwardess and French with advancement. The nation-building process after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, and the accompanying Turkish monolingual ideology supported by campaigns and laws resulted in the assimilation of the Sephardic Jews as well as Judeo-Spanish. The researchers concluded that forced public assimilation, family plannign, community policing and internalization led to language shift towards Turkish within the commnunity. When situated within the broader socio-historical context, it can be seen that the Arab Alawite community went through similar processes. Their assimilation started with Abdulhamid II, who made pressures on the community to quit their belief and adopt the Sunni belief. Worn with a long history of pressures and oppression, the community internalized the assimilationist expectations with the hope of deriving some comfort and utilizing basic opprtunities like schooling and employment. This alignment with the state policies continued during the nation-building process in the early years of the Turkish Republic. (Mertcan, 2013). However, unlike the “forced public assimilation” mentioned by Seloni & Sarfati (2012), the Arab Alawite community aligned with the Kemalist regime and embraced secularism to be able to redefine their position within the mainstream society (Türk, 2018). In that sense, they went through a voluntary assimilation by embracing Turkish citizenship at the expense of the loss of language and culture (Kineşçi, 2010).

Overall, participants’ language ideologies resulted in a hierarchy of Turkish, other varieties of Arabic such as the Modern Standard Arabic or Syrian Arabic and the local Arabic variety. Participant parents’ beliefs and perceptions about the importance, utility and correctness of these languages caused them to ascribe differing values to them. Although they reported to value the local Arabic variety and wanted it to be in their children’s language repertoire, their belief about its lack of utility as opposed to Turkish caused them to sideline Arabic and display a lack of agency regarding its transmission. This is in line with Curdt-Christiansen (2018) who observed that Chinese parents demonstrated a lack of agency in promoting fangyans

with their children. These parents believed fangyans were not useful for their children because of their restricted locality and lack of environment to foster it. However, associating Potunghua, the national language of China, with their identity, they used it as the default means of interaction among themselves and with their children. Furthermore, parents reported aspirations for their children to learn English, the global lingua franca, and demonstrated agency to support their children's English development due to its value on the international linguistic market.

5.3. Language Practices

Language choices of the participants depended on the interlocutor and the content of the interaction as shown in previous reserach (Bezcioğlu-Göktolga & Yağmur, 2018; Romanowski, 2021). The first generation preferred to use their default language among themselves and with the second-generation. However, while interacting with children they switched to Turkish, children's default language. The second generation also preferred to use Arabic with the first generation. In line with their ideologies, they used Turkish with their children as the mode of communication. The third generation used Turkish by default, and they were reported to understand Arabic a little. However, based on the parents' accounts and observations, five children could speak Arabic with varying degrees.

As shown by Yalım-Ege (2019) in a similar context, second generation family members were fluent in both Arabic and Turkish. As bilingual family members who could speak both languages fluently, the second generation generally accomodated to the first and third generation's language choices. In mutligenerational talk, both the first and second generation adjusted to the third generation by using Turkish, which points to child agency (Luykx 2003, 2005; Smith-Christmas, 2017).

One pattern that was unveiled during the analyses was the use of Arabic to exclude the novice child from the interaction. This strategy was usually adopted to prevent the young child who had a low level of Arabic competence from understanding the context of the conversation. One of the key participants (Peigi) in Smith-Christmas

(2016) reported that she remembered her parents use Gaelic as secret inter-parent language througout her childhood.

Language practices also showed that while grandfathers were better at using Turkish, and therefore could accomodate to children more easily, grandmothers had difficulties with using Turkish. Despite that grandmothers who could use even rudimentary Turkish were observed to adjust their language choice to the child's language preference to sustain the flow of commnication. Regarding the higher Turkish proficiency level of grandparents, the participants stated that military service, having a job, and attending to primary school led to this gendered difference. This resonated with Yalım-Ege (2019) who revealed that grandfathers had a better command of Turkish due to schooling, military service, trade or visiting friends. On the contrary, grandmothers had never left the town except for going downtown for shopping, and this limited their contact with the mainstream society leading to little contact with Turkish. However, men have left their hometown for longer periods due to military service, trade or visiting friends, and that led to more contact with Turkish on their part.

The majority of the participant parents in the present study believed that grandparents played a key role on their children's learning of Arabic. They attributed their children's competence in Arabic to the contributions of grandparents. They also highlighted that the grandparents' house constituted Arabic immersion sites rich in Arabic input. As a consequence, the findings were in line with previous research that documented positive role of grandparents (e.g. Dağdeviren-Kırmızı, 2023; Ojha, 2020; Ishizawa, 2004; Pillai et al., 2014; Ruby, 2012). Nevertheless, one parent (Meltem) held a diverging view. She maintained that by accommodating to children's language choices, it was actually the grandmothers who were leading to language shift. She believed that grandparents should adhere to their preferred language so that the child could learn it. Indeed, Ojha (2020) and Pillai et al. (2014) revealed that grandparents created a genuine need for children to use the home language and thereby contributed to language transmission and maintenance. As some of the parents stated it was not surprising that their children did not speak Arabic because with interlocutors who could understand and use Turkish even at a

minimum level, children did not need Arabic. In other words, Arabic had no functionality for children, and this reinforced their Turkish dominance. Pillai et al. (2014) suggested that the first and second generation speakers had to create a constant need for the use of the community language to render it functional. The researchers also believed that with the passing of the old generation, dynamics concerning heritage language maintenance would change if parents did not consciously use the heritage language at home. This holds true for the present study as well because the first generation is the only generation that uses Arabic as a default language. Despite the fact that grandparents frequently switch to Turkish while interacting with children, and thereby seem to contribute to language shift, they are still the main custodians of the community language in the present study. Even by providing passive exposure to the language they can foster the development of receptive skills in the community language. Furthermore, considering that parents encourage their children to use the community language with grandparents on a symbolic level on cultural occasions, grandparents can contribute to cultural and linguistic continuity at least for specific functions. This is in line with Garrett (2005), who demonstrated that the use of Kweyol for the specific genre of cursing, contributed to the maintenance of that language within the community albeit with a limited function.

The study revealed an interesting finding in that although the default language of parents and children was Turkish, the majority of the participants tended to use Arabic to express their affection and endearment to their children. This observation is in accordance with Pavlenko (2004). The study showed that some participants preferred to use their L1 to for emotional expressions because of the authenticity of L1. For instance, Sevgi stated that she preferred Arabic expressions of endearment in Arabic because she found them more sincere. In addition, it resonated with the way her own mother raised her by using these expressions. This belief was echoed by one of the participants in Pavlenko (2004) who stated that she preferred her mother tongue French for affective speech because in this way she could reproduce the sweet mother-child affective pattern which her mother used with her.

Although it was not related to family language choices, the findings demonstrated that the majority of the parents preferred to use Arabic at funeral ceremonies and on holiday celebrations. This pointed to the Complementarity Principle" (Grosjean, 1997). According to this principle, bilinguals learn and use languages for different purposes in different domains with different people. In other words, different aspects of life entail different languages. Although Turkish dominated in all public domains for the families in the present study, Arabic was restricted to the private home domain. Moreover, it also persisted in specific functions like expressing condolences and celebrating holidays likely due to the association of Arabic with religious discourse and also due to the authenticity of Arabic celebration expressions.

5.4. Lack of Parental Agency

All of the participant parents in this study reported pro-bilingual ideologies and stated that they wanted their children to learn Arabic. Nevertheless, in accordance with the widespread monolingual ideology and also their association of Turkish with social, linguistic and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1996), the parents prioritized Turkish and sidelined Arabic. Concerning Arabic transmission efforts, participants frequently stated that they *let it flow*. As external factors, the monolingual Turkish ideology positioning Turkish as the only legitimate language across the country and expectations related to school impacted parents' lack of involvement. However, parents impact beliefs concerning their own capability and responsibility in raising bilingual or monolingual children also impacted their lack of involvement (De Houwer, 1999). In other words, corroborating Nakamura (2019), internal factors as well as external factors played a role on parental agency. Diverging from Eroğlu (2022) and corroborating Perez Baez (2013), the parents in this study held weak impact beliefs about their control or influence on their children's Arabic development. These beliefs, in turn, transformed into a lack of parental agency and involvement. Focusing on the diaspora community of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec living in Los Angeles, California, Perez Baez (2013) reported that the parents in her study displayed weak impact beliefs that resulted from the assimilationist policies of the US. As a consequence, they did not consciously use language transmission efforts. Similarly, Curdt & Christiansen (2014) observed that despite holding strong

pro-Chinese ideologies, bilingual families in Singapore prioritized English due to external factors like national language policy and educational systems. As Romanoswki (2021) indicated without establishing the heritage language as the main means of interaction at home and/or without supporting it, children's productive skills in the heritage language would be undermined. In this regard, the researcher concluded that cultivating positive attitudes to the home language among children would not guarantee heritage language maintenance. The same holds for the participants in this study. Although all the families wanted their children to be Turkish-Arabic bilinguals, none of them adopted conscious or planned language management startegies to pass on Arabic to their children. Intentions do not automatically translate into actual practices, particularly when suppressed by external factors. Passive exposure to a language is not sufficient; maintaining a language requires systematic exposure and deliberate efforts. In this regard, lack of agency and involvement by the parents in the present study undermined children's language development and productive skills in Arabic, suggesting the need for more systematic language management strategies. Shen and Jiang (2023) also revealed that the level of parental involvement and commitment to the home language affected the children's attitudes and agency as well. In the present study, there was a marked lack of parental agency concerning Arabic teaching efforts. Therefore, as a general tendency children did not display interest or involvement in Arabic. Conversely, some of them showed resistance and dislike towards Arabic. Parents reported this as a reason intensifying their lack of parental involvement. In this regard, the present study suggests that there is a reciprocal relationship between parents' and children's agency as corroborated by Shen and Jing (2023). In the present study, two children (Derya and Ceren) were interested in learning Arabic. They were internally motivated children who had an aptitute to (in this case Derya) or who had been immersed in an Arabic-dominant environment from babyhood (in this case Ceren). As a consequence, other than parental involvement, an individual child's apptitude and also as shown by Gharibi and Mirhaevdi (2024), early exposure and high level of input to the community language can also be considered as important factors. Hatoss (2024) revealed that parental agency did not emerge solely from the individual, but rather, coltrolling children's language behavior was shaped by social factors such as lack of social network or other social resources. In that sense, agency cannot be only

viewed as free will, but to a certain extent be shaped by social determinants within the context. The tensions among these point to the emotive-relational aspects of FLP. In my dissertation, parents mostly displayed lack of agency or a laissez-faire attitude with regard to Arabic transmission. This study suggests that an interplay of sociopolitical factors (medium of instruction at schools) and the parents' emotional experiences may have jointly led to a lack of agency. In fact, Meltem and Gaye's experineces regarding quitting the community language transmission to be able to sustain harmony in the home domain corroborate this.

5.5. Child Agency

Earlier language socialization research viewed children as "blank states" (Luykx, 2005, p.1407) and conceptualized socialization as a one-way process. Recent conceptualization posits that children are active participants in socalization processes (Revis, 2019). The present study is consistent with this view. The study pointed to varying levels of attitudes and apptitudes towards Arabic between siblings. Within the same household, a child could have negative attitudes and little competence in Arabic while their sibling(s) could display an inclination to Arabic. The two internally motivated children in the present study (Derya and Ceren) exerted agency in favor of Arabic through their metalinguistic talk and asking adults about words/phrases in Arabic. On the other hand, some children displayed lack of willingness and resistance through medium requests (Gafaranga, 2010) or through not responding to parental language transmission efforts. The study revealed that within the same family the elder daughter occasionally aligned with her grandmother and tried to use Arabic due to her willingness to learn Arabic. On the contrary, her younger sister adopted medium requests (Gafaranga, 2010), and caused the grandmother to accommodate to her own language choice. Motivated by her desire to sustain the communication, the grandmother did not insist on using Arabic. By swicthing to the child's medium and socializing the child in this behavior, she talked "language shift into being" (Gafaranga, 2010, p. 241).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Chapter Presentation

The present concluding chapter presents an overview of the aims, research design and findings of the dissertation. It also presents the limitations of the study as well as suggestions for further research.

The aim of the present study was to explore five Arabic-Turkish bilingual families' FLPs through an ethnographic case study design. It also aimed to investigate the role of children in shaping their families' FLPs. Data obtained through participant observations, video recorded data, interviews as well as a reflexive journal consituted a rich data base and a contextualized understanding of the participant families' FLPs. Whereas fieldnotes taken during the observations and the video-recorded data provided information about the participant parents' language practices and management, the interviews helped unveil their language ideologies and attitudes. The use of multiple sources also helped achieve triangulation contributing to the study's trustworthiness.

One of the central findings of the study was the impact of ideologies on FLP formation of the families. Whereas parents' motives regarding the transmission of Arabic varied from pragmatic/practical to emotional reasons, they unanimously underlined external factors for their Turkish preference. In line with previous research, the present doctoral study showed that the monolingual ideology stemming from the one nation one language belief that was adopted in the nation-building process and expectations of school were influential in the participant families' FLP making. Nevertheless, the community's socio-historical background, personal

histories and experiences of the participants also affected the families' adoption of the broader level ideologies. An interplay of internal and external factors led the parents to prioritize Turkish over Arabic. In line with that Turkish was the default parent-child language. Transmission of Arabic mainly occurred passively through children's exposure to Arabic input from adult talk or through grandparents' interactions with the children. Intergenerational language choices revealed that as active Turkish-Arabic bilinguals, parents adjusted their language choice based on the interlocutor. Similarly, grandparents accomodated to children's language preference signalling a language shift.

The study revealed that children had varying relationships with Arabic. Differences between siblings within the same household were reported and observed. Children were observed and reported to exert agency either in favor of or agaisnt Arabic based on their disposition. As suggested by interactional data between the grandmother and her granddaughters in Family 2, while a child's positive attitudes to Arabic can foster language maintenance, negative attitudes can undermine language continuity. Based on these findings individual differences among siblings stand out as factors affecting FLP-making. In fact, individual aptitude for the community language and individual differences in siblings' proficiency level in the community language can be considered as internal factors affecting FLP making among other factors.

The study pointed to domain separation of Turkish and Arabic. As the official language, Turkish was used in public spheres by family members. Arabic was confined to home and the neighborhood as the language of adults (mostly the elderly). The findings suggest that the second generation's entering school and integration with the wider society marked a shift from Arabic to Turkish in the participants' lives. When they became parents they sustained Turkish dominance with their children as a gateway to academic success, social acceptance and integration into the mainstream society. Having undergone domain shrinkage, besides the home domain Arabic was sustained in certain ceremonial contexts such as funerals and holiday celebrations. Persistence of Arabic in such contexts can stem from the nature of such rites where authenticity and identity are foregrounded. It can also be interpreted as a subtle act of resistance to cultural assimilation. In either case,

continuity of Arabic in such contexts contributes to its preservation. Another space where Arabic persisted despite overall reduction was affective interaction between parents and children. The majority of the parents preferred to express endearment and affection to their children in Arabic, which reflected the authenticity and emotional resonance of Arabic in relation to such expressions.

In conlusion, the present study contributed to the existing body of FLP literature by exploring an underrepresented community in an authocthonous minority context. It provided rich, nuanced, situated data illustrating the forces and processes impacting FLP-making. By situating the study within the wider socio-historical context, the study aimed to reveal the processes that may implicitly have affected families' decisions about what langauge(s) to use with their children. The study revealed that FLP-making is "rarely a neutral, uncontested state of affairs" (Garrett 2011, p. 516). On the contrary, it lies at the intersection of internal and external forces which constantly influence FLP, and thereby render it a dynamic, evolving process rather than a fixed, smoothly flowing enterprise.

The study also focused on the agentive role of children in constructing FLPs. It suggested that even individual variations among siblings within the same household could alter the direction of their FLPs. Changes in aptitude for and competence in the community language among siblings could influence their FLP negotiations with adult family members.

