EXPLORING THE FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE KURDISH FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT

EXPLORING THE FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE KURDISH FAMILIES

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This study explored the Family Language Policy of the Kurdish families living in the Republic of Türkiye with regard to the transmission of Kurdish to their children. In order to uncover the Kurdish parents' language ideologies, language practices, and language management strategies, Spolsky's Tripartite FLP Model was used as a theoretical framework. Multiple case studies were employed as a qualitative research method, and the data were gathered from 7 Kurdish families through semi-structured face-to-face interviews, observations, and field notes. The data were firstly analyzed according to the FLP model, and later, thematic analysis was carried out in all data to identify the recurrent and significant themes. The results showed that the Kurdish parents considered Kurdish as an essential part of their life and accordingly made significant efforts for the transmission of the language. Preserving the heritage language, perceiving Kurdish as a marker for ethnic identity, communication with the extended family, especially with the monolingual Kurdish grandparents, and past language experiences emerged as the driving forces behind the parents' FLP. The parental declared language ideologies were congruent with the reported language practices.

Moreover, in order to maintain Kurdish in family conversations, the Kurdish parents employed various internal and external control for language management.

Keywords: Kurdish, Heritage Language, Family Language Policy, pro-Kurdish FLP, Language Policy.

ÖZ

KÜRT AİLELERİN AİLE-DİL POLİTİKASININ İNCELENMESİ

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Bu çalışma, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde yaşayan Kürt ailelerin, Kürtçe'nin çocuklarına aktarımına ilişkin Aile-Dil Politikasını incelemiştir. Kürt ebeveynlerin dil ideolojilerini, dil pratiklerini ve dil yönetimi stratejilerini açığa çıkarmak için teorik çerçeve olarak Spolsky'nin Aile-Dil Politikası Modeli kullanılmıştır. Nitel araştırma yöntemi olarak Çoklu vakalar çalışması kullanılmıştır ve veriler 7 Kürt aileden, yarı yapılandırılmış yüz yüze görüşmeler, gözlemler ve alan notları yoluyla toplanmıştır. Veriler önce FLP modeline göre analiz edilmiştir, daha sonra da tüm verilerde tekrarlayan ve anlamlı temaların belirlenmesi amacıyla tematik analiz yapılmıştır. Sonuçlar, Kürt ebeveynlerin miras dili, hayatlarının önemli bir parçası olarak gördüklerini ve bu nedenle dilin aktarımı için önemli çabalar sarf ettiklerini göstermiştir. Miras dili korumak, Kürtçe'yi etnik kimliğin bir göstergesi olarak görmek, aile büyükleri, özellikle Kürtçe tek dilli büyükanne/baba ile iletişimi sağlamak ve geçmiş dil deneyimleri, ebeveynlerin Aile-Dil Politikalarının arkasındaki itici güçler olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Ebeveynlerin dil ideolojilerinin, dil pratikleri ile uyumlu olduğu görülmüştür. Ayrıca, Kürt ebeveynlerin, Kürtçe'yi aile sohbetlerinde sürdürmek ve korumak için, çeşitli iç ve dış dil yönetimi stratejileri kullandıkları saptanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kürtçe, Miras Dil, Aile-Dil Politikası, Kürtçe Öncüllü-Aile Dil Politikası, Dil Politikası

Dedication

To children whose names are Kurdish yet cannot speak their heritage language,
And to the Kurdish parents who keep fighting for the survival of their heritage language, Kurdish...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LP	Language Planning and Policy
FLP	Family Language Policy
The EU	The European Union
HDP	Halkların Demokratik Partisi (People's Democratic Party)
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
SES	Sağlık ve Sosyal Hizmet Emekçileri Sendikası (Health and Social Service Workers Union).
KHK	Kanun Hükmünde Kararname (Statutory Decree)
Eğitim-Sen	Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası (Education and Science Workers Union)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to explore the Family Language Policy of Kurdish families living in the Republic of Türkiye. It looks at how family language policies are planned explicitly (Shohamy, 2006) and overtly (Schiffman, 2006) as well as implicitly and covertly with regard to Kurdish parents' language ideologies-practices-management in their heritage language, Kurdish.

1.1. Introduction to the Study

This study is based on the idea that the family domain is an important site for languages to be learned, maintained, and transferred to the next generations because of the critical role it plays in forming the linguistic environment of the children (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2004; 2012). Family members' language ideologies and practices, for example, are considered "the fulcrum" of language maintenance (Fishman, 2001, p. 467), and consistent efforts from families, especially from parents (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015), therefore, are required for effective maintenance and transmission of the heritage languages. Tse, for example, explains the roles of parents in the case of heritage languages as the following:

> Parents are in many ways gatekeepers to the heritage language; whether parents speak to their children in the native language; the attitudes parents hold about maintenance of the language ; whether opportunities are sought out for the child to be exposed to or to formally study the language; and whether parents provide reading materials in the home or model uses of literacy (...); all may have an impact on whether or to what extent the language is retained by children. (2001, p. 37).

In other words, parental language ideologies and the linguistic practices at home between parents and their children emerge as one of the key drivers that determine whether the heritage languages will be maintained or lost over generations (Fishman,

1991; Schwartz, 2008; Spolsky, 2004; 2012). Accordingly, the current study agrees with the role of the family domain and parents in heritage language maintenance and transmission. It uses Family Language Policy as the theoretical framework to investigate the Kurdish families' Family Language Policy with regard to the transmission of Kurdish as a heritage language. The following provides a background to the context of the study.

1.2.Background to the Study

The modern-day Republic of Türkiye is historically home to many different linguistic minorities that remain from the Ottomans such as Armenians, Kurds, Laz, Assyrians, Caucasians, Greeks, and Roma (Andrews, 1989; Kaya, 2009; Kurban, 2007). While this diversity in languages may add much to the culture of the host society and be sometimes seen as an asset, at the same time it may become a source of tension for states' national unity (Sadoğlu, 2017). The management of the linguistic diversity in the society, therefore, becomes a topic that challenges the states' national language policies (Pool, 1991). Hence, this situation may lead the states to revise their language policies and prioritize some languages over others considering what serves the best for the states' official ideology (Esman, 1992). In this regard, the Republic of Türkiye has tried to manage this linguistic pluralism in its territories by implementing a unitarist language policy.

Since the foundation of the Republic of Türkiye, the unitarist language policy which barely left any room for the representation of the languages other than Turkish in the society has been implemented. Seeing the multicultural, multilingual, and multiethnic nature of the empire as one of the main reasons for the collapse of the Ottomans (Mahçupyan, 1988), the new regime, the Republic of Türkiye, has established its legitimacy solely on Turkishness and the Turkish language. The Turkish state has penetrated the Turkish language in almost every public sphere such as communication, state apparatus, education, or economy to ensure national unity (Goalwin, 2017; Kubilay, 2004). In other words, the new regime has considered linguistic and cultural

diversity as a threat to the new regime and as a result of this perception of danger, the presence of other languages in the public sphere has faced exclusion or prohibitive measures (Çolak, 2004; Dündar, 2014). Since the official figures do not provide statistics showing the linguistic demography of the other languages in the Republic of Türkiye, the following table derived from Turkish censuses can be used as an example for illustrating the linguistic diversity in the Republican era.

Table 1 Mother Tongue Data in Turkish Censuses 1927-1965 (Dündar, 2014)

Mother Tongue	1927	1935	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965
Abkhazian	-	10,099	8602	17,200	13,655	4689	4563
Arabic	134,273	153,687	247,294	269,038	300,583	347,690	365,340
Albanian	21,774	14,496	14,165	16,079	10,893	12,000	12,893
Bosniac	-	24,615	10,900	24,013	11,844	14,570	17,627
Circassian	95,901	91,972	66,691	75,837	77,611	63,137	58,339
Armenian	67,745	57,599	47,728	52,776	56,235	52,756	33,094
Georgian	-	57,325	40,076	72,604	51,983	32,944	34,330
Gypsy	-	7855	4463	-	-	-	-
Kurdish	1,184,446	1,480,246	1,476,562	1,854,569[a]	1,679,265	1,847,674	2,370,233[b]
Laz	-	63,253	39,323	70,423	30,566	21,703	26,007
Pomak	-	32,661	10,287	36,612	16,163	24,098	23,138
Greek	119,822	108,725	88,680	89,472	79,691	65,139	48,096
Tatar	11,465	15,615	10,047	-	-	-	-
Hebrew	68,900	42,607	51,019	35,786	33,010	19,399	9981
Population of Turkey	13,629,488	16,157,450	18,790,174	20,947,188	24,064,763	27,754,820	31,391,421

[a] Including Kırdaşça and Zazaca.
[b] Including Kirmanja, Kırdaşça and Zazaca.

As shown in the Mother Tongue Data as well, more than 10 languages with different numbers of speakers in each census are listed, and among those languages, although the data has been manipulated according to Dündar (2000), Kurdish, the focus of this research, has constituted the second most spoken language in the country. In the following, a brief overview of the Kurdish language is provided.

1.3. An Overview of the Kurdish Language

Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. It is spoken by 20-30 million speakers in densely Kurdish-populated regions of the Republic of Türkiye, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and also the Kurdish diaspora (Ahmadi et al., 2019 cited in Ahmadi, 2020a; Ahmadi, 2020b). It is a multi-dialect language (Salavati et al., 2013) and due to the different ways of Kurdish dialects classifications,

the most prominent or less controversially accepted ones emerge as Kurmanji, Sorani, and Southern Kurdish (Barry, 2019; Kreyenbroek, 2005; Matras, 2019; Sherwani, 2020; Zahedi & Mehrazmay, 2011). Gorani-Zaza remains as controversial since there is not a consensus in the literature (Malmasi, 2016; Tavadze, 2019).

Sorani Kurdish, also known as Central Kurdish, is the dialect spoken in Iraq and Iran written in an Arabic-based script and Kurmanji-Kurdish, around 20 million speakers (Hassani & Medjedovic, 2016), is widespread among the Kurds in the Republic of Türkiye, Syria, Northern Iraq, a part of Iranian Kurds and Kurdish diaspora written in a Latin alphabet (Tavadzade, 2019). The Southern Kurdish, also known as Pehlewani, is spoken primarily in Khanaqin and Mandalin districts of Iraqi Kurdistan, and the Kermanshah region in Iran, and Zazaki is spoken in the districts of the Republic of Türkiye, "namely Dersim, Erzincan, Elazig, Diyarbakir, Bingol, Mush, and Urfa" (Nerwiy, 2012, p.24, cited in Malmasi, 2016) and Gorani is primarily spoken in Iran and Iraq (Hassani & Medjedovis, 2016).

Of these dialects, Sorani and Kurmanji are the most widely spoken dialects (Salavati et. al, 2013). In a language fact sheet shared by Translators Without Borders (2017), it is reported that 75% of native Kurdish speakers speak either Sorani or Kurmanji. Among the two dialects, the number of native speakers of Kurmanji outnumbers those of the Sorani dialect; however, owing to its official status in Northern Iraq (Autonomous Kurdish Region), and regional status in Iran, the Sorani dialect is more widely spoken, and enjoys a higher level of standardization when compared to Kurmanji (Salavati et. al, 2013).

In this paper, the researcher focuses on the Kurmanji dialect of the Kurdish language spoken among the Kurds in the Republic of Türkiye and explores the Kurdish families' Family Language Policy with regard to the transmission of Kurmanji as a heritage language.

1.4. Research Questions

In conformity with the scope of the current study, the present study attempts to find answers to the following questions:

1. What are the family language ideologies of Kurdish parents?
   1.1. What parental motivations shape their FLP?

2. What are Kurdish parents' language practices and language management strategies regarding the transmission of their heritage language?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Family Language Policy (henceforth FLP) is a field that has barely been studied in the Republic of Türkiye. Apart from the study of Seloni and Sarfati on the diminished use of Judeo-Spanish among Jews living in Türkiye (2013), the researcher could not identify a publication addressing the FLP studies in the Republic of Türkiye. Moreover, there has been no research on the FLP of the Kurdish families in the Republic of Türkiye so far. So, the study of FLP of Kurdish families provides two main contributions to the literature in this regard.

Firstly, although there is a respectable body of literature that provides valuable insights about how Kurdish and the speakers of Kurdish have been treated by the state policies (Uçarlar, 2009; Zeydanlıoğlu, 2008, 2012; Coşkun et. al., 2010; Jugel, 2014; Öpengin& Haig, 2014), there is not much research about the study of the Kurdish families' language policies operating at family level to transfer the Kurdish language to their children. In other words, there is a research void in Kurdish studies illustrating the status of language in a private context home domain, among family members and efforts put forward by the Kurdish parents to transmit the language. Therefore, by situating Family Language Policy as a field of inquiry, this study aims to fill this research void in the literature.

Secondly, FLP as a field has largely been carried out in Western, industrialized countries or immigrant contexts with a focus on mainly European languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Lanza & Gomes, 2020; Lomeu, 2018). However, as pointed out by Smith-Christmas "there is a dearth of research situated within Africa or the Middle East (apart from Israel)." (2017, p. 18), indicating that the family language practices in communities other than Europe or North America can also contribute to the understanding of the field and reveal different perspectives. Hence, the inclusion of the Kurdish language in the Republic of Türkiye will bring the voice of the understudied contexts into the field. Moreover, child-rearing practices of the families and family roles in non-Western societies can be quite different from those of Western families. Therefore, the FLP studies located outside of the typical Western contexts can provide valuable insights for the advancement of the FLP as a field in general.

These are the reasons why this study aims to explore the FLP of the Kurdish families in the Republic of Türkiye.

1.6. Definitions of Concepts and Terms used in the Study

Heritage Language: There are various definitions provided for what the heritage language is. Rothman, for example, defines heritage language as a language spoken at home or available to young children and more importantly, the language is not the societal language of the wider community (2009). In a similar vein, Valdés states that the term refers to the languages that are non-societal and non-majority, often spoken by the groups called the linguistic minorities which are "either indigenous to a particular region of a present-day nation-state (e.g., Aborigines in Australia, speakers of Breton in France, Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and Iraq) or populations that have migrated to areas other than their own regions or nations of origin (e.g., Mexicans in the United States, Turks in Germany, Moroccans in Spain, Pakistanis in England)" (2005, p. 411), and Bayram (2020) points out to the contexts in which an individual grows up speaking a minority language as his/her first language at home, yet becomes dominant in the language of the larger society; the societal majority language of the national state.

Therefore, in this study, Kurdish is considered a heritage language given that it is spoken by an indigenous group at home and it is a non-societal and non-majority language of the mainstream society, the Republic of Türkiye in general.

Family Language Policy (FLP).: The field of FLP refers to explicit or implicit language planning in order to maintain a specific language use within the home domain among family members (King et. al., 2008). It has three interrelated and also independent factors as language ideologies, language practices, and language management (Spolsky, 2004).

Language Ideologies broadly refer to the "values, practices and beliefs associated with language" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002, p.123).

Language Practices are the language choices in interaction (Lanza, 2007).

Language Management refers to the choices, attempts or explicit efforts made by the language planners, parents in this case, to exert influence on the subjects to modify their language behavior and maintain the language in question (King, 2016; Spolsky, 2009).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a background to the field of family language policy, the theoretical framework of this study. After a brief introduction is provided for the field of language planning and policy as a general topic, the attention is drawn to family language policy as an example of micro-level language policy. By reviewing the literature, the chapter situates the study within Spolsky's framework of family language policy. Following this, the language planning and policies developed in the Republic of Türkiye are given to illustrate the context Kurdish was and is in.Lastly, the chapter is concluded with the sociolinguistic profile of the Kurdish people living in the Republic of Türkiye.

2.1. Language Policy

Language plays a crucial role in people's lives and may denote different meanings to its speakers. While some people see it as a tool for communication, others may also perceive it as a strong marker for their identity. Since it is the key element of socialization into one's own group, language creates solidarity among its members and in turn, fosters the source of identity as well (Johnson, 2013). However, this interplay between socialization into one's own group and source of identity is not alway equally distributed. That is, for some people, the language they use for communication may not necessarily mean that it is the language they ethnically belong to. Especially in linguistically diverse societies, some languages have more power than others and provide better access to the resources, a situation that brings language planning and policies to the forefront.

The field of language planning and policy started after World War II as a need for solving the language problems of the states that were newly freed from their colonial governments (Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Johnson, 2013; Kaplan, 2011). For example, Haugen introduced the term language planning in 1959 and defined it as "the activity of preparing normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a nonhomogeneous speech community" (1959, p.8). The aim of the language scholars at the beginning of the field, in other words, was to select a variety of languages as the national one and standardize it to create a community of communication, modernization, and national unity.

Further, Cooper defined the term language planning as "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes" (1989, p. 45) and made a division between language planning and policy, stating that while the former was problem-solving oriented and had a pragmatic approach, the latter dealt with the theoretical or ideological assumptions. A similar approach was iterated by Kaplan (2011) as well who claimed that language planning was used to denote an activity generally initiated by the governing units; language policy, on the other hand, referred to "a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society" (2011, p.925). However, as pointed out by Johnson (2013), while language planning has a plan in its repertoire to influence or change language forms, language policy can also happen without having intentional or explicit plans. Therefore, in this study, language policy is used as a general term to refer to language planning and policy.

In a very broad term, Language Policy (henceforth LP) can be defined as "policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use or acquisition of language" (Johnson, 2013, p. 9) and includes three main domains: status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. The status planning refers to the decisions about determining the functions or the domains where the language will be used; the corpus planning refers to the attempts that aim to change or standardize the selected language

and elaborate its forms and lastly the acquisition planning refers to the implementation of the status and corpus planning in society through education language policies and schools (Cooper 1989, p.1; cited in Wright, 2006). The aim of such language plannings is to promote the use of a selected language in society and create a community of communication. Therefore, to maximize and promote the use of the selected language in society or among community members, language policies can be formulated as top-down or bottom-up types (Johnson, 2013; Wright, 2006).

Top-down language policies refer to macro-level language policies formulated by the governing units or authoritative people. They are the state-level language policies overtly and officially stated in law in terms of official regulations decreed in the form of written policy texts and influence the economic, educational, and political resources the state has and are imposed on the whole society (Wright, 2004; 2006). Bottom-up policies, on the other hand, refer to the micro-level or grassroots policies generated by and for the community it influences (Johnson, 2013). These types of language policies are not documented in written texts and refer to the in-practice of language use among the community members. These policies are implicit or unofficial regulations, meaning that they can be formulated through de facto, covert mechanisms and hence reflect the status of language use within communities.

According to Ricento (2000), for example, much of the early years' language policies were top-down, macro (state) level formulated by the governing units to create national language policies. The focus was given to the implementation of status and corpus planning, and what happened in the local language practices was usually ignored (Kaplan, 2011). Furthermore, Johnson and Ricento provided three phases for the emergence and development of language policy and illustrated language policy changes throughout these periods (2013).