Earlier research had attested an ongoing language shift (Cengiz, 2006; Smith-Kocamahhul, 2003) among Arabic speaking communities in Hatay. Based on the qualitative nature and small sample in the present study, making generalizations is not possible. However, the intergenerational interaction patterns, particularly accomodation of the third generation to the first, suggests and reinforces a shift from Arabic towards Turkish. As a language spoken in numerous countries across the world by millions of speakers, Arabic may secure its position among the world languages. Neverthless, if the shift is a general trend among the community, this could suggest a threat for the local variety. This scenario would require the initiation of revitalization efforts.

6.2. Limitations of the Study

The present doctoral study has contributed to the understanding of FLPs of Turkish-Arabic bilingual members of an underrepresented community. Nevertheless, it is not without limitations. One of the limitations of the study is the small number of participants drawn from two neighborhoods of a district in southern Türkiye. The findings obtained in the present study reflect perspectives of only five families living in a certain site. As a result, the findings cannot be generalized. In addition, the sample was comprised of families who were not consciously involved in language transmission efforts at the time of the study. Hence, families who adopt and implement pro-Arabic FLPs would provide different findings.

Although the aim was to interview all the participant parents, in two families only one parent was interviewed. In one of these families, during the implementation of the study, the mother tragically passed away due to a fast-progressing disease that could not be diagnosed in its early phases. In another family, despite several attempts, an interview could not be scheduled with the father due to his busy schedule.

Furthermore, the study obtained interview data related to the parents' perspectives alone. In other words, the interview data were reflective of onşy parents' perspectives. Nevertheless, as agents or significant members of a family affecting FLPs, children's and grandparents' perspectives were missing apart from informal conversations. This could limit the depth and range of perspectives pertaining to participant families' FLPs.

6.3. Suggestions for Further Research

The families in the present study were not invested in overt or consious planning regarding the transmission of Arabic. Further studies may involve samples which implement Arabic transmission efforts consciously. In this way, it may be elucidated how these families cope with the external forces mentioned by the parents in the present study.

Considering the interview data, the present study relied on parental perspectives alone. Informal conversations with grandparents and children gave an insight into their perspectives. However, for a holistic understanding of FLP interviews with family members from three generations can provide richer data. Based on individual differences in attitudes and aptitute to Arabic among siblings, FLP studies that will focus on these differences and their influence can be designed.

Considering effects of the pandemic on the evolutinary nature of the FLP of Family 3, longitudinal studies that span over years can be designed. In this family, the COVID-19 pandemic affected the language ecology of the children and influenced the FLP-making of the family. As a consequence, longitudinal studies can offer a good way to trace the evolution of FLPs and the factors affecting them.

Based on individual differences in attitudes to and aptitude forArabic among siblings, FLP studies that will focus on these differences and their influence on FLPs can be designed. In the present study, these differences were shown to influence and individual child's FLP negotiations with adults. Therefore, FLP studies taking individual differences among siblings can be conducted.

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APPENDICES

A. INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Title of the Project: Family Language Policies of Turkish-Arabic Bilingual Families Living in Hatay

Interviewer: **Interviewee:**

Time of Interview: **Date:**

Place: **Length of interview:**

Script prior to interview:

I would like to thank you once again for participating my study. As I have mentioned to you before, the purpose of my study was to explore family language policies of five Turkish-Arabic bilingual families. The study also aimed to examine children's role in shaping their families' language policies as language socializing agents. For this purpose, I asked you to record your daily interactions with your children at mealtimes. I also asked you to record your children's interactions with each other during various activities such as playtime. I had the opportunity to observe some of these interactions at your convenience as a participating family. Today, I would like to interview you about the impressions I gained from the video-recordings and my observations, and your general family interactions, language practices, beliefs and management. I'd also like to ask you questions pertaining to your language attitudes. At the beginning of the study, you signed consent forms indicating that you participate in this study voluntarily, and granted me permission to record data. I would like to record the interview based on your permission. There will be no questions that may cause discomfort in the participants, but if you feel uncomfortable at some point or decide to withdraw, please let me know. The interview will take approximately 1 hour. Before we start the interview, do you have any questions? If any questions arise during the interview, you can feel free to ask them.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

LANGUAGE PRACTICES:

1. What language(s) do you/your children/your parents speak?

2. In which contexts did you/your children/your parents acquire the languages at your/their disposal? How?
3. How good do you consider yourself/ your spouse/ your children/ your parents at Turkish and Arabic in reading, writing, listening and speaking?
4. What language(s) do family members use with each other and with grandparents?
5. What language(s) do grandparents use with each other and with your family members?
6. How do you think grandparents affect your children's Arabic acquisition?
7. Does your language choice differ based on domain or activity?
8. Have your children's language preferences and competence changed over time?
9. How do you think your children affect language choice and use in your family?
10. How do you think elder siblings affect younger siblings' language choice and use in your family?
11. What are the social, cultural, economic and political factors that affect your language preferences?
12. How have your own experiences with learning Turkish and Arabic influenced your language preferences and practices with your children?

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES (BELIEFS):
13. When your first child was born, did you discuss with your spouse about what language(s) to speak to her/him?
14. Did you and your spouse make a conscious choice about which language to teach your child/children first? Why (not)?
15. What are your beliefs about raising children bilingually?
16. How important is it for you that your children acquire Turkish? Why?
17. How important is it for you that your children acquire Arabic? Why?
18. Are you content with your family's current language practices? Why (not)? (If not, what would you like to be different?)
19. When and how did your children start to acquire their language(s)? Are you content with your children's current use and competence in their languages?
20. How do you think the community language can best be learnt?

LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT:
21. Are you and your spouse involved in any strategies to help your children learn Arabic or Turkish?
22. Are grandparents involved in any strategies to help your children learn Arabic or Turkish?
23. Do you encourage or discourage your children to use Arabic or Turkish? When and on what occasions?
24. Do you receive any external support to improve your children's language skills in Turkish and Arabic?

25. Have you ever been engaged in strategies to change the language practices in your family?
26. What resources do you have for the development of your children's Turkish and Arabic?

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES:

27. How do you feel about speaking Turkish and Arabic?
28. How do your children feel about speaking Turkish and Arabic?
29. Are your children eager to learn Arabic and Turkish?
30. What are your linguistic aspirations for your children? Why?
31. What do you think about the Arabic variety spoken in the community?
32. What do you think about the utility of Arabic within the community and in the mainstream society?
33. How do you think acquiring or using Arabic influences Turkish language development or use?
34. What do you think about mixing Arabic and Turkish?
35. What do you think about the current intergenerational transmission of Arabic in your community in general and in your family specifically? How do you feel about that?
36. What kind of obstacles/challenges do you face while transmitting Arabic to your children?
37. Is there anything else related to your FLPs that you would like to mention?

The interview has ended. Thank you for your participation.

B. TURKISH TRANSLATION/MÜLAKAT PROTOKOLÜ

Proje Başlığı: Hatay'da yaşayan Türkçe-Arapça İki dilli Ailelerin Aile Dil Politikaları

Mülakatı yapan kişi:	**Mülakat yapılan kişi:**
Mülakat saati:	**Mülakat tarihi:**
Mülakat yeri:	**Mülakat uzunluğu:**

Mülakat öncesi metin:
Öncelikle çalışmama katıldığınız için bir kez daha teşekkür etmek isterim. Daha önce de belirttiğim gibi, çalışmamın amacı beş Türkçe-Arapça iki dilli ailenin aile dil politikalarını incelemekti. Çalışma aynı zamanda dil sosyalleşme aracıları olarak çocukların aile dil politikalarını şekillendirmedeki rollerini incelemeyi amaçlıyordu. Bu doğrultuda sizden yemek vakitlerinde çocuklarınızla olan günlük etkileşimlerinizi kaydetmenizi istedim. Buna ek olarak oyun zamanı gibi çeşitli aktiviteler sırasında birbirleriyle olan etkileşimlerini kaydetmenizi istedim. Bu etkileşimlerden bazılarını katılımcı aile olarak sizin uygun olduğunuz zamanlarda gözlemleme fırsatım oldu. Bugün sizinle video kayıtları ve gözlemlerimden elde ettiğim izlenimler ve genel olarak aile içi etkileşimleriniz, dil pratikleriniz, dil inançlarınız ve dil yönetim stratejileriniz hakkında mülakat yapmak isterim. Ayrıca dil tutumlarınız ile ilgili de sorular sormak isterim. Çalışmanın başında, bu çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katıldığınızı belirten onam formlarını imzaladınız ve yolla bana veri toplama ve kayıt altına alma izni verdiniz. İzninizle bugün yapacağımız mülakatı kaydetmek isterim. Mülakatımız esnasında katılımcılarda rahatsızlık yaratabilecek herhangi bir soru olmayacak, ancak herhangi bir noktada kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz veya çekilmeye karar verişeniz lütfen bana bildirin. Mülakat yaklaşık bir saat sürecektir. Mülakata başlamadan önce herhangi bir sorunuz var mı? Mülakat esnasında herhangi bir sorunuz olursa çekinmeden sorabilirsiniz.

MÜLAKAT SORULARI
DİL PRATİKLERİ:
1. Siz/çocuklarınız/ebeveynleriniz hangi dili/dilleri konuşuyorsunuz?
2. Siz/çocuklarınız/ebeveynleriniz, sizin/onların bildiğiniz/bildiği dilleri hangi ortamlarda edindiniz/edindiler? Nasıl?
3. Kendinizi/eşinizi/çocuklarınızı/ebeveynlerinizi Türkçe ve Arapça'da okuma, yazma, dinleme ve konuşma konusunda ne kadar iyi buluyorsunuz?
4. Aile üyeleri birbirleriyle ve büyükanne ve büyükbabalarıyla hangi dili/dilleri kullanıyor?
5. Büyükanne ve büyükbabalar birbirleriyle ve aile üyeleriyle hangi dili/dilleri kullanıyor?
6. Büyükanne ve büyükbabaların çocuklarınızın Arapça edinimini nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?

7. Dil tercihiniz, alana veya aktiviteye göre farklılık gösteriyor mu?
8. Çocuklarınızın dil tercihleri ve yeterlilikleri zamanla değişti mi?
9. Çocuklarınızın ailenizdeki dil tercihlerini ve kullanımını nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?
10. Ailenizdeki büyük kardeşlerin küçük kardeşlerin dil tercihlerini ve kullanımını nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?
11. Dil tercihlerinizi etkileyen sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik ve politik faktörler nelerdir?
12. Türkçe ve Arapça öğrenme deneyimleriniz, çocuklarınızla dil tercihlerinizi ve uygulamalarınızı nasıl etkiledi?

DİL İDEOLOJİLERİ (İNANÇLAR):
13. İlk çocuğunuz doğduğunda, eşinizle onunla hangi dil(ler)i konuşacağınız konusunda konuştunuz mu?
14. Siz ve eşiniz, çocuğunuza/çocuklarınıza önce hangi dili öğreteceğiniz konusunda bilinçli bir seçim yaptınız mı? Neden?
15. Çocuklarınızı iki dilli yetiştirme konusundaki inançlarınız nelerdir?
16. Çocuklarınızın Türkçe öğrenmesi sizin için ne kadar önemli? Neden?
17. Çocuklarınızın Arapça öğrenmesi sizin için ne kadar önemli? Neden?
18. Ailenizin mevcut dil uygulamalarından memnun musunuz? Neden? (Değilse, neyin farklı olmasını isterdiniz?)
19. Çocuklarınız dillerini ne zaman ve nasıl edinmeye başladı? Çocuklarınızın mevcut dil kullanımlarından ve dillerindeki yeterliliklerinden memnun musunuz?
20. Toplum dilinin en iyi nasıl öğrenilebileceğini düşünüyorsunuz?

DİL YÖNETİMİ:
21. Siz ve eşiniz, çocuklarınızın Arapça veya Türkçe öğrenmesine yardımcı olmak için herhangi bir strateji uyguluyor musunuz?
22. Büyükanne ve büyükbabalar, çocuklarınızın Arapça veya Türkçe öğrenmesine yardımcı olmak için herhangi bir strateji uyguluyor mu?
23. Çocuklarınızı Arapça veya Türkçe kullanmaya teşvik ediyor veya engelliyor musunuz? Ne zaman ve hangi durumlarda?
24. Çocuklarınızın Türkçe ve Arapça dil becerilerini geliştirmek için herhangi bir dış destek alıyor musunuz?
25. Ailenizdeki dil uygulamalarını değiştirmek için herhangi bir strateji uyguladınız mı?
26. Çocuklarınızın Türkçe ve Arapça dillerinin gelişimi için hangi kaynaklara sahipsiniz?

DİL TUTUMLARI:
27. Türkçe ve Arapça konuşma konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
28. Çocuklarınız Türkçe ve Arapça konuşma konusunda ne düşünüyorlar?
29. Çocuklarınız Arapça ve Türkçe öğrenmeye istekli mi?
30. Çocuklarınız için dilsel beklentileriniz nelerdir? Neden?
31. Toplumda konuşulan Arapça varyantı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
32. Arapçanın topluluğunuzda ve genel olarak toplumda işe yararlığı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
33. Arapça edinmenin veya kullanmanın Türkçe dil gelişimini veya kullanımını nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?

34. Arapça ve Türkçenin konuşmada birbiriyle karıştırılması hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
35. Genel olarak toplumunuzda ve özellikle ailenizde Arapçanın kuşaklar arası aktarımı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
36. Çocuklarınıza Arapça aktarırken ne tür engellerle/zorluklarla karşılaşıyorsunuz?
37. Aile Dil Planlamanızla ilgili belirtmek istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?

Röportaj sona erdi. Katılımınız için teşekkür ederiz.

C. AN EXCERPT FROM PERSONAL REFLEXIVITY

Date: 28.01.2023

[…] Looking back, the first time I came to recognize my 'otherness' as a member of an Arab Alawite community, was at university. When I started university and met new people, whenever I was asked where I was from and I replied saying 'Hatay', the people or friends I newly met would ask me whether I was of Arab descent. I'd say 'Yes', and each time, I said 'Yes', the realization of being 'the other' would strike me. I was not approached in an overtly bad way due to my Arab origin, but I cannot say the same for my Alawite identity. Again, no overt reaction, but some people would cast suspicious or uncertain looks at me when I said I was 'Alawite'. Some would even mention the tell-tale stories taught to them about the Alawites (Turks/Kurd/Arab).

Although I had Arab Alawite classmates at high school who claimed they could not speak or understand Arabic despite the fact that they could (probably because they viewed Arabic as non-prestigious or associated it with being rural or peasant), I never had a bad attitude to being an Arab Alawite. Nevertheless, it was not something I previously embraced, either. It was at university that I started to adopt this identity with greater awareness and pride. During that time, I met a circle of friends, all of whom were from Hatay. They were all Arab Alawites, and they were engaged in some cultural activities under the roof of an association for people from the Hatay Province. There was [redacted] Hoca, an Arab Alawite individual from [redacted] working at a state school in İstanbul, and was leading a theatre group formed by himself and that circle of friends. They were engaged with the mother tongue issue, the local Arabic variety that we were losing**,** and in an attempt to revive interest and also as a protest against stigmatization, they were writing Arabic plays and acting them out. I became part of that group and contributed to their activites. At that time, I started to question things I had never questioned before such as why one

part of my identity, actually one part the whole community's identity had been overlooked or suppressed. Or why some Arab Alawite individuals themselves denied this identity, looked down on and stigmatized their mother tongue Arabic. As a consequence, I started to embrace the other, unseen part of my hybrid identity more tightly and started to acknowledge the richness and beauty of having a distinct culture in addition to the Turkish values and culture I possessed. And I started to resent those who stigmatize or marginalize differences based on tell-tale stories instead of seeing them as richness. I started to resent the members of my own community for looking down on community members who were just 'living their identity'. Of course, not everyone is supposed to adopt a positive attitude to their Arab origin or mother tongue, but I'd rather they would just dig up the sources of their thoughts or beliefs and check if they are valid or not instead of solidifying the dominant, biased and derogatory discourse about our community.

I remember an incident in which I met an Arab Language Philologist, also a community member, named [redacted]. My sister-in-law had met him when she was writing her MA thesis. Once they visited me in our house because he wanted to meet me due to our shared interest in the mother tongue. When we were talking about the importance of our mother tongue, despite my FLP involving teaching my daughter our mother tongue-our own local variety-, I said something like 'Our Arabic is not real Arabic. It's nonsense.' He told me that he heard that kind of statements from many community members, and said we should value our mother tongue as it is. After all, it was a language that helped us to communicate with the elderly, and also included a rich culture. That moment was a kind of epiphany for me, and I tried to shift my perspective to a more positive one. Upon this incident, I started to search for Arabic words instead of using Turkish ones when I didn't know a word. Or I tried to learn Arabic words instead of using the Turkish inflected or derived ones. In short, I have been trying to put more effort into using our Arabic properly and to be a good model when using it with my daughter. I mean instead of criticizing or questioning the appropriateness of our local Arabic variety, now I'm trying to improve it. I've also been trying to create an awareness in people who have such thoughts about our variety as I had earlier, and use the correct options instead of forsaking the language.

D. ADAPTED TOPIC TRANSCRIPTION SHEET

Tape number: **Date:**

Family: **Setting:**

Type of activity:

Time	**Direction and language of interaction**	**Type of interaction (content)**	**Language ideologies**	**Language practices**	**Language management**

Adapted from: Eröz (2003)

E. SAMPLE TOPIC TRANSCRIPTION SHEET

Tape number: 1 **Date:** 16.12.2020
Family: 3 **Setting:** Living room
Type of activity: Watching TV, storytelling

Time	Direction and language of interaction	Type of interaction (content)	Language ideologies	Language practices	Language management
00.00	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Meltem calls Burak to his desk. She tells him that she brought him chocolate milk. Burak is watching a cartoon. Meltem is asking him about it. Meltem "Ne oluyor çizgi filmde? Hı? Bana da anlatsana." Burak "Bu mutlu." Meltem "Ee? Bu mu umutlu?" Burak "Ey". Meltem further asks Burak about the cartoon. Burak tells her that she can understand if she watches it. Meltem says she doesn't know the characters and asks him to tell about them. He tells her about them.		One-word codeswitching	
01.37	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Baby sister starts to whine. Meltem says she is fussy. She suggests that they tell her a story. Burak says only a little. Meltem turns off the TV. She tells Burak to tell a story when drinking his milk. Burak starts to tell a made-up story about a boy, his grandfather and a turtle. (B uses 'Ey' at some point when he's telling the story, too). Meltem asks whether she knows that turtle, whether it is the one in the garden. He says no. Meltem asks him if he knows another story about a turtle. She gives him clues by asking whether the turtle in the story was doing sth with a rabbit or not. Burak is palying with the hair elastic on his head. Meltem suggests they unfasten it and does so. She tidies his hair.		One-word codeswtching	
03.53	B-M (TR) M-B (TR)	Burak looks at the glass of milk and says "Kahverengi." Meltem says because it is chocolate milk. He takes a sip. Meltem asks him whether it tastes good or not. Burak says 'hm mm'. Meltem asks what he should say when it tastes good. Burak says 'Bon apetit.' Meltem laughs and says it'S her who should say that. Burak is putting his hand over the glass. Meltem tells him not to put his hand over the glass. Meltem says it's her who should say 'Bon apetit.' and asks Burak what he should say. Burak			Pragmatic socialization

		takes a biscuit from the plate and tries to take the two pieces apart. Meltem tells him these are not easily separated. Burak tells her to divide one into halves. Meltem says she'll try to do one and again asks Burak what he should say. Burak says "Thank you." in a shy manner. Meltem says "What else?" Burak says "God bless your hands." Meltem says "Bon apetit" with smile voice.			
05.28	M-U (TR) U-B (TR) B-U (TR)	Umut comes in, Meltem asks him whether he finished his lessons. He says the first one is over. Umut asks Burak whether he is having breakfast. He asks him whether he will eat with them. He tells Burak to come near him so he will see how tall he is. Burak suggests playing games. Umut says one cannot play when eating, but that Burak can come near him to see who is bigger. Burak stands near his father, who is crouching down. Umut says Burak is not that big, but after he eats his breakfast with them he will be bigger. Meltem claps and asks him if he will eat.			
06.43	M-Ü (TR) U-B mostly TR, but AR-TR CS, as well.	Meltem tells Umut with smile voice that Burak had his hair put up with a hair elastic, and that Umut didn't see it. Umut smiles and looks at Burak and asks whether he had his hair put up. B laughs and says 'hm mm.'. Meltem shows her hair elastic and confirms that saying Burak wanted her hair elastic a lot. Umut overlaps and waving his hand up and down in the air says "3ayb 3ayb. Toka takılır mı ya?" Meltem says he insisted a lot. Umut turns to Burak and asks who has hair put up with a hair elastic. Burak looks and smiles at both Meltem and Umut. Umut says "Huh?" and asks whether Barış can put his hair up. Burak does not respond. They all smile		The father uses mostly Turkish with Burak, but he also uses one-word switches such as the one in this section.	
07.04	M-B (TR) U-B (TR) M-U (TR)	Burak bends towards his father and hits his forehead with his finger. Meltem tells him not to, and adds that she didn't like that. She says he should talk instead of doing that. Umut says he is sad because Burak hurt him. He tells Burak to kiss him so that they would make piece. Meltem says he'd better not because he has chocolate on his mouth. Meltem and Umut say Burak has chocolate moustache.			
07.31	B-U (TR) U-B (TR) M-B (TR)	Burak holds the glass, Umut tells him to be careful not to spill it. Burak streches his hand with the glass towards his father. Umut says he doesn't want to drink. Burak insists and Umut says he doesn't like chocolate. Umut asks Burak whether			

		to hold the glass for him, Burak agrees. Meltem overlaps and asks Burak how she is making that drink. Burak doesn't repsond. Meltem asks again. Looking at Burak, Umut wags his head from side to side as if wondering. Burak doesn't respond. Umut tells them he is going because he has a lesson. Umut waves and says Bye, and Burak waves back.			
08.40	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Meltem says if he tells a story in a good way, she has a nice surprise for him. She gives clues and says it is about eggs. Burak says he doesn't want to eat eggs. Meltem says they won't eat. Burak understands what the surprise is (Dying egg shells or drawing on them with board markers.) Meltem tells him that if he tells her the story of three pigs, they will do sth with the eggs. Burak starts to tell the story. Meltem asks clarification questions at times. They co-construct the story. Meltem asks sth while Burak is telling the story, Burak answers using 'Ey.'		One-word codeswitches	
16.40		Burak finishes the story. Meltem goes to get the suprise; the eggshells and boardmarkers. She holds the shell, and Burak paints it.			
19.57	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Meltem tells Burak that she sneaked into the room in which his father is doing his lessons, and got the boardmarkers. She asks him what his father is teaching and Burak says maths. They also talk about getting his hair cut. Burak tells Meltem that he wants his hair as long as his Meltem's. Meltem tells him that he cannot comb his hair if it gets that long. Meltem asks him what they drew on the egg shells previously. Burak says a happy face and a sleepy face. Burak gives the shell to Meltem and Meltem goes on dying it. She says he is supposed to dye it. Burak says he is tired. Meltem asks what made him feel tired.			
26.00	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Meltem draws a face on Burak's palm and tells Burak to voice it. Burak pretends to be a robot and tells Meltem that he wants eat fruit, eat food, play games, and have a bath. Meltem says he may vanish if he has a bath. They laugh.			
29.08	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Meltem tells Burak to draw a face on the eggshell they dyed. She tells him what an angry person does, Burak mimicks it. Then Burak draws an eyebrow. He draws the other one in a different way. Meltem tells him how to draw eyebrows. Burak also draws a crooked mouth and has fun while doing that. Meltem suggests that they draw its hair. Meltem asks how hair			

		can be. She asks about different types of hair- curly, straight, long, short? Burak says he want to draw all types of hair. Meltem first rejects than says Ok saying that the eyebrows were not the same either.			
33.48	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Meltem takes the other shell from inside the box in front of her. She tells Burak to draw black eyes on it. Burak says no. He wants to dye it with red. Meltem says they dyed the other one red. Meltem asks Burak to draw the curtains, to look at the shells they dyed perviously and tell her what colour the other egg shells they had previously died were. She finally suggests that he does not draw a face but different patterns using black and red. Burak wants his Meltem to draw on his hand again she tells him that she drew one not to beak his heart but they can no more draw on his hand. She says next time they can draw more things on his hands using finger paint or water colur.			
36.00	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Burak starts to draw on the shell with the black board marker. He laughs as he draws eyebrows, eyes and other things. Meltem suggests that they draw environment on it. Burak repeats the word environment. Meltem explains what environment is. She suggests that he can draw trees and mountains.			Teaching a new word (Çevre)
38.37	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Meltem says sth has occured to her and asks Burak what was the name of the thing that his father got from the supermarket, and that makes them strong when they eat it. He says he is thinking. Meltem asks again. Burak says the one who eats it can carry heavy things. Knowing that Burak refers to the cartoon Popeye she mentions that cartoon. Meanwhile Meltem is still holding the shell, and Burak is drawing things on it.			
40.30		Meltem tells Burak that she went to İstanbul. Burak says he will go as well. Meltem asks how. He says that he'll go by earning money. Meltem asks him how he'll earn money. He says by teaching. Meltem asks how he'll teach- online or by going to school. He says by going to school. She asks if he has a teacher. He says yes. He pretends to go to school by running to the corridor and coming back. He wants to go back but Meltem calls him back and tells him she'll get permission from his teacher, and ask her to give them time till they finish drawing on the egg shell. Burak says his teacher will get angry with them. Burak "Sana çok kızgın olur." Meltem "Bana mı		One-word codeswitch in the end.	Implicit correction through recasts in the final part of this section.

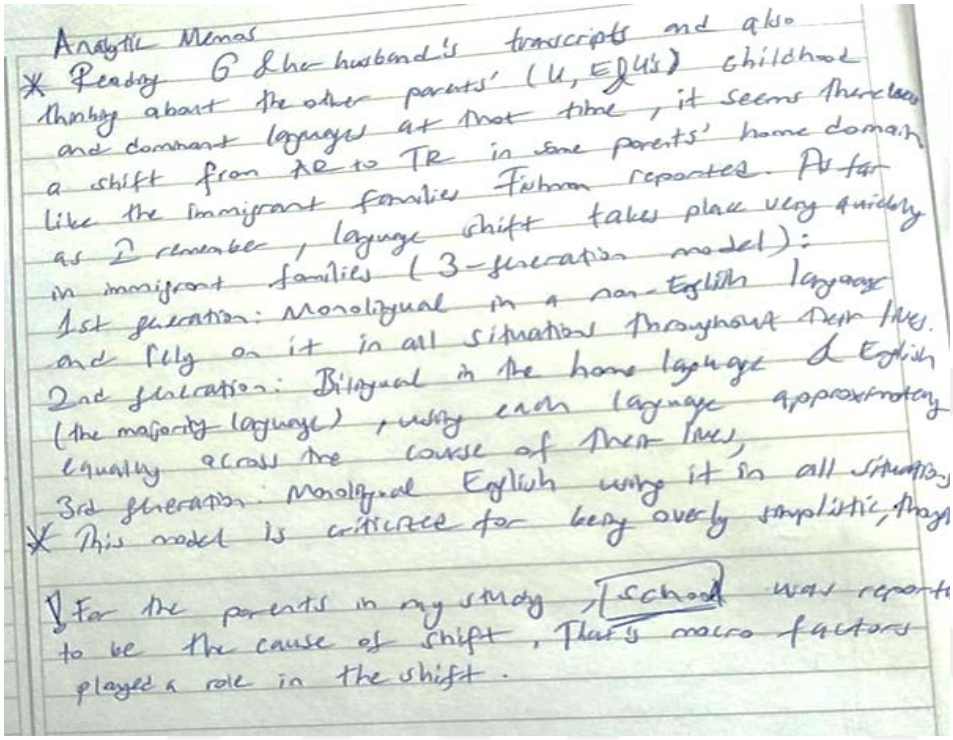
		kızar?" Burak 'Ey.'			
43.14	U-M (TR) M-U (TR) U+M-B (TR)	Umut comes in saying "Her yanım dökülüyor." Meltem tells Umut that Burak said his teacher gets angry with them. They ask him what he learns at school.			
45. 20	B-U (TR) U-B (TR) B-U (AR-One word CS) U-B (AR One word CS) B-U (TR) U-B (TR) B-U (TR) U-B (AR One word CS) B-U (TR) U-B (TR)	Burak asks Umut if they can play with lego bricks. Um asks him whether he wants to play with the bricks. Burak answers using 'Ey' (meaning 'Yes') Umut also uses Arabic saying 'Le le' (meaning 'No no'). Burak says "Yüsseen (i.e Lütfeen). Umut suggests they dye egg shells first. Burk says that's not possible. Umut asks 'why?' using Arabic ('Laşo?') Burak says they can only do the things the they ask them to do. Umut asks Burak who asked what?		There are some common one-word codeswitches in Umut's and Burak's interaction; however, their main language of interaction is Turkish.	
45.35	M-U (TR) B-M+U (TR)	Burak starts to put the lego bricks side by side. Meltem tells Umut that there were lots of them (lego bricks of a certain size), but they are lost now. She asks him whether he knows where they are. Umut wags his head. He says he knows there were lots of them but he doesn't know where they are. Burak says these are enough for him. Meltem says why he wasn't telling her the same thing earlier that day. Umut asks what he had said. Meltem tells him that Burak said these lego bricks were not enough for him, and he wanted he new ones. Burak says that's because now he is doing sth else with the bricks. Meltem asks Burak if he knows where they are. He says no.			
46.36	M-U (TR) U-M (TR)	Umut walks towards baby's crib. Meltem asks whether he is looking for the baby. He says yes. She says she is sleeping on the couch near her. They laugh. She says the baby is fussy today, and that she threw up a bit.			
46.44	B-U (TR) U-B (TR) M-U (TR) U-M (TR) U-B (TR) M-B (TR) U-B (TR) M-U (TR)	Burak whines and calls his father several times. Umut walks towards him and attentively asks what he wants. Burak tells him to play with lego bricks. Umut says Burak is already playing with them. Burak suggests that they play together. Umut says he has a lesson. Meltem asks Umut whether he told his class about make-up lessons to be done on Saturday. Umut says yes. She asks whether they've determined the time. Umut says no. Burak pleads his dad to play together. Burak shows his father some pictures on the lego box's lid. They talk about them. Umut gives Burak lego bricks of different colours			Pragmatic socialization

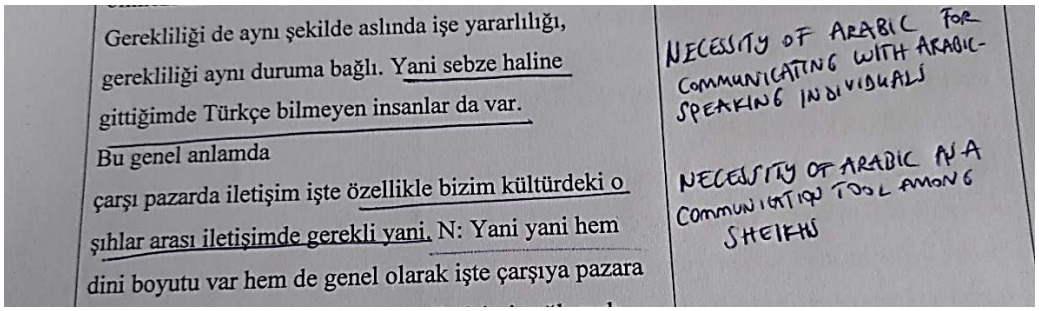
		and helps Burak build one of the things on the picture. Umut tells Burak he is going to teach his lesson. Meltem says “Ne derler?” Burak doesn’t respond. Umut says “İyi dersler”. Meltem says “Hadi iyi dersler.” Then Meltem and Burak start to talk about the thing that his father and he made with the lego bricks.			
49.50	M-B (TR) B-M (TR)	Meltem draws the curtain. She and Burak talk about the rain. Meltem tells him that she saw a tiny bird. Burak runs to the window. They see another bird. They talk about them. She reminds him of a time when a bird got into their house. She asks him if he would like to have a pet bird like the one in his maternal granny’s house. He says yes. She says whenever it flies, he gets scared. Then she goes to the terrace and tells Burak to tell him where to put the egg shell. Burak gets angry and says he wants to do it. She comes back with the shell and tells him they can go out and he can put it wherever he wants when the rain stops.			
53.00	B-M (TR) M-B (TR)	Burak directs his attention to the cam and says he wants to take pictures. Meltem tells him to pose and after he does so, Meltem ends the reocrding saying it is time to end it now that he realized it.			