For example, the first period, the 1950s–1960s era, focused on decolonization and state formation (Hornberger, 2006; Ricento, 2000; Wright, 2004). During this period, linguists were invited by the governing units to develop grammar, writing systems

and dictionaries for indigenous languages to create a standard language for society (Johnson, 2013). Linguistic diversity in the state territory was rejected and associated with backwardness while linguistic homogeneity was promoted and seen as a source of development, modernization, and Westernization (Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Ricento, 2000). Hence, the focus of the LP in this phase was mostly given to the status and corpus planning to maximize the use of the national language in society (Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Ricento, 2000; Wright, 2004). Given that many states were newly freed from their colonial governments, the field of LP in this phase was mainly problem-oriented and tried to solve the language issues by disregarding the socio-political and socio-historical contexts of language planning (Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Ricento, 2000).

According to Johnson and Ricento (2013), the second period of the field, the 1970s–1980s phase, was difficult to describe. "It is difficult to neatly or cohesively characterize the work during this era, as interests became more diffuse, extending beyond the corpus/ status distinction, and many language planning scholars, including those who were active in the first era, began to question the viability of earlier models of language planning." (p.9). The second period showed a reaction to the first period language policies and challenged the descriptive language planning, which disregarded the socio-political and socio-historical contexts. As stated by Wright (2004) as well, the emergence of new disciplines such as Cultural Studies, Black Studies, or Development Studies influenced the second period, and critical analysis of the previously implemented language planning appeared. The attention was drawn from status planning and standardization to the social, economic, and political effects of language contact, concentrating on the power and ideology issue some languages hold in society (Ricento, 2000). Moreover, Cooper's (1989) acquisition planning, which means the implementation of the status and corpus planning through education, was introduced and the role of schools in LP gained prominence (Johnson & Ricento, 2013), which later brought the education language policies into the front.

The third period of the LP, from the 1990s to the present, is still in progress. However, globalization, supranationalism, and linguistic human rights emerged as the factors that influenced language policy studies (Ricento, 2000; Wright, 2004). The demolition of the Soviet Union, the rise of Western culture and English as a lingua franca, the massive migrations, and the emergence of supranational and regional bodies such as NATO, the United Nations, UNESCO, and linguistic rights were among some of the common themes studied by the scholars. The rise of these developments shifted the attention from language planning implemented by the governing units as top-down processes to different contexts and different levels of language planning such as micro-level or grassroots policies (Goundar, 2017).

The massive migrations of this period, for example, affected the host societies' linguistic diversity and produced different linguistic attitudes than those of the past (Baker, 2011). While migrants valued the language of the host society and tried to learn it for various reasons such as economic or academic, they did not assimilate themselves into the majority language. Rather, they kept their heritage language and aimed to transfer it to their children, a situation which contributed to the issues of bi/multilingualism and hence influenced both macro and micro-level language policies of the host societies (Wei, 2000).

Moreover, the introduction of the units such as the Council of Europe, The European Union, and their legislations regarding the promotion and protection of minorities and linguistic diversity opened a new space for marginalized groups to struggle for their linguistic human rights. The maintenance and revival of the heritage languages gained more prominence, and scholars such as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Tollefson (2002) advocated for the rights of minorities and drew attention to the power issue in that majority languages were imposed on marginalized minority groups and threatened the future of the minority languages, a situation which became more apparent with the emergence of critical language policy. Critical language policy claimed that policy-makers mostly served the interests of the dominant groups and increased inequality (Tollefson, 1991). Therefore, to fight with the established language policies, the

critical language policy tried to formulate democratic solutions and aimed to protect and promote the maintenance of minority languages (Tollefson, 2002; Tollefson, 2006).

As indicated before, the third period of the field is still in progress. Although much of the language policies were implemented by the governments at the state level, the focus of the language policies shifted to the micro-level bottom-up language policies, as well. Especially with the third period of the field, micro-level or grassroots domains in society such as schools, families, and workplaces, increased and started to conform to or challenge the top-down language policies and implement their own language policies (King & Fogle, 2008; Spolsky, 2004). Accordingly, the field of Family Language Policy emerged as one of the micro-level domains of language policy and was widely implemented in heritage language studies. In what follows, therefore, the Family Language Policy is elaborated. By reviewing the literature, the study is situated within Spolsky's Tripartite FLP Model (2004).

2.2. Family Language Policy

Similar to the macro-level language policies, Family Language Policy which was conceptualized as a field in its own right by King, Fogle and Logan-Terry in 2008, implements its own language policies as being part of the micro-level or grassroots language policies (Gharibi, & Mirvahedi, 2021). It has been characterized as explicit, overt as well as implicit, covert language planning by the parents in relation to language and literacy practices within the home domain among family members (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2017; King et. al., 2008; Spolsky, 2007). While explicit and overt language planning refers to the parents' conscious investment and involvement in language choices and practices, implicit and covert language planning refers to the parents' ideologies and influence on language preferences (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

Drawing on theoretical frameworks of language policy, child language acquisition and language socialization, FLP sheds light on language ideologies of family members, language practices, and language management in relation to language preferences (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Lanza, 2007; Oriyama, 2016). Of these components, language ideologies are related to the parental beliefs associated with the languages or reasons for transmitting them to their children. Language practices refer to the actual use of the FLP and show in which language(s) the family members communicate with each other and lastly, language management refers to the parental language strategies or explicit or implicit interventions to the language choice of the family members, especially of the children (Schwartz, 2010; Spolsky, 2004; 2009; 2012).

Keeping the theories mentioned above in mind, King, for example, highlighted the historical context of the FLP and constituted four different phases for the development of the field over time across different contexts (2016):

1st phase: Classic diary studies by linguist parents with One Parent-One Language method,
2nd phase: Studies concentrated on central psycholinguistic questions,
3rd phase: A shift into a more sociolinguistic approach and
4th phase: A shift into a diverse range of family types, languages, and contexts.

The first phase of the field started with the early examples of the classic diary studies of researchers who tracked their own children's language development, mostly using Grammont's One Parent-One Language (OPOL) approach. The studies carried out by Ronjat (1913), and Leopold (1939-1949) were among the early examples of that period and were the first examples of a description of an early bilingual first language acquisition in the family domain. For example, Ronjat (1913), a French linguist living in France, documented his son Louis's bilingual acquisition of French and German using the OPOL method through age 4:10 (four years and ten months); with a French-speaking father and German-speaking mother. Each parent used only their native language while talking to Louis, and results showed that Louis developed proficiency

in both languages similar to that of a native monolingual. Similarly, Leopold (1939-1949) also had the OPOL method to investigate his daughter Hildegard's bilingual acquisition of German and English. While Leopold spoke only German, his wife kept to English in the United States. Although Leopold also documented success in using the OPOL strategy, as his daughter progressed into adolescence, she became reluctant to use German in an English-dominant environment.

In the second phase of the field, FLP primarily invested itself in central psycholinguistic questions. Most of the studies focused on differences between monolinguals' and bilinguals' language development, individual cognitive traits and their functions in the language acquisition process, and the role of linguistic transfer and language input (Smith-Christmas,2016; 2017). De Houwer (1990), for example, studied the early morpho-syntactic development of a bilingual Dutch-English child exposed to Dutch and English at the same time from birth. The parents employed the OPOL strategy, and De Houwer examined the effect of each linguistic exposure on the child's language development. The results of the study illustrated that the child's language production in each language was similar to that of monolingual peers and language transfer from one language to another was not significant (1990).

The third phase of the field was built on a sociolinguistic approach and coincided with the formal establishment of FLP as a field of inquiry, as well (King et. al, 2008). From this phase onwards, the theory of language socialization was introduced and gained more prominence in FLP studies. *Language socialization* as an approach indicated "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p.163), pointing out that language learning and socialization were interdependent. Within this approach, children played an active role in language learning, and since socialization referred to an interactional process, the language learning took place in an interactional environment in which one observed how both parents' language ideologies and the wider community's attitudes and ideologies co-constructed or influenced each other as well as the development of the children's language learning (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008).

Lanza's work in 1997, for example, pointed out that the psycholinguistic approach of child language learning on its own was not sufficient to provide a bottom-up analysis for language productions. Hence, drawing on the theory of language socialization, Lanza employed (1997) a discourse analytic approach and studied interactions between parents and children of bilingual English-Norwegian families. The findings indicated that parents implemented five types of discourse strategies to socialize their children into a particular language: minimal grasp, expressed guess, repetition, move on and code-switching, which demonstrated parental conscious or unconscious efforts in home language planning. In another study, Okita (2002), uncovered Japanese-English bilingual parents' experiences and social context in England. Through qualitative research, it was revealed that Japanese mothers faced pressures and demands in their everyday lives when raising their bilingual children. These pressures were related to parents' conflicting cultural values, feelings about using Japanese when their children start school education in English, and language choice with other family members. Okita (2002) concluded that neither society nor family members recognized the efforts put in by Japanese mothers, and they had to deal with this demanding task on their own.

The fourth phase of the FLP studies refers to the current phase of the field. The studies in this phase focused on (i) language development and competence, not just as an outcome but as a means through which adults and children defined themselves, their family roles, and family life; (ii) globally dispersed, transnational or multilingual populations beyond the traditional, two-parent family; and (iii) heterogeneous research methods (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; King, 2016; Lanza & Gomes, 2020). In other words, the early phases of the FLP studies were largely conducted in traditional families, with two-parent, middle-class homes in which children at least spoke one of the named or European languages. As pointed out by Lanza (2020) as well, for example, one of the most studied languages in FLP was English, followed by other European languages, mostly in Western immigrant contexts. However, today's evolving world requires a shift in FLP research and calls for the inclusion of a diverse range of family types, languages and contexts such as non-traditional families that live

in diasporic contexts, or families that use non-mainstream societal languages, as well (Fogle, 2012; 2013; Baez, 2013). As expressed by Smith-Christmas, the inclusion of communities living in other than Europe or North America or non-European languages will also contribute to the literature and bring the voice of the understudied contexts and hence advances the development of the field (2017).