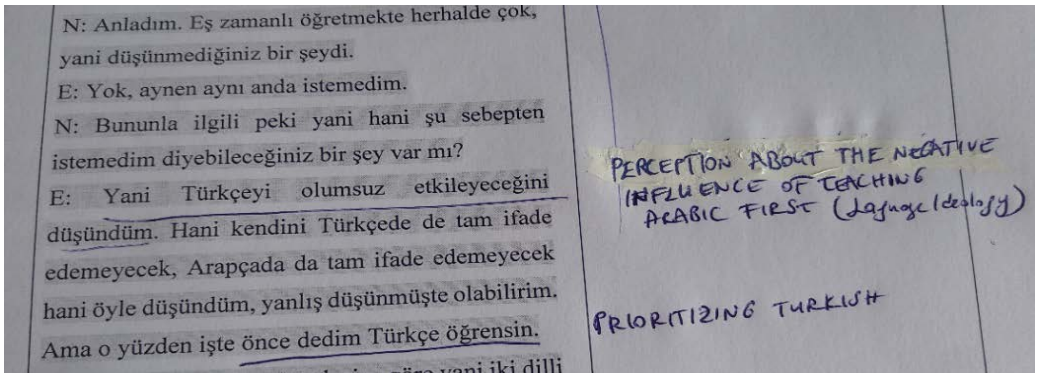
General observations: The mother uses games as opportunities to teach her son new concepts or revise vocabulary in Turkish. The parents do not correct every single pronunciation mistake (e.g. Yüssen-Lütfen) by Burak. (As revealed in other recordings, when they correct pronunciation, they do it implicitly in the form of recasts).

Patterns observed: The father and Burak have certain one-word codeswitches, but their main means of communication is Turkish.

F. PRE-CODING AND INITIAL IDEAS







G. FAMILY-SPECIFIC FAMILIARIZATION NOTES

4. Family 4-Sevgi

- During the interview an also observations, Sevgi repeatedly indicated her ideas about fused lects. She emphasized that she wanted her children to speak both Arabic and Turkish, and viewed it as positive for her children to grow up with two languages. Nevertheless, she had big reactions to using Turkish words as if they were Arabic (Küllük) and vice versa (Devraya gitmek), and believed that this caused confusion in children. That is, she emphasized the need to use 'pure' Arabic or Turkish. In addition, she had a negative attitude to the local Arabic variety, and seemed to value standard Arabic more. She wanted her children to learn 'gerçek' (Eng., real) Arapça rather than the 'saçma sapan' (Eng., nonsensical) local variety. Obviously, her personal experiences led to these conceptions (the visit of her uncle's employer from Saudi Arabia as well as coffee cup reading to the Syrian daughter-in-law.)
- Sevgi seemed to value English besides ('real') Arabic. She was sending her daughter to an English course and was planning to send her to Quran course so that she could learn literacy and improve her skills. The place/ranking of languages on the local market must be affecting her decisions.
- Sevgi underscored the environment and the school effect on the dominance of Turkish. 'İster istemez. Türkiye'de yaşıyorsun… Okul, ödevler, okumalar…'
- Despite the fact that Sevgi's dominant language with children was Turkish, she confirmed using Arabic as a language of endearment both with husband and children.
- Sevgi stated her content with her children's contributing to their GM's Turkish while the GM was contributing to children's Arabic skills. She said there was a mutual contribution to both parties' weaker language development.
- Like Ulaş, Sevgi also stated a difference between her children's aptitude for Arabic.

- Laissez faire attitude-‘Oluruna bırakmışım’. Also lack of agency.
- Regarding correcting Arabic- denial of responsibility and agency. It’s only the elderly who can make the local Arabic more ‘correct’ or ‘standard’ by using original Arabic words instead of Turkish ones. Eg. Küllük vs niffada oda/kat3a vs ğırfe.
- Despite her (negative) assumptions about the local variety of Arabic spoken by the community, Sevgi mentioned that she feels confident because of being able to speak Arabic in cases where people ask for language brokers in domestic intercultural encounters, particularly after the influx of Syrian immigrants.

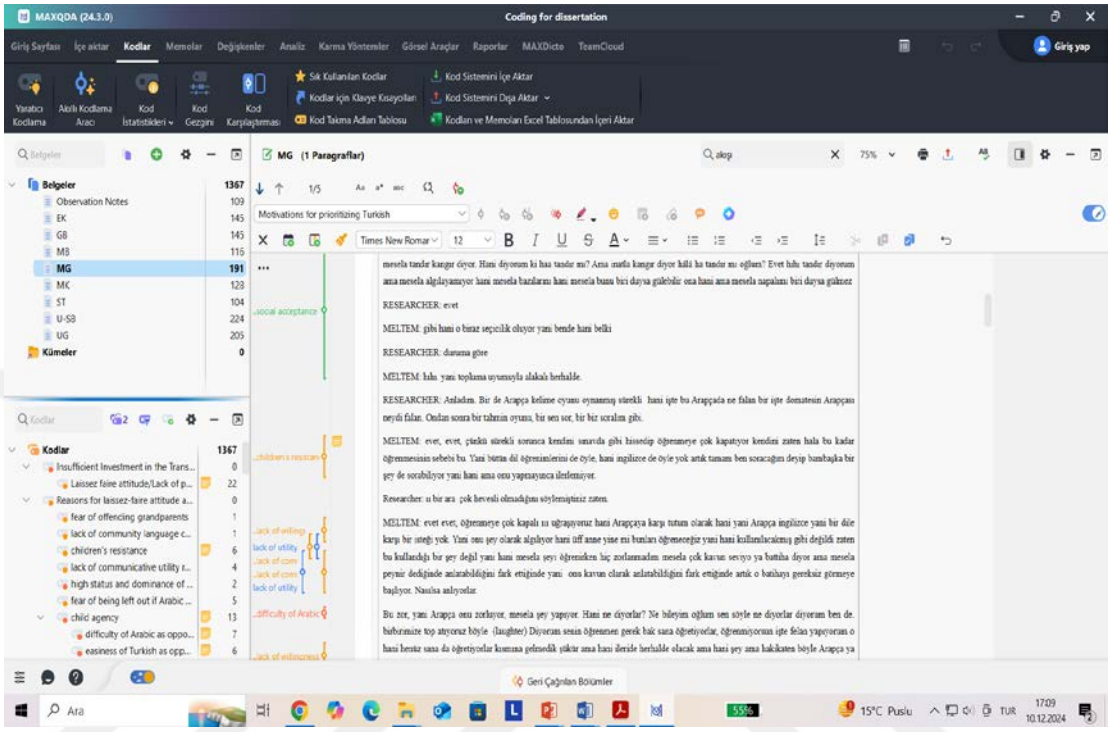
H. OVERALL FAMILIARIZATION NOTES

- All the Arabic-Turkish bilingual parents except for Sevgi were Arabic dominant in their childhood. They acquired Arabic in their home domain. They learnt Turkish when they started school. (Gaye and Esra mentioned the difficulties they faced due to lack of Turkish speaking skills when they started school. This affected their language preference with their children.)
- These parents themselves experienced a language shift towards Turkish starting with their enrolment to school. They highlighted their expanding circles through schooling and also getting a job as the motives for their shift to Turkish. Another thing that they mentioned about the shift was that it happened naturally and inevitably; not as a result of a conscious choice. In other words, the demands of the time led to an inevitable shift. I think this shift impacted their choice of Turkish with their children. As some of them indicated, Arabic remained within the confines of the house, so had limited functions. As a result, the parents could not do pass Arabic on to their children despite wishing to do so because of the demands of the modern day society. Plus, it was not an essential tool for communication because Turkish was the only valid language in every domain.
- All the participant parents (including the L1-Turkish speaking mother) reported positive perceptions about bilingualism. Some of them shared their language brokering experiences as bilingual speakers. Parents' motives for teaching their children Arabic varied from pragmatic to emotional motives (e.g. necessity of Arabic for ethnic identity, possible economic benefits, necessity of Arabic to communicate with grandparents and the elderly easily, to sustain the culture). Although their motives for teaching Arabic varied, they all reported that they wanted their children to be Turkish-Arabic bilinguals.
- In all families, interlocutor and topic (content of the conversation) affected language choice. Particularly second generation parents could adjust their

anguage based on their addressee because they could speak both Arabic and Turkish.

- Parents' remarks suggested that they ascribe greater value and utility to Turkish because it's valid in every domain and it's the language of schools. They want their children to learn Arabic, but Turkish comes first. In addition, they mostly lacked parental agency. I mean they were not involved in remarkable Arabic teaching efforts. In that sense, they just have a declared wish about their children's learning of Arabic. (Wish without involvement or effort)
- All the parents except for the L1-Turkish mother believed that grandparents have a positive role on their children's learning of Arabic. Grandfathers and grandmothers who spoke a little Turkish were reported (in some cases also observed) to accommodate to children's preference of Turkish, Still, grandparents were seen as a contribution to the children's Arabic learning process. Grandparents' houses were perceived as places rich in Arabic input, as well. The L1-Turkish speaking mother diverged from the other parents. According to her, grandparents (esp. grandmothers) undermine the process because they switch to Turkish when speaking with children. She believed that they should keep speaking Arabic with children to transmit it.

I. DATA ANALYSIS ON MAXQDA



J. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

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APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

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21 Ocak 2020

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Betil ERÖZ TUĞA

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Neşe GÜZELŞEMME'nin "Family Language Policies and Language Shift in Turkish-Arabic Bilingual Families in an Arabic-Speaking Minority Context"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **041-ODTU-2020** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

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Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN
Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
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Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL
Üye

K. ARABIC TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

Patlamalı Ünsüzler

ب	*b*		Çiftdudaksıl, ötümlü
ت	*t*		Dişsil, ötümsüz
ط	*ṭ*		Dişsil, artdamak çıkışlı, ötümsüz
د	*d*		Dişsil, ötümlü
ض	*ḍ*		Dişsil, artdamak çıkışlı, ötümlü
ك	*k*		Damaksıl, ötümsüz
	ḳ		Artdamak, ötümsüz
	g		Damaksıl, ötümlü
ق	*q*		Küçükdil, ötümsüz
ا	ʾ		Gırtlaksıl, ötümsüz

YARI KAPANTILI

	č	(*ç*)	Diş-damak, ötümsüz
ج	*ǧ*	(*c*)	Diş-damak, ötümlü

SÜRTÜNÜCÜ ÜNSÜZLER

ف	*f*		Dişsil-dudaksıl, ötümsüz
ث	*t̲*	(*s̲*)	Dişsil, peltek, ötümsüz

ذ	ḏ	(z̲)	Dişsil peltek, ötümlü
ظ	ẓ		Dişsil, peltek, artdamak çıkışlı, ötümlü
خ	x	(h̲)	Artdamak, ötümsüz
غ	ġ		Artdamak, ötümlü
ح	ḥ		Yutaksıl, ötümsüz
ع	ʿ		Yutaksıl, ötümlü
ه	h		Gırtlaksıl, ötümsüz

ISLIKLI ÜNSÜZLER

س	s		Dişsil, ötümsüz
ص	ṣ		Dişsil, artdamak çıkışlı, ötümsüz
	z		Dişsil, ötümlü
	ẓ		Dişsil, artdamak çıkışlı, ötümlü
ش	š	(ş)	Diş-damak, ötümsüz
	ž	(j)	Diş-damak, ötümlü

YAN ÜNSÜZLER

ل	l		Dişsil, ötümlü
	ḷ		Dişsil, artdamak çıkışlı, ötümsüz

TİTREK ÜNSÜZLER

ر	r		Dişsil, ötümlü
	ṛ		Dişsil, artdamak çıkışlı, ötümlü

GENİZSİL ÜNSÜZLER

م	*m*		Çiftdudaksıl, ötümlü
	m̩		Çiftdudaksıl, artdamak çıkışlı, ötümlü
ن	*n*		Dişsil, ötümlü

YARI ÜNLÜLER

و	*w*		Çiftdudak
ي	*y*		Damaksıl

KISA ÜNLÜLER

	i		Düz, ön, yüksek
	e		Düz, ön, ortaünlü (kapalı)
	ä		Düz, ön, ortaünlü (açık)
	a		Düz, ön, düşük
	ə	(*ı*)	Düz, orta, ortaünlü
	u		Yuvarlak, arka, yüksek
	o		Yuvarlak, arka, ortaünlü

UZUN ÜNLÜLER

	ī		Düz, ön, yüksek
	ē		Düz, ön, ortaünlü
	ā		Düz, ön, düşük
	ū		Yuvarlak, arka, yüksek

Source: Ağbaght (2014, p. VVIII)

L. JEFFERSON TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

The Jefferson Transcription System (Taken and adapted from http://www-staff.lboro.ac.uk/~ssjap/transcription/transcription.htm)

The transcription system uses standard punctuation marks (comma, stop, question mark); however, in the system they mark intonation rather than syntax. Arrows are used for more extreme intonational contours and should be used sparingly. The system marks noticeable emphasis, volume shifts, and so on. A generally loud speaker should not be rendered in capitals throughout.

[ ]	Square brackets mark the start and end of overlapping speech. They are aligned to mark the precise position of overlap as in the example below.
↑ ↓	Vertical arrows precede marked pitch movement, over and above normal rhythms of speech. They are used for notable changes in pitch beyond those represented by stops, commas and question marks.
→	Side arrows are used to draw attention to features of talk that are relevant to the current analysis.
Underlining	indicates emphasis; the extent of underlining within individual words locates emphasis and also indicates how heavy it is.
CAPITALS	mark speech that is hearably louder than surrounding speech. This is beyond the increase in volume that comes as a by product of emphasis.
°↑I know it,°	'degree' signs enclose hearably quieter speech.
that's r*ight.	Asterisks precede a 'squeaky' vocal delivery.
(0.4)	Numbers in round brackets measure pauses in seconds (in this case, 4 tenths of a second). If they are not part of a particular speaker's talk they should be on a new line. If in doubt use a new line.
(.)	A micropause, hearable but too short to measure.
((stoccato))	Additional comments from the transcriber, e.g. about features of context or delivery.
she wa::nted	Colons show degrees of elongation of the prior sound; the more colons, the more elongation.
hhh	Aspiration (out-breaths); proportionally as for colons.
.hhh	Inspiration (in-breaths); proportionally as for colons.
Yeh,	'Continuation' marker, speaker has not finished; marked by fall-rise or weak rising intonation, as when delivering a list.
y'know?	Question marks signal stronger, 'questioning' intonation, irrespective of grammar.
Yeh.	Full stops mark falling, stopping intonation ('final contour'), irrespective of grammar, and not necessarily followed by a pause.
bu-u-	hyphens mark a cut-off of the preceding sound.
>he said<	'greater than' and 'lesser than' signs enclose speeded-up talk. Occasionally they are used the other way round for slower talk.
solid.= =We had	'Equals' signs mark the immediate 'latching' of successive talk, whether of one or more speakers, with no interval.
heh heh	Voiced laughter. Can have other symbols added, such as underlinings, pitch movement, extra aspiration, etc.

sto(h)p i(h)t	Laughter within speech is signalled by h's in round brackets.

Additional notation for crying and similar 'emotional expression' (from Hepburn, 2004)

°°help°°	Whispering – enclosed by double degree signs.
.shih	Wet sniff.
.skuh	Snorty sniff.
~grandson~	Wobbly voice – enclosed by tildes.
↑↑Sorry	Very high pitch – represented by one or more upward arrows.
k(hh)ay hhhelp	*Aspiration in speech* – an 'h' represents aspiration: in parenthesis indicates a sharper more plosive sound outside parenthesis indicates a softer more breathy sound
Huhh .hhih Hhuyuhh >hhuh<	*Sobbing* – combinations of 'hhs', some with full stops before them to indicate inhaled rather than exhaled, many have voiced vowels, some also have voiced consonants. If sharply inhaled or exhaled enclosed in the 'greater than/less than' symbols (> <).
↑Mm:. hh (3.5)	*Silence* – numbers in parentheses represent silence in tenths of a second.

Additional notation used

$funny$	Smile voice – laughing/chuckling between markers
#sad#	Talk between markers is croaky
t, d,	Boldface consonant represent a hardened sound

Source: https://ugc.futurelearn.com/uploads/files/47/8b/478b50f3-890e-4f15-9f6b-b30563b1229d/Jefferson_transcription_symbols.pdf

M. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, name: Büyükaşık Güzelşemme, Neşe

Nationality: Turkish

E-mail:

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution
Ph.D (2016-2025)	Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, Türkiye English Language Teaching Ph.D. Program-Language Studies Track
MA (2010-2015)	Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Hatay, Türkiye English Language Teaching MA Program
BA (2005-2009)	İstanbul University, İstanbul, Türkiye Department of English Language Teaching
High School (2000-2004)	Antakya Foreign Language Intensive High School

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Institution	Job Title
2011-Present	Hatay Mustafa Kemal University	EFL Instructor

PUBLICATIONS

Peer Reviewed Journal Articles:

1. Cengiz, A. K. & Güzelşemme, N. (2021). Antakya – Harbiye ve Samandag Arapcasında Gündelik Dilde Kullanılan Kargışlar / Beddualar. *Nüsha*, 21(52), 247-268., Doi: 10.32330/nusha.886070 (Yayın No: 8670149)

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Languages: Turkish (Native), Arabic (Native), English (Advanced), German (Beginner)

N. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET
DİL HİYERARŞİLERİ İŞLEYİŞTE: HATAY'DA YAŞAYAN TÜRKÇE-ARAPÇA İKİ DİLLİ AİLELERİN AİLE DİL POLİTİKALARI

GİRİŞ

Bu doktora çalışmasının amacı Hatay'da yaşayan Türkçe-Arapça iki dilli ailelerin aile dil politikalarını ve çocukların aile dil politikaları üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektir. Çalışma, katılımcı ailelerin aile dil politikalarını Spolsky'nin (2004) üç bileşenli dil politika modeline dayanarak incelemeyi ve ailelerin dil ideolojilerini, dil pratiklerini ve dil yönetim stratejilerini ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir.

Çalışmanın Arka Planı

Anadilim Arapça ve kimliğimle ilgili kişisel deneyimlerim bu doktora çalışmasını seçmemde ve bu çalışmaya olan bağlılığımda belirleyici oldu. Bu deneyimler zamanla bir sorumluluk bilincine ve akademik ilgiye dönüştü. Aslında bu durum, anadil ve kimlik meselesine yönelik duygusal duruşumu etkileyen bir dizi olayın sonucunda ortaya çıktı. Bu çalışmanın katılımcılarının dile getirdiği endişelere benzer şekilde, ailem de beni ve kardeşlerimi sıralı iki dilli olarak yetiştirmeye bilinçli olarak karar vermişti. Daha açık ifade etmek gerekirse, tek dilli Arapça konuşucuları olarak, okulda yaşadıkları olumsuz deneyimlere dayanarak annem ve babam bizlerle başlangıçta sadece Türkçe konuştular. Annemin anlattıklarına göre, kendisi ve babam bizim de onlar gibi okulda zorluk yaşamamızı istemedikleri için Türkçeyi bizim ilk dilimiz olarak seçtiler. Dolayısıyla ben ve kardeşlerim Arapçayı, ana iletişim dilleri Arapça olan büyükanne ve büyükbabamız ile kuzenlerimizle etkileşim sonucu öğrenmişiz. Her ne kadar çocukluğumuzda Türkçeye daha hakim olsak ve Arapça konuşma becerilerimiz zayıf olsa da Arapça zihnimde sıcaklık, kültürel yakınlık, çocukluk anıları ve büyüklerimle kurduğum duygusal bağ ile özdeşleşmiş anlamlı bir yere sahiptir.

Çocukluğumda ailemin Arap kimliğimizden açıkça bahsettiğini hiç hatırlamıyorum. Alevi kimliğimizden zaman zaman bahsedilse de bu kimlik de hiçbir zaman ön plana çıkarılmadı. Aslında etnik kökenime dair farkındalığım üniversiteye başlayana kadar ortaya çıkmadı. Üniversiteye başladığımda yeni tanıştığım arkadaşlarım nereli olduğumu sorar "Hataylıyım" diye cevap verirdim. Bunun üzerine Arap olup olmadığımı sorarlardı ve bu soruya her "Evet" yanıtımda etnik kimliğime dair farkındalığım biraz daha derinleşti. O dönemde kimliğime olan yabancılığımı fark ettim. İlginçtir ki ne ailem ne de içinde büyüdüğüm topluluk kökenimizi açık bir inkar içinde değillerdi. Daha ziyade bu konu üzerinde çok konuşulmadan bırakılmış ya da geniş topluma uyum sağlama ve asimilasyon sürecinin bir parçası olarak geri plana itilmişti. Bu dönemde kimliğimin bir parçasının susturulmuş veya bastırılmış olduğunu, ancak bunun bilinçli bir karar değil topluluğumda kuşaklar boyunca aktarılan ve dışlanmaya karşı geliştirilen bir savunma mekanizması olduğunu anladım.

Yıllar içerisinde etnik kimliğim ve anadilimle kurduğum bağ, herhangi bir etnik ideolojiye bağlılıktan ziyade, melez bir kimliği sahiplenmenin beraberinde getirdiği çok katmanlılık ve zenginliği fark etmeye başlamamla güçlendi. Kimliğimin susturulmuş yönünün aslında yeniden sahiplenilmeyi ve benimsenmeyi hak ettiğini fark ettim. Bu farkındalık ile melez kimliğimi bir zenginlik olarak görüyor tüm renkleri ile ona sahip çıkmam ve onu korumam gerektiğine inanıyorum. Azınlık ve çoğunluk kültürel geçmişlerimin beni bugün olduğum kişi haline getirme biçimini değerli buluyorum. Çift yönlü kültürel geçmişe sahip olmanın değerini kabul ediyor ve bu iki kimliği, her biri kendine özgü bir değere sahip olan, bütünlüğümü oluşturan tamamlayıcı parçalar olarak görüyorum.

Kısacası iki kimlik arasında bir tercih yapma ya da birini bastırma ihtiyacı hissetmek yerine, bu melez kimliği bir zenginlik ve güç kaynağı olarak değerlendiriyorum. Anadil ve kimlik konusunda son yıllarda gelişen bu bakış açım ve içinde yaşadığım çevrede dilsel ve kültürel sürekliliğin giderek azaldığına dair gözlemlerim bu çalışmayı yapmaya karar vermemde etkili oldu. Bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin güneyinde yaşayan bir Arap Alevi topluluğu içinde aile dil politikalarını incelemeyi amaçladım.

Hatay'da Toplumdilbilimsel Durum

Coğrafi konumu nedeniyle Hatay, tarih boyunca insan yerleşimi için elverişli bir bölge olmuştur. Bu nedenle, birçok medeniyete ve farklı etnik gruba ev sahipliği yapmış; bu da kenti çok etnili, çok dilli ve çok kültürlü bir yerleşim yeri hâline getirmiştir. Türk'e (2005) göre, Hatay'daki en büyük etnik grup Türk Sünni topluluğudur. Nusayriler (Arap Aleviler) ise, şehir nüfusuna oranla en büyük ikinci etnik grubu oluşturmaktadır. Türk (2005), ayrıca Sünni Arapların ve Hristiyan Arapların da kayda değer nüfusa sahip olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu gruplar dışında Sovyetler Birliği'nin Afganistan'a müdahalesi sonrasında Hatay'a yerleşen Afgan Özbekleri ile Hatay'ın farklı bölgelerinde yaşayan Kürtler ve Ermeniler de kentin çok etnili yapısı içinde yer almaktadır. Hatay'daki etno-dinsel çeşitlilik dile de yansımıştır. Farklı topluluklar kendi dil veya ağızlarını konuşmaya devam etmişler bu da kentin dilsel çeşitliliğini zenginleştirmiştir (Şan, 2019). Bu durum diller arasında temasa yol açıp iki dilliliğin gelişmesine yol açmıştır.

Erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki ulus inşası ve modernleşme süreçleri, Hatay'daki azınlıklar arasında ulusal dil olan Türkçeye yönelik bir dil değişiminin zeminini hazırlamıştır. Dil değişimi, en az iki dilin temas hâlinde olduğu bağlamlarda ortaya çıkar ve genelde azınlıkların daha yüksek prestijli ve daha geniş kullanım alanı olan toplum diline yönelmesi ile sonuçlanır (Mougeon et al., 1985).

Dil değişimi içsel ve dışsal belirleyicilere bağlı olabilir. Örneğin, içsel bir etken olarak azınlık dilinde okuryazarlığın olmayışı, dil değişimine katkıda bulunabilir. Dışsal bir etken olarak ise, bir ülkenin dil politikaları dil değişimini tetikleyebilir (David, 2005). Cengiz (2006) ve Smith-Kocamahhul (2003), Hatay'daki Türkçe-Arapça iki dilli topluluklarda Türkçe'ye doğru bir dil değişimi olduğunu kaydetmişlerdir.

Çalışmanın Amacı ve Önemi

Mikro ve makro düzeydeki çeşitli etkenler arasında, aile ve kuşaklar arası dil aktarımının dilin yaşatılmasındaki rolü önemli ölçüde dikkat çekmiştir. Schwartz ve Verschik (2013), aileyi "dillerin korunması ve sürdürülmesi için temel bir ön koşul" olarak görmektedir (s.1). Aile bu ilgiyi hak etmektedir; çünkü çocuğun ilk dilsel

çevresini oluşturur. Çocuk sahibi çekirdek ailelere odaklanmak, hem azınlık hem de çoğunluk dillerinde çocukların dilsel sosyalleşmesini daha iyi anlamamıza olanak tanır (Spolsky, 2007). Spolsky (2004), aile alanının dil politikası araştırmalarında önemli olduğunu belirtmiştir. Aile alanına odaklanmak hem dış faktörlerin aile üzerindeki etkisini anlamak açısından, hem de ebeveynlerin miras dilini çocuklarına aktarıp aktarmama yönündeki kararlarının, dil değişimi ya da dilin korunması üzerinde belirleyici bir rol oynaması bakımından önem taşır.

Bu bağlamda, bu doktora tezinin amacı Hatay'da yaşamakta olan Türkçe-Arapça ikidilli ailelerin aile dil politikalarını ve kuşaklar arası dil aktarımını incelemektir. Buna ek olarak çocukların aile dil planlamalarını şekillendirmedeki rolü incelenmektedir. Bu amaçlar doğrultusunda aşağıdaki araştırma sorularının cevaplanması amaçlanmaktadır:

1. Hatay'ın Defne ilçesindeki iki mahallede yaşayan beş Türkçe-Arapça iki dilli ailenin aile dil politikaları nelerdir?
   1.1. Ailelerin dil ideolojileri nelerdir?
   1.2. Ailelerin dil pratikleri nelerdir?
   1.3. Ailelerin dil yönetim stratejileri nelerdir?
2. Çocuklar ailelerin dil politikalarını nasıl etkilemektedir?
   2.1. Çocuklar, dil tercihleri konusunda yetişkin aile üyeleriyle nasıl müzakere etmektedir?

ALANYAZIN TARAMASI VE KAVRAMSAL ÇERÇEVE

Aile Dil Politikalarının kökenleri 1900'lü yıllara kadar uzanmaktadır. Ancak bir kavram olarak Aile Dil Politikaları, ilk kez 2003 yılında Luykx tarafından Bolivya'daki Aymara-İspanyolca iki dilli aileler üzerine yaptığı çalışmada gündeme getirilmiş; Aile Dil Politikaları, King, Fogle ve Logan-Terry'nin 2008'de yayımladığı temel çalışma ile resmi olarak tanımlanmış ve başlı başına bir alan olarak kabul edilmiştir (Gomes, 2018; Romanowski, 2021). Aile Dil Politikaları'nın tarihsel gelişim sürecinde ortaya çıkışı ve gelişimini belirleyen önemli gelişmelere dayanarak King (2016), Aile Dil Politikaları araştırmalarını dört evrede sınıflandırmıştır:

1. Dilbilimci ebeveynler tarafından yapılan klasik günlük çalışmaları

20. yüzyılın başları, çocuk dil gelişimi üzerine yapılan çalışmalarla anılmıştır. Bu çalışmalardan biri, Fransız dilbilimci Grammont'un (1902) Antoine Meillet onuruna hazırlanan bir Festschrift (anı kitabı) içinde yayımlanan *Observation sur le langage des enfants* (Çocukların Dili Üzerine Gözlemler) adlı katkısıdır. Birçok çalışma, Grammont'un bu katkısını *une personne une langue* (bir kişi, bir dil - OPOL) stratejisinin ortaya çıkışına referans olarak gösterse de, aslında çalışmada iki Fransızca konuşan çocuğun tek dilli dil gelişimine dair bilgiler yer almaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, bu yayın iki dil edinimi ile ilgili bilgi içermemektedir. Ancak, Grammont'un başka bir dilbilimci olan Fransız arkadaşı Ronjat'a verdiği tavsiye, OPOL stratejisinin ilk uygulamasının yolunu açmıştır. Ronjat'ın Almanca konuşan bir eşi vardı ve Grammont'un çocuk dil gelişimi üzerine yaptığı önceki çalışmalara dayanarak, oğlunu iki dilli olarak yetiştirme konusunda arkadaşının rehberliğini istedi. Louis adını verdikleri oğlu doğduktan kısa bir süre sonra Grammont, Ronjat'ın bu tavsiye talebine yanıt verdi. Her bir dilin (bu durumda Fransızca ve Almanca) ayrı tutulması ve her ebeveynin çocukla kendi dilini konuşması gerektiğini önerdi. Bu doğrultuda, Ronjat oğluyla sadece Fransızca konuşurken, eşi ise sadece Almanca konuştu. Ronjat, oğlunun iki dilli gelişimini doğumundan dört yaş on aya kadar gözlemledi ve belgeledi. Bu dilsel biyografiyi 1913 yılında *Le Développement du langage: observations chez un enfant bilingue* (Dil Gelişimi: İki Dilli Bir Çocuk Üzerine Gözlemler) adlı eserde yayımladı. Ronjat, oğlunun iki dil edinimindeki başarısını, kendisinin "Grammont Formülü" olarak adlandırdığı yönteme bağladı.