Considering that the FLP of the Kurdish families living in the Republic of Türkiye is an understudied topic, the study of the Kurdish parents' language ideologies-practices and management contributes to the recent phase of the FLP. Therefore, to explore the Kurdish families' FLP with regard to the transmission of the Kurdish language, this study is situated in Spolsky's Tripartite FLP model. In what follows, the Tripartite FLP model and heritage language studies conducted under the FLP framework in different sociolinguistic communities are provided.

2.3. Spolsky's Tripartite FLP Model

Spolsky states that "language policy is all about choices" (2004, p.1) and distinguishes three components in the language policy of a speech community: "its language practices-the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language belief 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" (Spolsky, 2004, p.5). Similar to any other social unit, language policy at the family level, therefore, can be explored by referring to language ideology, language practice, and language management (Schwartz, 2020). In heritage language studies, Spolsky's Tripartite FLP model is widely used to explore families' language policies. The following provides examples from studies conducted in different sociolinguistic communities under the three components of the FLP model.

2.3.1. Language Ideologies

Language ideologies are seen as the driving forces in FLP (Spolsky, 2004) and are influenced by the value or power given to a particular language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Acting as the policy mechanism in the family domain, what parents believe or think about languages exerts influence on families' language practices and motivates family members to create cultural or linguistic environments for language socialization and maintenance (Schwartz, 2010). The studies on heritage languages and parental language ideologies, for example, showed that many families had strong ideologies with regard to the maintenance and transmission of their heritage languages since they wanted to preserve their cultural roots, who they were and their connection with the extended family members (Brown, 2011; Kaveh, 2018; King & Fogle, 2006).

In their study, for example, Park and Sarkar (2007) explored the Korean-Canadian immigrant parents' attitudes towards the heritage language and efforts to help their children to maintain the Korean language. According to the findings, the parents held positive beliefs towards their children's heritage language development, and what motivated them to transmit Korean emerged as keeping their identity as Koreans, communication with the grandparents and reaching the linguistic market. Moreover, Kopeliovich (2010) demonstrated her own FLP with regard to the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in Israel and stated that although it was important for them to be socialized into Israeli society, their main ideology was to maintain Russian in the family domain for several reasons such as "access to Russian literature, preserving Russian culture and communication with the grandparents" (p.167). Similarly, Berardi-Withshire (2017) also demonstrated that Spanish-speaking parents in New Zealand valued their heritage language very much and considered it as a "defining element of their ethnic and cultural identity" (p.277) and a cultural capital that needed to be protected, developed and transmitted to the next generations.

However, declared parental language ideologies do not always coincide with the intended language practices or language ideologies of other family members

Christiansen, 2016; Kopeliovich, 2010; Spolsky, 2004; Schwarzt, 2010). A recent study by Romanowski (2021), for example, demonstrated that while Polish-speaking parents in Melbourne, Australia, considered Polish to be crucial to pass it to their children for many reasons such as "cultural identity, communication with the extended family members and advantages resulting from being bilingual" (p.9), the findings revealed that declared language practices differed depending on the preferences and the involved articulators. For example, although parents indicated that Polish was important when the school domain was involved and children switched to the majority language, English; they did not continue to invest much in their heritage language and later discontinued using Polish.

In another study carried out by Mirhahedi and Jafari, the researchers also revealed that there were discrepancies between parental declared language ideologies and their actual language practices in the family. The Azerbaijani-Farsi families living in the city of Zanjan, Iran, perceived Azerbaijani as the "core of ethnic identity" (2021, p.9). However, while communicating with their children, the parents primarily used Farsi due to the fact that Farsi was the national language of the country in addition to being the language of education. Since Azerbaijani did not have a place in education, the parents promoted the use of the national language to contribute to their children's academic success and hence help them have a 'better life' in mainstream society (2021, p.12). In a similar vein, Gharibi and Seals (2020) investigated Iranian parents living in New Zealand and their FLP in relation to their children's Persian and Farsi acquisition and development. Although the parents reported holding positive attitudes towards their heritage languages, according to the findings, the reported language ideologies did not always match with the language practices due to several factors such as education or the language attitude of the mainstream ideology.

2.3.2. Language Practices

Language practices that enact language socialization are the conscious and unconscious language preferences (Spolsky, 2004). Those language preferences are crucial for individuals' development in the language in question. Creating linguistic or cultural contexts for language socialization, therefore, is important in the sense that it can encourage or discourage family members from practicing certain languages and transfer them to the next generations. According to studies in FLP and heritage languages, for example, parental language practices are among the primary factors that predict children's language development and maintenance (De Houwer, 2007; Lao, 2004). However, as pointed out by Canagarajah (2008), the family domain is not an isolated unit and is closed off to society. Language ideologies and practices of the families are influenced or challenged by macro-level factors as well (Spolsky, 2004). For example, when children start socializing outside the family domain such as schooling, and receive input mostly in the majority language, children can start to challenge their parents' language practices and shift to the majority language to conform to society and reach the resources available to its speakers (Luykx, 2005).

2.3.3. Language Management

Language management refers to "efforts to control the language of family members, especially children" (Spolsky, 2007, p. 430), and it starts with what language to use with the children at home (Schwartz, 2010). While language practices can be implicit or unintentional as a result of ideological beliefs (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018), language management can be explicit and show parents' conscious involvement and investment in linguistic resources and context for a particular language. Schwartz and Verschik, for example, classify language management as an internal and external control for FLP (2013). While the former refers to the control of the family environment, methods such as the One Parent One Language (OPOL) strategy, discourse strategies, only heritage language or linguistic resources within the family, the latter refers to the

sources external to the home domain such as sending children to language support schools or coming together with the community members.

Döpke (1992), for example, focused on the parent-child interaction techniques in six German-English-speaking families in Australia who chose to implement the OPOL strategy. The OPOL strategy required each parent to use a different language while communicating with the child and could produce productive results for language acquisition and maintenance owing to the fact that within this strategy, children could associate "a specific language with each parent and are, therefore, better able to decide which language to use when addressing each parent" (Schwartz, 2020, p.197). In other words, the OPOL method could contribute to the bilingual development of the children, and similarly, Döpke (1992) observed that under the OPOL strategy, the parents opted for specific techniques such as increasing the quality of the input, creating linguistic environments rich in multisensory activities and explicitly asking children to use home language, German to support their language development in both languages.

In another study, Lanza (1997) analyzed the communication of two 2-year-old bilingual English-Norwegian-speaking children and the strategies their parents used to socialize them into both languages. Lanza identified five types of discourse strategies that parents implemented to manage the linguistic behavior of their children: *minimal grasp, expressed guess, repetition, move on,* and *code-switch*. The minimal grasp strategy indicated that "the adult provides a minimal grasp to the child's mixing of languages in interaction, thereby highlighting his or her monolingual role" (1997, p. 268). In the expressed guess strategy, parents asked questions using the other language to reformulate the child's utterance and asked for confirmation, as well. In the repetition strategy, parents repeated the child's utterance in the other language; in the move-on strategy, they accepted their child's language choice of communication and conformed to their language practices and lastly, in the code-switch, parents either completely started using the other language or used both languages while communicating with their children (Montanari, 2005).

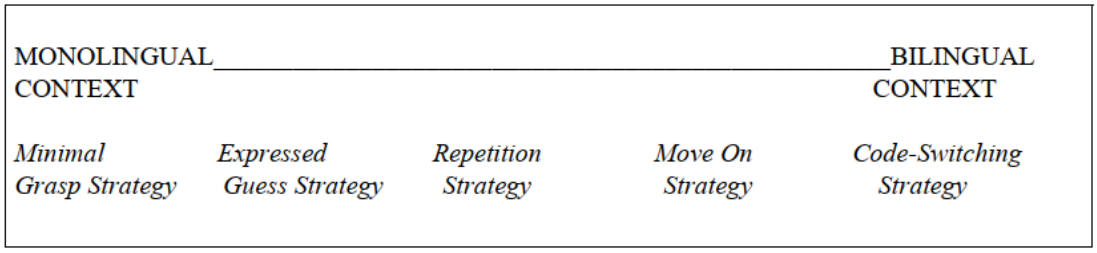


Figure 1 Parental Strategies Towards Child Language Mixes (Lanza 1997)

As shown in the above figure as well, as parents moved from the minimal grasp strategy to code-switching, their monolingual role as the source for input in the languages in question gradually switched to bilingual strategies, and hence, it influenced both the quality and the quantity of the input in English and Norwegian languages.

Moreover, in their study, Schwartz et al. (2011) demonstrated how Russian-speaking immigrant parents whose first language was Russian and who had a good proficiency level in Hebrew in Israel implement language strategies with regard to their children's preschool bilingual development and education. The findings of the study revealed that parents used both external strategies such as school choice (monolingual vs. bilingual), and internal strategies such as goal-directed code-switching practices and choice of the dominant language, Russian, for interaction between parents and children. In another study, Kaveh (2018) explored the FLP of Iranian parents regarding the maintenance of Persian in the United States, and it was shown that while half of the parents stated that they did not have any language strategy at home, the other half mentioned that they applied for explicit strategies such as Persian only, OPOL to maintain Persian in the family unit.