2. İki dilli dil edinimine yönelik psikodilbilimsel yaklaşımlar

Bu evre, dil edinim sürecinin altında yatan bilişsel işlevler ile dil yapıları arasındaki etkileşime odaklanmasıyla karakterizedir (Lanza & Gomes, 2020). Psikolinguistik yaklaşımlar, iki dilli ve tek dilli dil gelişimi arasındaki farkları (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022), dil aktarımının doğası ve etkisini, ayrıca iki dillilik ile belirli bilişsel özellikler ve işlevler arasındaki bağlantıyı incelemek için benimsenmiştir (King, 2016). O dönemdeki araştırma soruları, iki/çok dilli ortamlarda büyüyen bazı çocukların azınlık ve çoğunluk dillerinde neden nispeten eşit yetkinlik geliştirdiği (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Smith-Christmas, 2016), ayrıca dil girdisi, ebeveynlerin söylem stratejileri, ebeveynlerin dil deneyimleri ve iki dillilik bilgisi ile dengeli iki

dillilik arasındaki bağlantının nasıl olduğu üzerinde yoğunlaşmıştır (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). De Houwer (1990), doğumdan itibaren aynı anda hem Hollandaca hem İngilizceye maruz kalan iki dilli bir çocuğun erken morfosentaktik gelişimini incelemiştir. Ebeveynler OPOL (bir ebeveyn bir dil) stratejisini kullanmış ve çocuğun konuşmasının analizleri, dil gelişiminin her iki dilde de tek dilli yaşıtlarına benzer olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Çalışma, iki ayrı dil sisteminin ayrı ayrı geliştiğine işaret ederek, iki dilli bireylerin erken aşamalardan itibaren dilleri arasında ayrım yapabildiklerini göstermiştir. Ayrıca, dengeli iki dilliliğe ulaşmada dil girdisinin tutarlılığının önemine dikkat çekmiştir. Buna ek olarak, Hollandaca ve İngilizce arasında aktarımın olmaması, iki dilliliğin karışıklığa neden olduğu inancını sorgulamaya açık hale getirmiştir.

3. Sosyodilbilimsel yaklaşımlar ve Aile Dil Planlaması'nın bir araştırma alanı olarak kurulması

Aile Dil Politikası araştırma tarihinin 3. evresinde, sosyodilbilimsel bir bakış açısına belirgin bir geçiş yaşanmıştır. Ayrıca, bu evre Aile Dil Politikası'nın ayrı bir araştırma alanı olarak resmi tanımının yapıldığı dönemle de çakışmaktadır (King, 2016). King, Fogle ve Logan-Terry'nin (2008, s. 907) Aile Dil Politikası'nı "aile üyeleri arasında ev içinde dil kullanımı ile ilgili açık (Shohamy, 2006) ve bariz (Schiffman, 1996) planlama" olarak tanımlaması, alandaki gelişim için önemli bir dönüm noktası olmuş ve bu alana ilgi duyan araştırmacılara ortak bir zemin sağlayarak akademik tartışmaların ilerlemesine katkıda bulunmuştur (Gomes, 2018). O tarihten itibaren Aile Dil Politikası araştırmaları, resmi olarak tanımlanması sayesinde büyük bir ivme kazanmıştır (Gomes, 2018; Smith-Christmas, 2016). Curdt-Christiansen ve Sun (2022), bu evrede Aile Dil Politikası'nın yeni gelişen bir araştırma alanı olarak ele alınmasında, Spolsky'nin üç bileşenli dil politikası çerçevesinin benimsendiğini belirtmişlerdir. Bu çerçeve, dil ideolojisi, dil pratiği ve dil yönetimi olmak üzere birbirine bağlı üç bileşeni içermektedir (Spolsky, 2004, 2009). 3. evre, araştırma sorularına yanıt ararken benimsenen disiplinlerarası yaklaşımlarla da dikkat çekmektedir. Ev ve dışındaki doğal etkileşimlerin görüşmeler, gözlemler, ses ve görüntü kayıtları gibi araçlarla incelenmesi bu dönemde yaygınlaşmıştır. Genişleyen teorik ve metodolojik yaklaşımlar, ebeveyn ideolojilerinin Aile Dil Politikalarının oluşumu ve müzakere sürecini nasıl

şekillendirdiğini ve bu politikaların çocuk dil gelişimi üzerindeki kısa ve uzun vadeli etkilerini daha ayrıntılı bir biçimde anlamaya olanak sağlamıştır (King, 2016).

4. Çeşitlenen aile yapıları, dilsel bağlamlar ve gelişen araştırma yaklaşımları

2008 ile 2019 yılları arasında yayımlanan çalışmaları inceleyen Gomes ve Lanza (2020), Aile Dil Politikası araştırmalarında bir odak değişimi olduğunu belirtmiştir. Erken dönem araştırmalar, açık planlama, ebeveynlerin dil kullanımı ve çocuklardaki dil öğrenme sonuçları arasındaki bağlantıyı incelemeye çalışırken; güncel araştırmalar ise şu üç konuya yoğunlaşmıştır: (1) Çok dilli yetişkinlerin ve çocukların kendilerini ve ailelerini tanımlamak için kullandıkları dil; (2) Geleneksel iki ebeveynli aile yapısının ötesinde, küresel olarak dağılmış, ulusötesi ya da çok dilli topluluklar; ve (3) Etkileşimde anlam yaratmaya ve daha geniş bağlama dikkat eden araştırma yöntemleri (s. 160). Benzer şekilde, 3. evrede yapılan çalışmaların aile dil politikası oluşturma süreçleri ve çocuk üzerindeki etkilerin anlaşılmasına katkısını kabul eden King (2016), 3. evre çalışmalarındaki eksiklikleri şu şekilde belirtmiştir: (1) Aile, dil ve bağlam türlerinde çeşitliliğin olmaması; (2) Ailenin dinamik bir sistem olarak tanınmaması, çocukların eylemliliği, kimlik tercihleri ve ailenin (yeniden) oluşumu gibi, tümü dil ile gerçekleşen unsurların göz ardı edilmesi; (3) Sadece iki değil, üç veya daha fazla dil konuşan ailelerin varlığına rağmen üç veya çok dilliliğe yeterince dikkat edilmemesi.

Ulusötesi ve ulusötesi olmayan ailelerin aile dil politikalarını inceleyen çalışmalar, 4. evrede Spolsky'nin çerçevesine dayanmaya devam etmektedir. Spolsky'nin çerçevesinin faydalılığını kabul eden ve yaygın şekilde kullanan araştırmacılar, ayrıca aile dil planlama kararlarını şekillendiren çeşitli mekanizmalara da odaklanmıştır. Curdt-Christiansen (2018), ailelerin sosyokültürel çevrelerinden izole bir şekilde yaşayamayacağını belirtmiştir. Bu bağlamda, aile dil politikalarının oluşturulması ve uygulanmasında rol oynayan çeşitli faktörlerin incelenmesi zorunludur.

Bu bağlamda ve ilgili literatürün incelenmesi ışığında, bu doktora tezi, kavramsal çerçeve olarak aile dil politikaları çalışmalarında yaygın olarak kullanılan

Spolsky'nin (2004) üç bileşenli dil planlama modeli ile Ochs ve Schieffelin'in (1984) Dil Sosyalleşmesi Teorisi'ni benimsemiştir.

YÖNTEM

Araştırma Tasarımı

Bu tezde, araştırma sorularını yanıtlamak amacıyla yorumlayıcı/sosyal inşacı paradigma çerçevesinde nitel araştırma yaklaşımı benimsemiştir. Bağlam, varoluş, deneyim, bakış açısı, anlam ve öznelliğe vurgu yapan nitel araştırma, karmaşık sosyal olguları keşfetmek ve yorumlamak için özgün bir yöntem sunar. Bu açıdan nitel araştırma, nicel araştırmayla çelişmek yerine tamamlayıcı bir konumdadır; çünkü her iki yaklaşımın da kendi güçlü yönleri ve uygulama alanları vardır (Lim, 2025).

Merriam ve Tisdell (2016, s. 15), nitel araştırmanın dört temel özelliğini tanımlamaktadır. Birincisi, nitel çalışmada odak, sürece, anlama ve anlamaya yöneliktir. Genel olarak, nitel araştırmanın amacı insanların hayatlarını nasıl anlamlandırdığını kavramak, anlam oluşturma sürecini betimlemek ve insanların deneyimlerini nasıl yorumladıklarını anlatmaktır. Bu bağlamda, ilgilenilen olguya ilişkin dışardan bakış (etic) yerine içeriden, yani katılımcının bakış açısı (emic) aranır. İkincisi, araştırmacı veri toplama ve analizde birincil araçtır. Anlamaya dayalı nitel araştırmada, anında tepki verebilme ve uyum sağlama yeteneğine sahip insan aracı, veri toplama ve analiz için ideal bir yöntemdir. Ayrıca araştırmacı, sözel ve sözel olmayan iletişim aracılığıyla, verileri hemen işleyerek, materyali açıklığa kavuşturup özetleyerek, yorumun doğruluğunu kontrol ederek ve beklenmedik veya alışılmadık tepkileri keşfederek olguyu daha iyi anlayabilir. Ancak, insan aracı önyargılar ve eksiklikler taşıyabilir; bu durum çalışmayı etkileyebilir. Bu nedenle, önyargı ve öznellikleri ortadan kaldırmaya çalışmaktan çok, bunları tanımlamak ve çalışmaya olası etkilerini dikkate almak önemlidir. Üçüncüsü, süreç tümevarımsaldır; araştırmacılar veri toplarken kavram, hipotez veya teori geliştirmeyi amaçlamaz. Bunun yerine, verilerden (görüşmeler, gözlemler, belgeler) hareketle teoriye ulaşmaya çalışırlar. Son olarak dördüncüsü, ürün zengin ve betimleyicidir; yani araştırmacının olgu hakkındaki anlayışını aktarmak için sayılar yerine sözcükler ve görseller kullanılır.

Çalışmanın amaçları doğrultusunda, çalışmada etnografi ile durum çalışması yaklaşımlarını harmanlayan etnografik durum çalışması tasarımı kullanılmıştır. Etnografik durum çalışması tasarımı, katılımcı gözlem gibi geleneksel etnografik veri toplama araçlarını durum çalışması tasarımı ile birleştirir. Bu bağlamda, araştırmacı bir veya birden fazla araştırma alanı veya olguya odaklanabilir. Etnografik durum çalışması için gereken süre hâlâ uzun olmakla birlikte, belirli bir olay ya da olguya, bireye, birey grubuna ya da bir topluluğa odaklanır (Chen ve Rhoads, 2016, akt. Bayeck, 2023, s. 2).

Araştırma Ortamı

Bu çalışmanın araştırma alanı, Hatay ilinin Defne ilçesidir. Defne ilçesi, Hatay'ın güneybatısında yer almakta olup doğusunda Altınözü, batısında Samandağ, kuzeyinde Antakya ve güneyinde Yayladağı bulunmaktadır. Defne ilçesi nüfusunun çoğunluğunu Arap Aleviler oluşturmaktadır. Sadece birkaç mahallede (örneğin Ballıöz, Çökek, Hüseyinli) Türkmenlerin de yaşadığı bildirilmektedir (Çiçekçioğlu, 2017).

Bu çalışmanın yürütülmesi sırasında Türkiye'de 11 ili etkileyen büyük bir deprem meydana gelmiştir. Hatay, en çok etkilenen iller arasında yer almaktadır. Ne yazık ki, on binlerce insan hayatını kaybetmiş, binlerce kişi yaralanmış ve hayatta kalanların büyük bir kısmı göç etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Çalışmaya katılan tüm katılımcıların bu felaketten sağ kurtulmuş olması büyük bir tesellidir. Ancak, iki ailenin evlerini kaybettiği bilinmektedir. Öte yandan, koşulların şiddeti nedeniyle, katılımcı ailelerin tamamı, diğer hayatta kalanlar gibi deprem sonrasında yer değiştirmek zorunda kalmıştır. Dolayısıyla yaşanan deprem felaketi çalışma alanının nüfusunu ve demografik yapısını ciddi anlamda etkilemiştir.

Katılımcılar

Bu etnografik durum çalışması için, kültür paylaşan bir grubun üyeleri olan beş aile örneklem olarak seçilmiştir. Örneklem belirlenirken hem kolayda örneklem hem de amaçlı örnekleme yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Birinci bölümde de belirttiğim gibi, bu çalışmaya olan ilgim, ana dilim ve kimliğimle ilgili kişisel deneyimlerim ile topluluk dilinin (Arapça) nesilden nesile aktarımlarının azalmasına ilişkin gözlemlerimden

kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu gözlemlerin temelini ise doğrudan çevrem oluşturmuştur. Bu nedenle, topluluktaki ailelerin aile dil politikalarını araştıran bir çalışma yapmayı amaçladım ve örneklemi, Defne ilçesinin iki mahallesinden seçtim.

Öernekelem, amaçlı örnekleme kapsamında, kriter örneklemesi yöntemiyle belirlenmiştir. Araştırma amaçları doğrultusunda örnekleme için üç kriter belirlenmiştir:
(1) Her ailenin ebeveynlerinden biri veya her ikisi, Türkçe ve Arapça dillerinde iki dilli ana dili konuşuru olmalıdır; çünkü çalışma, iki dilli ailelerin aile dil politikalarına odaklanmaktadır.
(2) Ailelerin okul çağında (opsiyonel) bir veya daha fazla çocuğa sahip olmaları gerekmektedir.
(3) Aileler, Defne ilçesindeki iki mahalleden seçilmeli ve aynı lehçe özelliklerini paylaşmalıdır; böylece lehçe farklılıkları en aza indirgenerek dilsel tutarlılık sağlanacaktır.

Veri Toplama Araçları ve Süreci

Nitel veriler, alıntılar, gözlemler, belgelerden parçalar ve sosyal medya paylaşımlarını içermektedir. Nitel veriler, okuyucuyu gözlemin gerçekleştiği zaman ve mekâna götürerek yaşanan deneyimi betimler ve okuyucunun o anı hissetmesini sağlar. Bağlamsal detaylarla zenginleştirilmiş derin betimlemeler aracılığıyla, nitel veriler katılımcının kendi sözleriyle bir hikaye anlatır (Patton, 2015, s. 107). Durum çalışması yönteminin gerektirdiği gibi, veriler birden fazla bilgi kaynağından toplanmıştır (orijinal vurgusu, Creswell, 2013, s. 97). Etnografk çalışma gereği ailelerin etkileşimleri ev ortamlarında gözlemlenmiştir. Bu çalışmada veri kaynaklarını aile içi etkileşimlerin video kayıtları, saha notları, görüşmeler ve yansıtıcı günlük oluşturmuştur.

Veri Analizi

Bu çalışma, video kayıtları, görüşmeler, saha notları ve yansıtıcı günlük gibi çeşitli veri kaynaklarını içermektedir. Verilerin yönetimi ve kolay erişimi amacıyla, bu veri türleri her aile için ayrı ayrı ve kronolojik sıraya göre düzenlenip saklanmıştır.

Veri analizinde, verileri düzenlemek, analiz için hazırlamak ve kodlama yapmak amacıyla Saldana'nın *Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (2013) kitabından yararlanılmıştır. Daha detaylı çalışmalara başlamadan önce yapılan "ısınma" sürecine benzer şekilde, verilerin kodlama için hazırlanması, araştırmacının topladığı verilerle tanışmasını sağlar ve temel analiz süreçleri aracılığıyla derinlemesine analiz için sağlam bir temel oluşturur (Saldana, 2013, s. 17). Veri analizinde ayrıca Braun ve Clarke'ın (2021) Yansıtıcı Tematik Analizi (Reflexive Thematic Analysis - RTA) kullanılmıştır. Tematik Analiz (TA), çok temel düzeyde, nitel veri seti içerisindeki örüntüleri analiz etmek, yorumlamak ve geliştirmek için kullanılan bir yöntemdir ve temaları belirlemek ve geliştirmek için sistematik bir kodlama sürecini içerir. Temalar oluşturmak, araştırmacının nihai analitik amacıdır.

Yansıtıcı Tematik Analiz (RTA) yönteminin altı aşaması izlenmiştir:

1. Veri seti ile tanışma
2. Kodlama
3. İlk temaların oluşturulması
4. Temaların geliştirilmesi ve gözden geçirilmesi
5. Temaların iyileştirilmesi, tanımlanması ve adlandırılması
6. Sonuçların yazıya dökülmesi

Araştırmanın Güvenilirliğini Sağlama

Geleneksel ve natüralist paradigmalar arasındaki farklar nedeniyle (Lincoln ve Guba, 1986), nitel ve nicel araştırmalar güvenilirlik ve geçerliliği sağlama yaklaşımları açısından farklılaşmaktadır (Ayton, 2023; Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Seale & Silverman, 1997). Nitel araştırmaların öznel doğası nedeniyle, güvenilirlik sağlamak nicel araştırmalara kıyasla daha karmaşıktır (Haq ve ark., 2023). Gerçekten de, nitel çalışmalar öznellik içerdiğinden titizlikle yürütülmesi beklenmektedir (Cypress, 2017).