In addition to being the cornerstones of the FLP, these three components are also influenced by micro and macro-level factors. That is, every family has their own beliefs and practices regarding heritage language use and these beliefs and practices are affected by macro-level factors such as education language policies or linguistic

market or by micro-level factors such as parents' language experiences, parents' expectations, or child agency (Spolsky, 2004; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Therefore, it is necessary to show how these components are challenged by micro and macro-level factors and hence influence the families' FLP process.

2.4. FLP and Macro Level-Micro Level Factors

Families are not isolated from society. Rather, they are influenced by and contribute to the wider society (Canagarajah, 2008). It is, therefore, important to understand the factors influencing the FLP of the families.

2.4.1. Macro Level Factors and FLP

According to Spolsky (2004), there are four major linguistic and non-linguistic, macro-level factors external to the families and contribute to their language policy decisions: socio-linguistic, socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-economic factors.

Socio-linguistic factors refer to parents' beliefs associated with the value of the languages. Socio-cultural factors refer to the symbolic values associated with the languages, and in this perspective, languages are seen as the manifestations of the culture. Socio-economic factors refer to the economic values ascribed to the languages. In other words, it refers to the linguistic market, which means that some languages have higher currency than others in society (Bourdieu, 1991). Lastly, socio-political factors refer to access to resources in a society like access to education or the state's national or educational language policies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Hu & Ren, 2016).

Studies conducted by Kirsch (2012) and Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi (2013), for example, can illustrate the influence of sociolinguistic factors on the FLP of families. Kirsch studied seven Luxembourgish mothers in England and their language practices

to raise bilingual children in Luxembourgish and English. Although the parents valued their Luxembourgish identity and tried to transmit it to their children, it was seen that the monolingual ideology and English-only attitudes in the wider society caused parents to accommodate their children's requests in English and hence led to a decrease in Luxembourgish input (2012). In a similar vein, Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi (2013) explored the FLP of Albanian immigrant parents in Greece, and the study revealed that the negative attitudes of the dominant ideology with regard to bilingualism affected the parents' decision to transmit Albanian to their children. The Greek-only ideology in society and contexts related to education, in other words, led some parents to discontinue using Albanian in the home domain among family members.

Regarding the socio-cultural factors and the FLP, the cultural value associated with the languages can positively or negatively affect the parents' decision to transmit or contribute to the heritage languages. For example, Chinese migrant families' positive attitudes toward their cultural identity and language led parents to contribute to their children's Chinese language development (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). However, in some cases, parents might need to evaluate the symbolic value associated with the languages in society and decide accordingly, as well. For example, in the case of Chinese families in Singapore, a city-state known for its bilingual policy, due to the prestigious role English plays in society, the Chinese parents decided to invest more in English to help their children be successful in their education life and society in general (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014). In other words, the low symbolic value associated with Chinese demotivated the parents, and English dominated their FLP.

Socio-economic factors, the economic value associated with certain languages, can motivate parents and hence influence their decisions, as well. For example, Chinese families living in Britain considered Mandarin Chinese as a strong asset for job prospects for their children and invested in the heritage language (Hua & Wei, 2016). Similarly, Curdt-Christiansen's study with Chinese families in Canada showed that the advantages multilingualism provides for job opportunities exerted an impact on the

parent's decisions for investing in three languages; Chinese, English and French (2009). Additionally, Surrain (2021) also illustrated that the economic power of certain languages in society influenced the FLP of families. Surrain, for example, studied the FLP of the 14 Spanish-speaking mothers of preschoolers living in the United States and the findings of the study revealed that mothers valued both the majority language, English, and the heritage language, Spanish, due to the economic opportunities both languages provided for their speakers (2021). In other words, the mothers in this study believed that bilingualism would increase access to the job market both in the United States or elsewhere.

However, in cases where the heritage language does not provide an instrumental value for its speakers, it is likely for families not to transmit the heritage language. For example, Çağlayan's (2014) study showed that the economic value Turkish held in society as the official language caused some families not to transmit the heritage language, Kurdish. The Turkish-only ideology in mainstream society exerted influence on Kurdish parents' language ideologies and resulted in support for the use of the mainstream-societal language, Turkish.

Lastly, socio-political factors also have an essential impact on the families' preferences for certain languages. The social status and functions of languages can challenge or contribute to the families' FLP (Gu & Han, 2021). For example, national or educational language policies play extremely significant roles in the maintenance and transmission of heritage languages. Seloni and Sarfati (2013), for example, illustrated the effect of the national language policy of the Republic of Türkiye on the linguistic minority families' language practices in their heritage language. The authors explored the Jewish family members and the use of Judeo-Spanish among Jews in the Republic of Türkiye through life history narratives. The findings illustrated that Türkiye's monolingual national language policy, Turkish only, resulted in linguistic hierarchy ascribing a low level to Judeo-Spanish and hence caused the family members to invest in Turkish to increase their status and academic success in mainstream society. As in the case of Kurdish parents as well, some of the parents did not transmit

Kurdish to their children given that the language of education in the Republic of Türkiye was Turkish and Kurdish had no place in education (Çağlayan, 2014). Kaveh and Sandoval (2020) also showed how the English-only educational policy in Massachusetts influenced eight immigrant families' FLP to invest more in the majority language, English, and led to a decrease in heritage language practices.

As shown, it is obvious that factors external to the family domain exert an impact on families' decisions regarding the practice of a certain language at home among family members. Moreover, those above-mentioned macro-level factors can also influence the micro-level factors and challenge or contribute to the FLP of the families.

2.4.2. Micro Level Factors and FLP

Micro-level factors refer to intra-family factors and are related to parental impact belief, parents' language experiences, parents' attitudes to their heritage languages or child-agency (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2016; 2020). Parental impact beliefs, for example, are about parents' own capability and responsibility for raising children in the heritage language or bilingual (De Houwer, 1990). These beliefs are further supported by parents' language experiences, education or cultural upbringing.

King and Fogle (2006), for example, explored 24 families' attempts to achieve additive Spanish-English bilingualism for their children in Washington. It was revealed that parents primarily relied on their own language learning experiences while deciding for their children. The past positive language experiences of the families and their approach towards bilingualism as an asset resulted in investment in Spanish-English bilingualism.

However, parental language experiences can also produce counter-decisions regarding the transmission of a heritage language. The study done by Coskun et al. (2010) focused on the issue of the mother tongue, Kurdish, in education and the experiences

of the teachers, students, and parents. Due to the difference between the home and school language, many of the Kurdish parents stated that they had difficulty in schooling and decided not to teach Kurdish to their children to prevent them from having similar experiences, meaning that they did not want their children to fail at school.

Parents' attitudes to their heritage language are another factor contributing to the transmission of the heritage language. Positive attitudes associated with heritage languages more likely lead to investment in efforts to transmit the language. As in the case of Chinese migrant families in Canada, the positive attitudes of the families towards the value of multilingualism and the economic power multilingualism yielded for the speakers impacted parental language decisions. Chinese was considered an economic resource and an asset to provide economic advantages and financial opportunities in the future (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

Moreover, child agency also challenges or contributes to the FLP studies (Fogle & King, 2013; Kheirkhah, 2016). For example, Smith-Christmas's (2016) study with a three-generation Gaelic family in Scotland showed that each family member had different beliefs about the use of the Gaelic, and children sometimes resisted speaking it though in some cases, they answered their grandmother in Gaelic. Moreover, when children start socializing outside the family domain and socialize in the majority language, they bring the language of society to home and can alter the language practices of their parents (Kopeliovich, 2013; Luykx, 2005). For example, Gafaranga (2010) observed the Kinyarwanda-French-speaking families in Belgium and the interactions between parents and children. According to the study, the higher status French held in the dominant ideology led the children to challenge their parents' FLP and caused their parents to accommodate themselves according to their children's 'medium requests' to communicate in the dominant language, French.

As this review of the literature has shown, there are many micro and macro level factors work together and shape the families' FLP and determine the transmission

and maintenance of heritage languages. The present study contributes to the literature and increases the understanding of an understudied group, the FLP of Kurdish families living in the Republic of Türkiye. By exploring the language ideologies, practices, and management of the Kurdish parents, the study illustrates the efforts and practices put in by the Kurdish parents to transmit the heritage language, Kurdish, to their children. However, to illustrate the Kurdish parents' FLP, one needs to provide background information for the language policies implemented in the Republic of Türkiye to better reflect the conditions the Kurdish language was and is in and the efforts shown by the heritage-language parents to transmit their heritage language. Therefore, in what follows, the language policies implemented in the Republic of Türkiye and the case of Kurdish are provided, followed by the sociolinguistic profile of the Kurdish people.

2.5. Language Policies in the Republic of Türkiye

With the collapse of the Ottomans and the triumph of the Turkish War of Independence in 1923, the newly formed Republic of Türkiye was built upon a cultural and linguistic diversity that remained from the Ottoman Empire (Andrews, 1992; Cagaptay, 2004). This ethno-cultural and religious diversity, therefore, required lingual unity, a common language to bring the society together (Tachau, 1964; Xypolia, 2016; Zeydanlıoğlu, 2008) and spread the new ideology which aimed to"transform the religion based state into a modern secular state through modernisation and nation-building" (Virtanen, 2003a, p.11).

Considering the Ottomans' multi-ethnic and multilingual nature as one of the reasons for its collapse (Mahçupyan, 1998), the ruling class in the early periods of the Republic of Türkiye placed a great emphasis on determining a common language to create national unity, start modernization and break bonds with the past, the Ottomans. As stated, language policy refers to the deliberate efforts to change the status of the language. At the state level, governing units select a language, ascribe a national

status to its role in society and promote it over other languages that exist in state territories (Johnson, 2013). Then, the selected language is stabilized, codified and elaborated through corpus planning and later taught via acquisition planning, language education policy, and schools (Aktuna,1995; Cooper, 1989).

In a similar vein, to bring the state together and eliminate the differences among community members, meaning the multi-ethnic nature of the state, Turkish was chosen as the national language of the country and hence, became the primary element in national identity and state formation (Virtanen, 2003b). Therefore, to cultivate and promote the use of Turkish among community members, the newly formed state started implementing language policies in the country. Firstly, the status of Turkish was determined and recognized as the country's official language, decreeing in the Turkish Constitution of 1924 (Coskun et al., 2010).

Following this development, the Law on Unification of Education was introduced, and the education conducted in the state territories became completely centralized. With the acceptance of Law No. 1353 on the Adoption and Application of the New Turkish Letters (1928), the Latin alphabet became the basis for education in the Turkish language, and by opening *Millet Mektepleri* all over the Republic of Türkiye, it was aimed to spread the use of the new letters and break the bonds with the Ottoman alphabet. The university students launched *Citizen Speak Turkish* campaign to promote the use of Turkish in society (Cagaptay, 2004; Aslan, 2007).

Following these developments, Turkish Language Institute (1932) was opened, and the committee attempted to purify the Turkish language by removing the non-Turkish elements such as Arabic and Persian and adding authentic equivalents to replace them (Eminov, 2001; Goalwin, 2017). By proposing the Sun-Language theory, which claimed that Turkish was the source of all the languages, the institute tried to reinforce the Turkish language and rationalize its status as the country's national language among the community members. Moreover, by decreeing in Article 3 that: "The State of Turkey, with its territory and nation, is an indivisible entity. Its language is

Turkish." (p.11) and in Article 42: "No language other than Turkish shall be taught as a mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institution of education." (p.23) which are still in force, the governing units secured and reinforced the status of the Turkish language in society and its role as the sole language of instruction in the country (cited in Coskun et al., 2010).

Apart from the non-Muslim groups who were granted minority status in the Lausanne Treaty and allowed to use their languages in daily life or in education, the remaining linguistic groups such as Kurds, Arabs, or Georgians, were excluded from enjoying such language rights (Oran, 2013; Yagmur, 2001). In other words, similar to the first period of the field of language policy, the language policies in the Republic of Türkiye reflected an example of top-down language policy implemented by governing units and imposed on the whole society. Linguistic diversity in the state territory was rejected, and homogenous, monolingual, Turkish-only ideology was promoted (Goalwin, 2017).

However, the European Union (henceforth the EU) Helsinki Summit's declaration of the Republic of Türkiye as a candidate country to the EU in 1999 brought significant changes to the Republic of Türkiye's language policies with regard to linguistic diversity. One of the requirements of the summit, which had significance for the linguistic groups, was the removal of the restrictions and prohibitions on the linguistic and cultural rights of the minorities (Derince, 2013; Kaya, 2007). From this phase onwards, the language policies implemented in the Republic of Türkiye were influenced by the EU, and some amendments regarding the representation and use of linguistic diversity in the state territory were enabled. In other words, the Republic of Türkiye's language policies were influenced by a supranational body, the EU (Wright, 2004), and Türkiye made some changes to conform to the criteria set by the EU.

However, the linguistic groups still do not have legal support for the cultivation and elaboration of their heritage languages. For example, with more than 15 million

speakers (Öpengin, 2012), the Kurdish language, which is the focus of this research, is heavily influenced by the Turkish state's language policies. In what follows, brief information regarding policies imposed on the Kurdish language and the sociolinguistic profile of the Kurdish people in the Republic of Türkiye are provided.

2.5.1. The Case of Kurdish Language in the Republic of Türkiye

Kurdish language, the largest of the Republic of Türkiye's minority languages (Haig, 2004), belongs to the Iranian language group within the Indo-European language family, and Kurmanji and Zazaki are the two main dialects spoken in the Republic of Türkiye (Ethnologue, 2019). Starting from the inception of the Republic of Türkiye, the Kurdish language has faced many obstacles and was subjected to the state's top-down language policies in which the Kurdish language was denied, oppressed, and stigmatized (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012).

Gunes and Zeydanlıoğlu, for example, listed some of the main policies imposed on the Kurdish language as the following: "banning the use of Kurdish language, replacing the names of the Kurdish settlements with Turkish ones, prohibiting any kinds of documents or publications about Kurds,… or Kurdish language, closing religious schools in the Kurdish regions where Kurdish language was taught, introducing the Surname Law (1934) to Turkify names and surnames, organizing campaigns such as "Citizen Speak Turkish" to force people switch Turkish and forget their mother tongues, resettling Kurdish people into Turkish dominated places to weaken their social ties and assimilate them into Turkish and building boarding schools mainly in Kurdish dominated places to spread Turkish nationalism among Kurdish children and force them to use Turkish language through education" (2014, p. 9) and concluded that these language policies influenced the survival of the language and caused a decrease in the number of speakers who are able to read and write in their heritage language.

As made clear by Wright (2004) as well, the changes regarding Kurdish language rights became possible thanks to the EU process. Today, although the harmonization

process prompted by the EU at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the new century has enabled the Kurdish language to appear in society and in education through broadcasting in Kurdish (2004), opening the TRT-6 state TV channel (2009) and Kurdish language departments at universities and providing Kurdish as an elective course at the secondary level (2012) (Çağlayan, 2014), Kurdish still does not enjoy an official status, and Turkish Constitution with its related Articles 3 and 42 still pose difficulties for the topics such as getting an education in a mother tongue other than the Turkish language (Coskun et al., 2010). Moreover, the long history of the macro-level language policies of the Republic of Türkiye has influenced the Kurdish people's sociolinguistic profile and resulted in different outcomes for the vitality of the language. The following, for example, provides examples from the literature that illustrate the status of Kurdish and reflect the sociolinguistic profile of the Kurdish people living in the Republic of Türkiye.

2.5.2. The Sociolinguistic Profile of the Kurds in the Republic of Türkiye

The Kurdish people living in the Republic of Türkiye are the second largest ethnic group (Öpengin, 2012; Sezgin & Wall, 2005) and constitute a heterogeneous group such as Alevi, Sunni, or Yezidi (Ergin, 2014). Although there is not any official and reliable data on the size of the Kurdish people, the European Commission documented the Kurdish population of the Republic of Türkiye in a range of 14 to 18 million in 2014 (InstitutKurde.org, 2017). With regard to the language, the status of the Kurdish language in terms of language vitality remains as another topic that does not have reliable data. Due to the Republic of Türkiye's long-term top-down, macro-level language policies, many Kurdish people are not educated in their heritage language and have difficulty achieving fluency in reading and writing (Hassanpour et. al. 2012). In the literature, however, some studies conducted in the Republic of Türkiye provide valuable insights regarding the status of the language.

Rawest Research Center (2019), for example, conducted a study under the title of "Kurdish Youths' Attitudes Towards Mother Tongue" in six different cities with 600

people whose ages range from 18 to 30. The results of the study showed that while only 18% of the Kurdish youth indicated that in addition to being able to speak Kurdish, they could both read and write in their mother tongue, the %26 of the participants stated that they could speak Kurdish, but, they could not read or write in Kurdish. Furthermore, the 24.5% stated that they could understand, but they hardly spoke the language, and the rest of the participants, 31.5%, indicated that they could not speak the language. Sherwani and Barlik's study also illustrated similar results (2020). The authors explored the status of the Kurdish language in the Republic of Türkiye in general and in Van speech community, a city in South-eastern Türkiye, in particular. Out of 103 participants, only 19 people stated that they could read in Kurdish, and with regard to writing skills, only a few of them, 6 people, said that they were able to write in Kurdish in addition to being able to read in it. In short, as pointed out by Öpengin (2012) as well, the Kurdish language largely had an oral status.

Regarding the FLP framework, there has been no specific research on the FLP of the Kurdish families in the Republic of Türkiye so far, yet there have been some studies that can illustrate Kurdish people's ideologies or practices with regard to language use. For example, Handan Çağlayan's study "Same Home, Different Languages" reflected a good summary of the intergenerational language shift of Kurdish in different contexts in Diyarbakır (2014). The study focused on "the use of language in daily life, everyday intergenerational communication and the tendencies of language shift" (2014, p. 24). The researcher conducted the study with the families and the members of other societal organizations such as non-governmental organizations, education support centers and municipalities. The findings revealed a language shift among generations; the first generation spoke Kurdish, the second generation used a mixture of Kurdish and Turkish and the third generation used mainly Turkish. The language choices of the participants were reported to be affected by the factors such as education, occupational status, linguistic market, and social class. Education, for example, played a significant role in the language shift. According to the parents, a lack of competence in the majority language, Turkish, would result in a failure

in school success which influenced their decision regarding the transmission of the heritage language. In other words, they did not want their kids to fail at school.

A similar approach was expressed by Coskun et al., as well (2010). In their study, "A wound on the Tongue: The Issue of the Use of the Mother Tongue in Education in Turkey and Experiences of Kurdish Students", some of the parents stated that since they did not want their children to fail at school, they decided not to transmit Kurdish to their children. In another study, the Rawest Research Center documented "the Status of the Mother Tongue Between the Parents and Their Children" (2020). The study was conducted in six different cities as Diyarbakır, Van, Mardin, Urfa, Ağrı, Bingöl, Şırnak, and Tunceli, with 1537 parents. The results of the study illustrated that although the majority of the parents, 88%, wanted their children to learn Kurdish, only 12% of the participants made efforts to transmit the heritage language to their children.