Bu çalışmada, Lincoln ve Guba'nın (1986) güvenilirlik kriterleri kullanılmıştır. Lincoln ve Guba (1989), natüralist yaklaşım kapsamında gerçeklik değeri, uygulanabilirlik, tutarlılık ve tarafsızlık gibi dört temel soruya yanıt verebilecek kriterler önerdiler. Geleneksel paradigmada iç geçerlilik, dış geçerlilik, güvenilirlik ve nesnellik olarak bilinen kavramlara karşılık, Lincoln ve Guba (1986) güvenilirlik

(credibility), aktarılabilirlik (transferability), dayanıklılık (dependability) ve doğrulanabilirlik (confirmability) kavramlarını geliştirdiler. Lincoln ve Guba'ya göre (1986), güvenilirlik; uzun süreli etkileşim, sürekli gözlem, üçlü doğrulama (triangulation), uzman görüşü (peer debriefing), olumsuz durum analizleri ve katılımcı doğrulaması (member checks) gibi yöntemleri içerir. Aktarılabilirlik, ayrıntılı betimleyici verileri kapsarken, dayanıklılık ve doğrulanabilirlik dış denetim süreçlerini içermektedir. Bu bağlamda, güvenirliği sağlayabilmek adına uzun süreli etkileşim, üçlü doğrulama ve katılımcı doğrulamasından faydalanılmıştır. Aktarılabilirlik bağlamında araştırma ortamı, katılımcılar ve yöntemsel tercihler ayrıntılı şekilde tanımlanmıştır. Bu şekilde, okuyucuda araştırma ortamında bulunuyormuş hissi uyandırmak, yani gerçeklik duygusunu (verisimilitude) oluşturmak amaçlanmıştır (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Okuyucunun betimlenen ortamı ya da deneyimi daha iyi hissetmesi için araştırma alanı, toplumun sosyohistorik geçmişi, katılımcıların kişisel ve dilsel geçmişi ile araştırma süreci hakkında mümkün olduğunca çok detay paylaşılmıştır. Dayanıklık bağlamında, araştırmanın gelişim aşamaları detaylandırılmış ve felsefi varsayımlar, araştırma tasarımı, yöntemler ve analiz ile ilgili tercihler şeffaflık, izlenebilirlik ve geçerlilik sağlama amacıyla ayrıntılı şekilde açıklanmıştır. Çalışmaya dair kararlar üzerine el yazısıyla veya bilgisayarda (Word belgesi ya da MAXQDA'de) tutulan notlar ve günlükler aracılığıyla sürekli yansımalar yapılmıştır. Ayrıca, tez ilerleme toplantılarında danışman, yardımcı danışman ve danışma kurulu üyelerinin değerlendirme ve geri bildirimleri dış denetim işlevi görerek araştırma süreci ilerledikçe araştırmanın revize edilip derinleştirilmesine olanak sağlamıştır. Son olarak, doğrulanabilirlik kriterini sağlamak amacıyla araştırmacı tarafından bir araştırma günlüğü tutulmuş ve çalışma süresince araştırmacı düşüncelerini, önyargılarını ve yansımalarını kaydetmiştir. Bu süreç, araştırmacının çalışma süresince değişen düşünce yapısını ve önyargılarını takip etmesini sağlamıştır. Katılımcıların bakış açılarının ve seslerinin araştırmacının değer yargıları tarafından gölgelenmemesi ve güvenilir bir şekilde temsil edilmesi için çaba gösterilmiştir. Bunun için katılımcıların bakış açılarını yansıtan doğrudan alıntılara yer verilmiştir. Son olarak, araştırmacı, yorumlarının kendi önyargılarından kaynaklanmadığından emin olmak için katılımcı doğrulaması (member check) uygulamıştır.

BULGULAR

Veri analizi sonucunda araştırma sorularına yönelik aşağıdaki bulgular elde edilmiştir:

Dil İdeolojileri

Verilere dayanarak, katılımcı ebeveynlerin dil ideolojilerini yansıtmak üzere bir ana tema ve iki alt tema oluşturulmuştur.

Bu ana tema ve alt temaları, katılımcı ebeveynlerin zihninde Türkçe ile yerel Arapça varyantının hiyerarşik sıralamasına işaret etmektedir. Veriler, ebeveynlerin kendi iki dilli deneyimlerine dayanarak iki dilliliğe değer verdiklerini ve çocuklarının Arapçayı öğrenmesini istediklerini, ancak bu isteğin farklı motivasyonlarla şekillendiğini göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte, Türkçenin resmi dil olarak tüm alanlarda baskın olması ve okulda eğitim dili olarak kullanılması, ebeveynlerin hayatlarında ve çocuklarıyla iletişimlerinde Türkçeye öncelik vermelerine neden olmuştur. Ayrıca ebeveynler, konuştukları yerel Arapça çeşidini yetersiz veya hatalı olarak görmektedir. Bu inancın temeli çoğunlukla zaman içinde Türkçe ile yaşanan dil teması etkilerine ve yerel Arapça çeşidinin Suriye Arapçası veya Modern Standart Arapça (MSA) gibi diğer çeşitlerle karşılaştırılmasına dayanmaktadır. Bu anlamda, katılımcı ailelerin dil ideolojilerine ilişkin temalar, yerel Arapçanın hem resmi dil olan Türkçenin hem de diğer Arapça çeşitlerinin altında sıralandığı bir dil hiyerarşisine işaret etmektedir.

Dil Pratikleri

Veri analizine dayanarak, dil kullanımı (dil pratikleri) ile ilgili olarak her biri iki alt temaya sahip iki ana tema oluşturulmuştur.

Bulgular muhatap ve içeriğin aile üyelerinin günlük etkileşimdeki dil tercihlerine nasıl etki ettiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Üçüncü ailedeki Türkçe tek dilli anne dışında, özellikle ebeveyn kuşağı Arapça-Türkçe iki dilli konuşmacılar olduklarından dil tercihlerine muhataplarına göre yön vermektedirler. Ebeveynler çocuklarıyla Türkçe

konuşurken, büyükebeveynlerle etkileşimde Arapçayı tercih etmektedirler. Buna ek olarak, etkileşimin konusu (içerik) de dil tercihlerine etki etmektedir.

Dil pratiklerine ilişkin diğer bir bulgu, ebeveynlerin, büyükebeveynlerin çocukların Arapça dil gelişimine etkilerine dair iki farklı bakış açısı belirttiğini göstermiştir. Katılımcı ebeveynlerden yedisi büyükebeveynlerin rolünü olumlu olarak gördüğünü belirtmiştir. Aynı zamanda, bu ebeveynlerden biri büyükbabanın büyükanne ile çocuklar arasında çeviri yapmasının çocukların Arapça gelişimini, özellikle konuşma becerilerini olumsuz etkileyen bir faktör olduğunu düşündüğünü belirtmiştir. Ebeveynlerin çoğunluğunun aksine, bir ebeveyn büyükebeveynlerin, özellikle büyükannelerin, çocukların dil tercihine (Türkçe) uyum sağlamaları nedeniyle dil aktarımını azaltmaktan sorumlu olduklarına inandığını belirtmiştir.

Dil kullanımlarıyla ilgili ikinci ana tema ebeveynlerin duruma veya etkinliğe bağlı olarak gösterdikleri dil tercihlerini içermektedir. Bulgular, ebeveynlerin ev ve iş yeri gibi çoğu alanda Türkçeyi kullanmalarına rağmen dini bayramlar ve cenaze gibi törensel durumlarda Arapçayı tercih ettiklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, ebeveyn-çocuk / çocuk-ebeveyn etkileşimlerinin varsayılan dili Türkçe olmasına rağmen, ebeveynlerin duygusal iletişimde Arapçayı kullanma eğiliminde oldukları ve sevgi, şefkat ve yakınlık ifadelerini ağırlıklı olarak Arapça ifade ettikleri görülmektedir.
Ebeveynlerin dil yönetimi çabalarına ilişkin tema, ebeveynlerin dil yönetimi stratejileriyle ilgili olup, katılımcı ebeveynlerin Arapça öğretme çabalarına ilişkin düşük düzeyde etkinlik veya katılım gösterdiklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Arapça öğretme çabalarıyla ilgili geçmişteki başarısızlıklar, çocuğun eylemliliği ve Arapçanın işe yarar bulunmaması gibi nedenler, ebeveynlerin çocuklarına Arapça öğretme çabalarından vazgeçmelerine ya da süreci doğal akışına bırakmalarına neden olmuştur.

İkinci araştırma sorusu, çocukların yetişkin aile bireyleriyle dil tercihlerini nasıl müzakere ettiklerini ve bunun aile dil politikaları üzerindeki etkisini ele almıştır. Bulgular, katılımcı ebeveynlerin çoğunun çocuklarının Arapçaya yönelik yeterlikleri ve eğilimleri açısından farklılıklar bildirdiğini ortaya koymuştur. Aynı dil ortamını paylaşan kardeşler, Arapçaya yönelik tutum ve yeterlik açısından farklı, hatta

çelişkili eğilimler gösterebilmektedir. Bu durum, bireysel çocuk ile yetişkin aile bireyi arasındaki dil tercihi müzakerelerini doğal olarak etkilemektedir.

TARTIŞMA

Dil İdeolojileri

Aile dil politikalarının oluşumunda çok sayıda sosyodilbilimsel, sosyokültürel, sosyoekonomik ve sosyopolitik etkenin etkili olduğu belirtilmiştir (Spolsky 2004, 2012). Mevcut çalışmada ebeveynler, çocuklarının toplum dili olan Arapçayı öğrenmelerini pratik/faydacı ya da duygusal nedenlerle istediklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Başka bir deyişle, ebeveynlerin inançları sosyoekonomik ve sosyokültürel etkenler tarafından şekillenmiştir. Büyük ebeveynlerle ve yaşlı nesille iletişim kurmak için Arapçanın gerekli olmadığını düşünen bir katılımcı dışında, katılımcıların çoğu çocuklarının büyük ebeveynleri ve yaşlı kuşakla iletişim kurabilmeleri için Arapça konuşabilmelerini istediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu bulgu, Eroğlu'nun (2022) çalışmasıyla da paralellik göstermektedir; söz konusu çalışmada Kürt ebeveynler, çocuklarının Kürtçe tek dilli büyük ebeveynleriyle iletişim kurabilmeleri için Kürtçeyi sürdürmek istemiştir. Ebeveynlerin çocuklarına Arapçayı aktarmak istemelerinin bir diğer nedeni, bu dilin onların anadili olması ve aynı zamanda kültürü sürdürme arzusudur (Bezcioğlu-Göktolga & Yağmur, 2018; Eroğlu, 2022). Mevcut çalışmadaki iki dilli tüm katılımcı ebeveynler için Arapça, ilk öğrendikleri dildi. Bu nedenle Arapça, kişisel kimlikleri, erken dönem yaşam deneyimleri ve aile bağlarıyla güçlü bir şekilde ilişkilendirilmiştir. Ayrıca kültürel değerlerin taşıyıcısı olarak Arapça, onların kültürel mirasının ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır. Bu bağlamda, Arapça kültürel sürekliliğin korunmasına olanak sağlamaktadır. İki ebeveyn, çocukların ibadetlerini ve dini uygulamalarını yerine getirebilmeleri için Arapça öğrenmeleri gerektiğine inanmıştır. Bu bulgu, Endonezya'daki iki/çok dilli ailelerin çocuklarının dini uygulamaları yerine getirebilmesi ve dini kimliklerini koruyabilmesi amacıyla Arapça öğrenmelerini istediklerini bildiren Sepriati ve ark. (2021) çalışmasıyla örtüşmektedir.

Katılımcı ebeveynlerin Türkçeye yönelik ideolojileri bağlamında, sosyo-politik faktörler Türkçe tercihlerini etkileyen önemli belirleyiciler olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Tüm katılımcılar, çocuklarıyla iletişimde varsayılan dil olarak Türkçeyi kullanmaktadır. Ebeveynler, Türkçeyi resmi dil olması nedeniyle önceliklendirdiklerini ve bu statünün dili tüm alanlarda geçerli kıldığını ifade etmişlerdir. Türkçeyi tek resmi dil olarak tanıyan tek dilli devlet dil politikası, ebeveynlerin bu yöndeki kararlarında belirleyici bir rol oynamaktadır. Lane'in (2010) Norveç'teki iki dilli bir Kven topluluğu olan Bugøynes'teki dil değişimine dair çalışması benzer bir durumu ortaya koymaktadır. 20. yüzyılın ortalarında Norveçlileştirme politikaları ve modernleşme süreci sonucunda anadilleri olan Kven dilinden Norveççeye geçen Kven topluluğu, benzer asimilasyon süreçlerinden geçmiştir. Bunun sonucunda, yaşlı kuşaklar çocuklarıyla anadilleri yerine Norveççeyi konuşmayı tercih etmiş ve bunun çocukları için "en iyisi" (vurgu eklendi) olduğunu düşünmüşlerdir.

Mevcut çalışmadaki katılımcı ebeveynler çocuklarıyla Türkçe kullanma tercihlerinde okulun etkisini vurgulamışlardır. Spolsky'e (2004) göre okul, dil politikası ve dil eğitimi politikası açısından en önemli alanlardan biridir. Bu bağlamda okul, sosyalleştirme görevini aileden devralmaktadır. Eğitim ve okul bağlamında Türkçenin önemiyle ilişkili olarak, katılımcılar Türkçeyi akademik başarı için hayati önemde gördüklerini belirtmişlerdir. Katılımcılar, dersleri anlayabilmek ve akademik başarı elde edebilmek için düzgün bir Türkçe ve iyi bir Türkçe yeterliliğinin gerekli olduğuna inanmışlardır. Önceki araştırmalarla (Yalım-Ege, 2019) uyumlu olarak, Arapçanın, çocukların toplum dilini edinimini olumsuz etkileyebileceği düşüncesiyle hareket eden ebeveynler, sosyalleşmenin erken yıllarında Türkçeye öncelik vermişlerdir. Ebeveynlerin çocuklarıyla olan dil tercihlerini belirlerken okulun beklentileriyle örtüştüklerine dair güçlü kanıtlar bulunmaktadır (Örneğin: Bezcioğlu-Göktolga & Yağmur, 2018; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Gkaintartzia vd., 2014; Rindstedt ve Aronsson, 2002).

Dil Pratikleri

Katılımcıların dil tercihleri, daha önceki araştırmaların da gösterdiği gibi (Bezcioğlu-Göktolga & Yağmur, 2018; Romanowski, 2021), muhataba ve etkileşimin içeriğine bağlı olarak değişiklik göstermiştir. Birinci kuşak, hem kendi aralarında hem de ikinci kuşakla olan etkileşimlerinde varsayılan dilleri olan Arapçayı kullanmayı

tercih etmişlerdir. Ancak çocuklarla (üçüncü kuşakla) etkileşimlerinde çocukların varsayılan dili olan Türkçeye geçiş yapmışlardır. İkinci kuşak da birinci kuşakla olan iletişimlerinde Arapçayı tercih etmiştir. Dil ideolojileri doğrultusunda çocuklarıyla iletişim dili olarak Türkçeyi kullanmışlardır. Üçüncü kuşağın ise ana iletişim dili olarak Türkçeyi kullandığı ve Arapçayı az derecede anladıkları bildirilmiştir. Ancak ebeveyn anlatımları ve gözlemlerine göre beş çocuk farklı düzeylerde Arapça konuşabilmektedir.