In other words, in the contexts where the heritage languages did not receive "fully-fledged institutional supports" (Mirvahedi & Jafari, 2021, p.2), the parental linguistic ideologies and their language practices within the family domain became the primary factor that determined acquisition and maintenance of the heritage languages (Fishman, 2001, Spolsky, 2012). Heritage language maintenance became the responsibility of the family members and the parents, in particular.

Considering that Kurdish does not have official status in mainstream society and lacks the necessary institutional support for its development, the current study will uncover the Kurdish parents' linguistic ideologies who decided to transmit their heritage language, Kurdish, to their children and explore linguistic practices of the family members and the parental language management strategies in order to keep Kurdish as the language of communication in the home domain among family members. In this regard, this study will contribute to not only the FLP studies but also to Kurdish language studies and reveal what Kurdish parents are going through while

implementing their pro-Kurdish FLP. Therefore, by using the FLP as the study's theoretical framework, the Kurdish families' FLP will be explored with reference to the Spolsky's Tripartite FLP model. The next chapter focuses on the methodology of the current study, followed by the findings, discussion, and conclusion.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research design, research setting, participants, data collection instruments and procedures, and data analysis. Further, the researcher's position and ethical issues of the study are explained in detail respectively.

3.1. Research Design

The goal of this thesis was to explore and understand the Kurdish families' family language policies (FLP) (language beliefs, language practices, and language management) and their experiences with regard to the transfer of Kurdish as a heritage language. Considering the situation of Kurdish and the families' efforts to transmit Kurdish to their children, a qualitative research methodology and case study design were utilized for the current study to explore and describe an in-depth analysis of the issue and empower the Kurdish families by shedding light on their FLP.

3.2. Qualitative Research Methodology

Qualitative research design does not have its own theory or a set of methods or practices that are specific to itself, a situation that challenges the researchers to reach a consensus on the issue (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). However, there are some working definitions in the literature. Strauss and Corbin, for example, state that "By the term 'qualitative research', we mean any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons' lives, lived experiences, behaviors, emotions, and feelings." (1990, p. 11). Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 2) define the qualitative method as multi-

method research conducted in a natural setting sensitive to the participants that implement an interpretive and natural approaches while exploring the issue under question. In other words, the qualitative research method focuses on what participants say related to the subject matter (Tetnowski & Damico, 2001) and analyzes non-standardized data to understand the phenomenon in question (Creswell, 2013; Wolcott, 2008; Yin, 2015). In this regard, it is useful to identify distinctive characteristics of the qualitative research inquiry to gain a comprehensive understanding of the underlying processes the inquiry holds.

In the qualitative research method, the data gathering process is performed in a natural setting, the research site. Qualitative researchers do not create tasks such as surveys to be completed by the participants. Rather, they draw on participants' experiences by observing and interacting with them within their context for data collection (Creswell, 2013; Mackey & Gass, 2015; Yin, 2015). Furthermore, the researchers act as the key instrument in data collection. By immersing themselves in the field, qualitative researchers create data collection instruments and collect data themselves (Hatch, 2002). Since qualitative researchers are the key instruments in the data collection procedure, they position themselves in a qualitative research study. Hence, the researchers provide information about themselves to show how their background plays a role in their interpretation of the information in a study (Creswell, 2013).

Moreover, qualitative researchers make use of an array of multiple sources such as interviews, observations, documents, to uncover multiple perspectives/voices of the participants and develop a holistic picture of the issue under study (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2015). Through inductive and deductive logic, qualitative researchers obtain themes or patterns from the bottom up. By using multiple forms of data, they try to create a set of themes, patterns, or categories rich in description (Creswell, 2013; Mackey & Gass, 2015). The aim is to hear the participants' voices. The focus is on the participants' construction of meaning-making regarding the issue in question. And lastly, qualitative research is emergent by nature. The research process may change after the researchers engage in fieldwork and start collecting data. As time

is spent in the field and with the participants, the research questions, data instruments, and research site may change or need to be modified (Creswell,2013; Mackey & Gass, 2015).

By taking the characteristics of qualitative research methodology into account, therefore, such as collecting data in a natural setting, making use of multiple data methods to develop a holistic picture, and having the researcher as the key instrument (Creswell, 2013), a case study design was adopted for this research.

3.3. Case Study

A case study is a qualitative inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within a real-world, contemporary context or setting (Yin, 2014, cited in Hollweck, 2014). One should conduct a case study when; (i) the focus of the study is to answer how and why questions; (ii) you cannot manipulate the behavior of those involved in the study; (iii) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (iv) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and the context (Yin, 2003; cited in Baxter & Jack, 2008).

Within this framework, what gains prominence is the identification of what the case is. A case may be an entity, an individual, a small group or a community, or a decision process (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2014). Therefore, the researcher needs to bind the case either with time and place (Creswell, 2013); time and activity (Stake, 1995); or definition and context (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this research, the case was determined as "Kurdish families' FLP," and the context for data gathering was determined as a predominantly Kurdish city in Türkiye. The data were gathered from December 10, 2021, to February 2, 2022.

Once the case is identified, the next step is to determine what type of case study will be utilized. In a case study, the phenomenon can be explored through one or multiple cases (Creswell, 2013). When the study includes more than a single case to illustrate

the issue, it is called a multiple-case study. According to Cresswell (2013) a multiple-case study investigates a real-life multiple-bounded systems through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information. In this study, multiple case studies were selected because they allowed the researcher to explore the different perspectives on the issue under study; provide in-depth analysis and reveal implicit motivations that may be unknown to the participants themselves (Okita, 2002, cited in Wilson, 2019), and compare and contrast the results between participating families and their FLP (Yin, 2014).

Stake (1995), for example, states that:

> Each case to be studied has its own problems and relationships. The cases have their stories to tell, and some of them are included in the multiple case report, but the official interest is in the collection of these cases or in the phenomenon exhibited in those cases. We seek to understand better how this whole operates in different situations (p. vi).

In the present study, each family represents a case. Each family has a story to tell about their FLP within their bounded context. Each story contributes to understanding the issue, which is called quintain by Stake (1995). According to Stake, "the quintain is something that we want to understand more thoroughly, and we choose to study it through its cases, by means of multiple case study." (2013, p.6), which in this case is the Kurdish families' FLP.

Considering that the current study focused on exploring a contemporary, and real-life topic; Kurdish families' FLP and gathered data in its natural setting; a predominantly Kurdish city in the Republic of Türkiye by hearing multiple realities shared by the different perspectives of several Kurdish parents to describe the complexity of the phenomena under the study through means of multiple sources of data collection tools such as interviews, observation, and field notes, the qualitative research method and case study design were well suited to the research's aims.

As stated by Creswell (2013), when a detailed understanding of an issue or a problem related to a group or population is needed, which is the FLP of the Kurdish families in this case, we use qualitative research. When we want to encourage or empower people to share their stories, we utilize qualitative research. Further, when the existing theories related to certain groups or populations are inadequate or do not reflect the complexity of the problem, we use qualitative research to *develop theories* (p.48) better to reflect the true nature of the phenomena in question.

Therefore, studying the Kurdish families and their FLP from a qualitative and multiple case design perspective would not only provide answers to the research questions and a detailed understanding of the problem but also encourage and empower the Kurdish parents to share their experiences, make their voices heard and inspire others in the same position.

3.4. The Research Site

The study was conducted in a predominantly Kurdish city in the Republic of Türkiye. The city is a center for multilingualism and multiculturalism where one can see different ethnicities such as Kurds, Turks, Arabs, and Syrians, and hear different languages such as different dialects of Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, and also English. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that Kurdish is a live language widely spoken in the city streets among Kurdish people. Due to various political and economic reasons, the number of people who speak any dialect of the Kurdish language becomes invisible day by day. Therefore, at this point, it is necessary to provide a short background information regarding the status of the Kurdish language in the city as before 2016 and after 2016.

The Republic of Türkiye experienced a Coup D'etat in 2015, and this, among many other things, influenced the local governments and resulted in appointing representatives in some of the Kurdish provinces, known as Kayyım, to the officially selected parties, which changed the language dynamics in the cities.

The city where the study was conducted was among those provinces and was subjected to changes in the society.

Before 2016, the city was being governed by the People's Democratic Party (HDP in Turkish), and the municipality was conducting most of its services in different languages such as different dialects of Kurdish, Turkish, and English. Kurdish was being used along with Turkish, and billboards were being presented in several languages. To strengthen the use of the Kurdish language and culture, the municipality, for example, opened centers such as Kurdish music schools, mother-tongue-based kindergartens, and Kurdish theaters and financially supported those organizations. There were art, culture and music festivals in the Kurdish language. In other words, those were the golden years for the revival of the Kurdish language and culture.

However, after the local government elections in 2016, everything changed. Although the HDP won the elections in the city, due to political and security reasons which were beyond the scope of this study, the ruling party, the AKP, in the Republic of Türkiye overthrew the HDP and appointed its own representatives to the municipality. Since then, the city has been governed by the ruling party. All the gains regarding the Kurdish cultural, and linguistic activities were either lost or hampered. The language-based centers were shut down, and people were fired. Now, Kurdish is only seen in the municipality web page, and the billboards are presented in Turkish and English; Kurdish is not among them anymore.