Yalım-Ege'nin (2019) benzer bağlamda ortaya koyduğu gibi, ikinci kuşak aile üyeleri hem Arapça hem Türkçeye akıcı şekilde hakimdir. Her iki dili akıcı biçimde konuşabilen iki dilli aile bireyleri olarak, ikinci kuşak genellikle birinci ve üçüncü kuşağın dil tercihlerine uyum göstermektedir. Çok kuşaklı konuşmalarda hem birinci hem de ikinci kuşak, üçüncü kuşağa uyum sağlayarak Türkçeyi kullanmışlardır; bu durum çocuk eylemlilik etkisine işaret etmektedir (Luykx, 2003, 2005; Smith-Christmas, 2017).

Mevcut çalışmadaki katılımcı ebeveynlerin çoğunluğu, büyükebeveynlerin çocuklarının Arapça öğreniminde kilit bir rol oynadıklarına inanmaktadır. Ebeveynler, çocuklarının Arapça yeterliklerini büyükebeveynlerin katkılarına bağlamışlardır. Ayrıca, büyükebeveynlerin evlerinin Arapça girdi açısından zengin, Arapçaya yoğun maruz kalma alanları oluşturduğunu vurgulamışlardır. Bu doğrultuda elde edilen bulgular, büyükebeveynlerin olumlu rolünü ortaya koyan önceki araştırmalarla örtüşmektedir (örneğin: Dağdeviren-Kırmızı, 2023; Ojha, 2020; Ishizawa, 2004; Pillai vd., 2014; Ruby, 2012).

Çalışma, ilginç bir bulguyu ortaya koymuştur. Ebeveynler ile çocuklar arasındaki varsayılan dil Türkçe olmasına rağmen, katılımcıların çoğunluğu çocuklarına sevgi ve şefkat ifade ederken Arapçayı kullanma eğilimindeydi. Bu gözlem, Pavlenko'nun (2004) çalışmasıyla da örtüşmektedir. Söz konusu çalışmada, bazı katılımcıların duygusal ifadelerde anadillerini tercih ettikleri, bunun nedeninin ise anadilin duygusal ifadelerde taşıdığı özgünlük olduğu belirtilmiştir.

Aile içi dil tercihleriyle doğrudan bağlantılı olmasa da, bulgular katılımcı ebeveynlerin çoğunluğunun cenaze törenlerinde ve bayram kutlamalarında Arapçayı

kullanmayı tercih ettiklerini göstermiştir. Bu durum, Grosjean'ın (1997) "Tamamlayıcılık İlkesi"ne işaret etmektedir. Bu ilkeye göre, iki dilli bireyler farklı amaçlarla, farklı alanlarda ve farklı kişilerle farklı dilleri öğrenir ve kullanırlar. Başka bir deyişle, hayatın farklı yönleri farklı dilleri gerektirir. Mevcut çalışmadaki aileler için Türkçe tüm kamusal alanlarda baskın dil olmasına rağmen, Arapça özel alan olan ev ile sınırlı kalmıştır. Bununla birlikte, taziye bildirme ve bayram kutlama gibi belirli işlevlerde de varlığını sürdürmüştür. Bu durum, Arapçanın dini söylemlerle ilişkilendirilmesi ve Arapça kutlama ifadelerinin taşıdığı özgünlükle açıklanabilir.

Ebeveyn Eylemlilik Eksikliği

Bu çalışmadaki tüm katılımcı ebeveynler iki dilliliği destekleyen ideolojilere sahip olduklarını ve çocuklarının Arapça öğrenmesini istediklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Buna rağmen, yaygın tek dillilik ideolojisi ve Türkçeyi sosyal, dilsel ve ekonomik sermaye ile ilişkilendirmeleri (Bourdieu, 1996) doğrultusunda, ebeveynler Türkçeye öncelik vermiş ve Arapçayı ikinci plana atmışlardır.

Dışsal faktörler olarak, Türkiye genelinde Türkçeyi tek meşru dil olarak konumlandıran tek dillilik ideolojisi ve okulla ilgili beklentiler, ebeveynlerin sürece dahil olmamalarını etkilemiştir. Ancak, ebeveynlerin iki dilli ya da tek dilli çocuk yetiştirme konusundaki kendi yeterlik ve sorumluluk inançları da katılımlarının az olmasında etkili olmuştur (De Houwer, 1999). Başka bir ifadeyle, Nakamura'nın (2019) da doğruladığı gibi, ebeveyn eylemliliği üzerinde hem içsel hem de dışsal faktörler rol oynamaktadır. Eroğlu'nun (2022) çalışmasından farklı olarak ve Perez Baez'in (2013) bulgularını destekler nitelikte, bu çalışmadaki ebeveynler çocuklarının Arapça gelişimi üzerindeki kontrol veya etkilerine ilişkin zayıf inançlara sahipti. Bu inançlar ise ebeveyn eylemliliği ve katılım eksikliğine dönüşmüştür.

Çocuk Eylemliliği

Erken dönem dil sosyalleşimi araştırmaları, çocukları "boş levha" (Luykx, 2005, s.1407) olarak görmüş ve sosyalleşmeyi tek yönlü bir süreç olarak kavramsallaştırmıştır. Güncel kavramsallaştırma ise çocukların sosyalleşme

süreçlerinde aktif katılımcılar olduğunu ileri sürmektedir (Revis, 2019). Mevcut çalışma da bu görüşle uyumludur. Çalışma, kardeşler arasında Arapçaya yönelik tutum ve yetkinlik düzeylerinde farklılıklar olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Aynı ev içinde, bir çocuk Arapçaya karşı olumsuz tutum sergileyip düşük yeterlik gösterebilirken, kardeşi veya kardeşleri Arapçaya yönelik bir eğilim ve olumlu tutum gösterebilmektedir. Dolayısıyla bireysel yatkınlığın önemi ortaya çıkmıştır.

SONUÇ

Bu çalışmanın amacı, beş Arapça-Türkçe çift dilli ailenin aile dil politikalarını etnografik bir vaka çalışması tasarımı ile incelemektir. Ayrıca çocukların, ailelerinin aile dil politikalarını şekillendirmedeki rollerini araştırmayı hedeflemiştir. Katılımcı gözlemleri, video kayıtları ve mülakatlarla elde edilen veriler, katılımcı ailelerin aile dil politikalarına dair zengin bir veri tabanı ve bağlamsallaştırılmış bir anlayış sunmuştur. Gözlemler sırasında tutulan saha notları ve video kayıtları, katılımcı ebeveynlerin dil kullanımı ve yönetimi hakkında bilgi sağlarken, mülakatlar onların dil ideolojilerini ve tutumlarını ortaya çıkarmaya yardımcı olmuştur. Birden fazla veri kaynağının kullanılması aynı zamanda yöntemsel üçleme sağlamıştır.

Çalışmanın temel bulgularından biri, ideolojilerin ailelerin aile dil politikası oluşumuna etkisidir. Ebeveynlerin Arapçayı aktarma motivasyonları pragmatik/pratik nedenlerden duygusal sebeplere kadar değişirken, Türkçe tercihlerinde dışsal faktörleri oybirliğiyle vurgulamışlardır. Önceki araştırmalarla uyumlu olarak, bu doktora çalışması, ulus inşası sürecinde benimsenen “bir millet, bir dil” inancından kaynaklanan tek di ideolojisinin ve okul beklentilerinin ailelerin aile dil politikası belirlemesinde etkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte, katılımcıların topluluğun sosyo-tarihsel arka planı, kişisel geçmişleri ve deneyimleri de ailelerin daha geniş çaplı ideolojileri benimsemelerinde etkili olmuştur. İçsel ve dışsal faktörlerin etkileşimi ebeveynlerin Türkçeyi Arapçaya tercih etmelerine yol açmıştır. Buna paralel olarak, Türkçe ebeveyn-çocuk dili olarak varsayılan dil olmuştur. Arapça aktarımı ise çoğunlukla yetişkin konuşmalarına maruz kalma veya büyükanne ve büyükbabanın çocuklarla etkileşimleri yoluyla pasif olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Nesiller arası dil tercihleri, aktif Türkçe-Arapça çift dilli olan

ebeveynlerin muhataba göre dil tercihlerini ayarladıklarını göstermiştir. Benzer şekilde, büyük ebeveynler de çocukların dil tercihlerine uyum sağlamıştır.

Çalışma, çocukların Arapça ile farklı ilişkileri olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Aynı evdeki kardeşler arasında farklılıklar hem rapor edilmiş hem de gözlemlenmiştir. Çocukların Arapça lehine veya aleyhine irade gösterdiği gözlemlenmiş, bu durum çocukların kişiliklerine bağlı olmuştur. Aile 2'de büyükanne ile torunları arasındaki etkileşim verileri, bir çocuğun Arapçaya karşı olumlu tutumunun dilin korunmasını destekleyebileceğini, olumsuz tutumun ise dilin devamını zayıflatabileceğini göstermiştir. Bu bulgulara dayanarak, aynı evdeki kardeşler arasındaki bireysel farklılıkların aile dil politikası belirlemede önemli olduğu vurgulanmaktadır.

Çalışma, Türkçe ve Arapça arasında alan ayrımı olduğunu göstermiştir. Resmi dil olarak Türkçe, aile üyeleri tarafından kamu alanlarında kullanılırken; Arapça evde ve mahallede, özellikle yaşlılar arasında kullanılan bir dil olarak kalmıştır. Bulgular, ikinci kuşağın okula başlaması ve geniş toplumla bütünleşmesinin, katılımcıların hayatlarında Arapçadan Türkçeye geçişi işaret ettiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Ebeveyn olduklarında, akademik başarı, sosyal kabul ve ana akım topluma entegrasyon için Türkçeyi çocuklarıyla sürdürmüşlerdir. Alan daralması yaşanmış, Arapça ev alanının yanı sıra cenaze törenleri ve bayram kutlamaları gibi belirli törensel bağlamlarda kullanılmıştır. Arapçanın bu tür bağlamlarda devam etmesi, bu törenlerin doğası gereği özgünlük ve kimliğin ön planda olmasıyla ya da kültürel asimilasyona karşı ince bir direnç eylemi olarak yorumlanabilir. Her iki durumda da Arapçanın bu bağlamlarda sürekliliği dilin korunmasına katkı sağlamaktadır. Toplam azalmanın yanında, Arapçanın devam ettiği bir diğer alan da ebeveyn-çocuk arasında duygusal etkileşimdir. Ebeveynlerin çoğunluğu çocuklarına sevgi ve şefkatlerini Arapça ifade etmeyi tercih etmiş, bu da Arapçanın bu tür ifadelerdeki özgünlüğünü ve duygusal yankısını yansıtmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma, yerli bir azınlık bağlamında yeterince temsil edilmeyen bir topluluğu inceleyerek mevcut aile dil politikası literatürüne katkıda bulunmuştur. Aile dil politikası oluşumunu etkileyen etmenleri ve süreçleri zengin, detaylı ve bağlamsallaştırılmış verilerle ortaya koymuştur. Çalışmayı daha geniş sosyo-tarihsel

bağlam içinde konumlandırarak ailelerin çocuklarıyla hangi dili/k dilleri kullanacaklarına dair kararlarını dolaylı olarak etkileyen süreçleri ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamıştır. Ayrıca çocukların aile dil politikası oluşturmadaki etkin rollerine odaklanmıştır. Aynı evdeki kardeşler arasındaki bireysel farklılıkların bile aile dil politikasının yönünü değiştirebileceğini önermiştir. Önceki araştırmalar Hatay'daki Arapça konuşan topluluklar arasında devam eden bir dil değişimini belgelemiştir (Cengiz, 2006; Smith-Kocamahhul, 2003). Bu çalışmanın nitel doğası ve küçük örneklemi nedeniyle genelleme yapmak mümkün olmasa da, nesiller arası etkileşim kalıpları, özellikle üçüncü kuşağın birinci kuşağa uyumu, Arapçadan Türkçeye bir geçiş olduğunu düşündürmekte ve pekiştirmektedir. Dünyada birçok ülkede milyonlarca insan tarafından konuşulan Arapça, dünya dilleri arasında konumunu sürdürebilir. Ancak, bu toplulukta dil değişiminin genel bir eğilim olması yerel varyant için bir tehdit anlamına gelebilir. Böyle bir durum, dilin canlandırılması yönünde girişimlerin başlatılmasını gerektirebilir.

Çalışmanın Sınırlılıkları

Mevcut doktora çalışması, yeterince temsil edilmeyen bir topluluğun Türkçe-Arapça iki dilli üyelerinin aile dil politikaları konusundaki anlayışa katkı sağlamıştır. Bununla birlikte, çalışmanın bazı sınırlılıkları da bulunmaktadır. Bu sınırlılıklardan biri, katılımcı sayısının az olmasıdır; katılımcılar, Türkiye'nin güneyinde yer alan bir ilçenin iki mahallesinden seçilmiştir. Bu çalışmada elde edilen bulgular, belirli bir bölgede yaşayan yalnızca beş ailenin bakış açılarını yansıtmaktadır. Bu nedenle, elde edilen bulgular genellenemez.

Her iki ebeveynle de görüşme yapılması hedeflenmiş olsa da, iki ailede yalnızca bir ebeveynle görüşme gerçekleştirilebilmiştir. Bu ailelerden birinde, çalışma süreci devam ederken anne, erken evresinde teşhis edilemeyen hızlı ilerleyen bir hastalık nedeniyle trajik bir şekilde hayatını kaybetmiştir. Diğer ailede ise, babayla yoğun iş programı nedeniyle defalarca denemeye rağmen görüşme yapılamamıştır.

Ayrıca, çalışmada yalnızca ebeveynlerin bakış açılarını yansıtan görüşme verileri elde edilmiştir. Başka bir deyişle, görüşme verileri yalnızca ebeveynlerin

perspektiflerini yansıtmaktadır. Ancak bir ailenin dil politikasını etkileyen bireyler olarak çocukların ve büyükanne-büyükbabaların bakış açıları (resmî olmayan konuşmalar dışında) çalışmaya dahil edilmemiştir. Bu durum, katılımcı ailelerin aile dil politikasılarına ilişkin bakış açılarının derinliğini ve çeşitliliğini sınırlayabilir.

Gelecek Araştırmalar İçin Öneriler

Görüşme verileri dikkate alındığında, bu çalışma yalnızca ebeveyn bakış açılarına dayanmaktadır. Büyükanne-büyükbabalar ve çocuklarla yapılan resmî olmayan konuşmalar onların görüşlerine dair bazı ipuçları sunmuş olsa da, üç kuşaktan aile üyeleriyle yapılacak görüşmeler, Aile Dil Politikası'nın daha bütüncül bir şekilde anlaşılmasına katkı sağlayabilir. Gelecek araştırmalarda bu tür çok kuşaklı bakış açılarını içeren çalışmalara yer verilmesi, elde edilen verilerin zenginliğini artırabilir.

Ayrıca, kardeşler arasında Arapça'ya yönelik tutum ve yetenek farklılıklarının gözlemlenmiş olması, bu bireysel farklılıkların aile dil politikası üzerindeki etkisini inceleyen çalışmaların yapılabileceğini göstermektedir. Mevcut çalışmada, bu farklılıkların bireysel çocukların yetişkinlerle olan aile dil politikası müzakerelerini şekillendirdiği görülmüştür. Bu nedenle, kardeşler arası bireysel farklılıkları merkeze alan aile dil politikası araştırmaları yapılabilir.

Buna ek olarak, COVID-19 pandemisinin 3. ailenin aile dil politikasının evrimsel doğası üzerindeki etkisi, uzun yıllara yayılan uzunlamasına çalışmaların önemini ortaya koymaktadır. Pandemi, çocukların dil ekolojisini değiştirmiş ve ailenin dil politikası oluşturma sürecini etkilemiştir. Dolayısıyla, uzunlamasına çalışmalar, aile dil politikalarınıın zaman içinde nasıl evrildiğini ve bu evrimi etkileyen sosyokültürel faktörleri daha iyi anlamak açısından değerli olabilir.

O. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): LANGUAGE HIERARCHIES AT WORK: FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICIES OF TURKISH-ARABIC BILINGUAL FAMILIES LIVING IN HATAY

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☐ **Doktora** / PhD ☒

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