Today, the city is not as lively as it used to be, and people speak mostly Turkish in the streets. Therefore, to prevent language loss and revive Kurdish culture, new centers, which have nothing in common with the current municipality, were opened after 2017. Now, there are centers for Kurdish music education, Kurdish theather, and playground. Families are enrolling their kids in those centers so that they can socialize in their heritage language. Events related to concerts, theaters, and ecological agriculture film festivals are presented in both Kurdish and Turkish. Every year, on

the 5th of May, Kurdish Language Day is celebrated in the city with several events to celebrate the day and pay attention to its status.

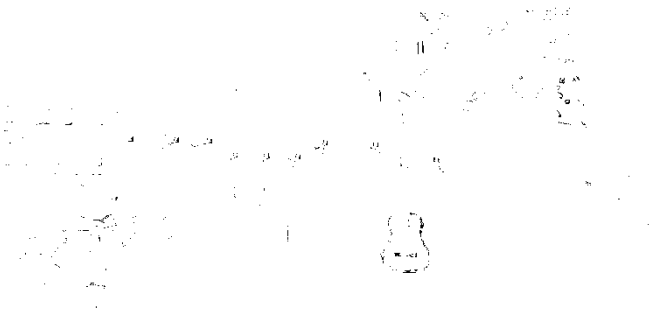


Figure 2 Kurdish Language Day

Additionally, education and health unions are actively working for the right to get the education and health care in Kurdish. In other words, the city is not only multilingual and multicultural but also politically active.

The study was conducted on such a site, and as the researcher, I believe that those dynamics influenced the status of Kurdish and families' language ideologies and practices.

3.5. Participant Selection

The participants in this study are Kurdish parents who are Kurdish-Turkish bilinguals and live in a predominantly Kurdish city in the Republic of Türkiye. To reach the aims of the current study, the following participation criteria were set out for the families;

(i) be a native speaker of the Kurdish (Kurmanji) language living in the Republic of Türkiye.
(ii) have (a) kid(s) (school-age child (optional))

(iii) have the desire to transmit the Kurdish (Kurmanji) language to their children.

Inıtially, I started with a snowball sampling method (Frey, 2018; Parker et al., 2019) to reach families who meet the criteria. I told my friends that I was conducting research on Kurdish families' Family Language Policies and I needed participants who meet the criteria aforementioned. Since the topic was delicate and personal, trying to reach families through acquaintances was the best choice to build trust among both parties. The first Kurdish parent I contacted was a cousin of my colleague who turned out to be a close friend of my cousin from Sağlık ve Sosyal Hizmet Emekçileri Sendikası (SES) (Health and Social Service Workers Union). After I had contacted the first parent as the participant of the study and explained the rationale, he directed me to two different organizations where I could find families who attended these organizations to invest in their children's language development.

The first place was a playground for kids to have activities in Kurdish and the second one was a place where the children were taking Kurdish music education. In the playground, the activities were for young learners and they were mostly done in the Kurmanji and Zazaki dialects of the Kurdish language. The Kurdish music course, on the other hand, provided courses for Kurdish music education and Kurdish language. The course aimed to educate and nourish Kurdish talents in music and language. By doing so, the course aimed to transmit and maintain the Kurdish culture. In other words, the primary goal of these organizations was to teach Kurdish to children through music and activities. With the help of the first participant, I went to these places with his reference and Ethical committee approval by METU to find families who fit the study. From this phase on, participant selection became purposive sampling (Lewis-Beck et al., 2008). I explained to the people in charge of these organizations the participant criteria and how many families I wanted to work with.

To achieve the research goals and have representative data for analysis, I decided to work with 5-10 families. After having decided number of participants, these two institutions made the first contact with the families that fit the study stating that there was a study about exploring Kurdish families FLP, parents' efforts to transfer Kurmanji to their kids. When the families said they were okay and willing to participate in the study, I made the second contact to introduce myself, explain the study's rationale and determine possible dates to meet for data gathering.

Through these organizations, I interviewed 12 families in total. 3 of these families had Kırmancki/Zazaki in their repertoire as well. Due to the nature of the study, the focus was on the Kurmanji dialect of the Kurdish language. Although I interviewed those families, I excluded their data from this study. The remaining 2 families could not provide answers to the interview questions. They had difficulty answering the questions and sometimes had to repeat themselves in each question. Interviews with these families could not be completed. They were excluded from the study, as well. So, I went back to the organization that directed me to these families and clarified the participant criteria. After that, I reached the families who met the criteria and ended up interviewing 7 families. All the Kurdish parents in this study were born in different Kurdish cities, yet they all have been living in the same city for at least 10 years, which is the research site. The following figure was provided to show the demographic information of the participants.

Cases	Participants	Languages	Education	Occupation	Children
the Demir family	Mahir (38) Nurdan (37)	**V**: L1: Kurmanji L2: Turkish; **N:** L1: Zazaki L2: Turkish	University	Psychologist; Visual Arts Teacher	S: Serdest, 9
The Ekinci Family	Ahmet (40) Zelal (40)	Kurmanji (L1) Turkish (L2)	**A**: No formal schooling **Z**: High school	A: Folk-Dance Teacher Z: Shop Asssistant	D: Esra, 12 D: Meryem, 10

The Şimşek family	Zozan (32) Nedim (35)	**Z**: L1: Kurmanji L2: Turkish L3: English **N**: L1: Turkish: L2: Kurmanji	University	English Language Teacher; Doctor	D: Ayşe, 4
The Kaya Family	Derya (40) Ferhat (40)	Kurmanji (L1) Turkish (L2)	University	Secretary; Shop owner	D: Hevi, 9 D: Heja, 6,5
the Tunç family	Vedat (46) Evin (45)	**V**= L1: Kurmanji L2: Turkish; **E**: L1: Kurdish L2: Turkish	University	Primary school Teachers	S: Şiyar Umut, 9 D: Şilan Deniz, 7
The Akın family	Berrin (38); Levent (40)	Kurmanji (L1) Turkish (L2)	High school drop-out; High school graduate	Producers in a Kurdish Tv	S: Caner, 14 D: Nesrin, 12 D: Roza, 7
The Çiftçi family	Yılmaz (38); Çiğdem (37)	Yılmaz: L1: Kurmanji L2: Turkish; Çiğdem: L1: Turkish L2: Kurdish	University	Maths Teacher; IT Teacher	S: Roni, 3,5 D: Arjin, 2

D: Daughter S: Son L1: First Language L2: Second Language L3: Third language

Figure 3 Demographic Profile of the Participants

The descriptions of the participants as cases were detailed in the findings section. The data were collected from the parents who implemented the pro-Kurdish FLP and were available at the time of data collection. Moreover, if the L1 of the participants, their education level or jobs were different from each other, it was provided respectively.

3.6. Data Collection and Procedures

Case study research relies on multiple sources of information to collect rich and descriptive data, which strengthens the validity of the research as well (Yin, 2014). In

the current study, semi-structured interviews, field notes, and documents were used to gather data. Primary data were collected from interviews, and field notes from participant observations during the interviews. Complementary data were collected through documents related to any kind of language production such as stories, songs, or games, to illustrate the language practices and management in the FLP.

3.6.1. Semi-Structured Face-to-Face Interviews with the Kurdish Parents

Interviews as data collection tools are widely used in qualitative research designs to understand the subjective ideas, beliefs, experiences, and practices of the participants (Silvermann & Marvasti, 2008; Yin, 2014). Since the study aimed to uncover and understand the Kurdish families' language beliefs, language practices, language management, and their experiences in FLP, the choice of interviews was well suited to the research design.

In all cases, the interviews were semi-structured face-to-face with open-ended questions related to the life history and three components of the FLP. Semi-structured interviews gave participants the freedom to discuss the phenomena under study and enabled the researcher to understand the lived experiences of the people through their own words (Kvale, 2007).

Therefore, this study employed interviews to collect data about participants' demographic information, their life story, three-component FLP model: language ideologies-practices-management. In the first part of the interview, the participants were first provided consent form (Appendix B). Then, they were asked to provide their demographic information and life history (Appendix C). The second part of the interview focused on Kurdish parents' language ideologies, language practices and language management (Appendix D).

For data collection, I first called parents who volunteered to take part in the study on the phone to introduce myself, inform them about the research, and determine possible

dates and a place to meet. The interviews were primarily done with the parents who implemented the FLP and who were available at the time of data gathering. So, of the 7 families, only one family, both parents Çiğdem and Yılmaz, participated in the interview. Interviews generally were conducted in families' home domain. Only 2 parents, Vedat and Derya, were interviewed outside the home domain due to the fact that those families were living in a remote area, far from the city center. Apart from these two parents, the remaining families were interviewed at home, which allowed the researcher to partially observe language practices of the family members among themselves.

In the beginning, the interviews were planned to be conducted one week apart for each topic. The first two interviews with parents were tried to be conducted accordingly. However, due to the pandemic and heavy workload of both the participants and the researcher, this choice of data collection had to be canceled. In the case of the Çiftçi family, for example, their children got sick, and it took more than one week to get in touch with them again. Also, in another case, the Demir family, Mahir had to postpone the date set for the second meeting due to his heavy work schedule. Therefore, the remaining participants were interviewed on a single date determined by both parties, which provided more productive results as the data collection flow was not disrupted.

Since the researcher did not know Kurmanji, all the interviews were conducted in Turkish. Noticing that saying Kurdish was easier to utter, Kurmanji and Kurdish were used interchangeably during the interviews. To promote a relaxed, open, and sincere data collection procedure, the researcher started the conversation with daily talk and shared her experiences as a native speaker of Kırmancki/ Zazaki and informed the participants about their rights and consent form. After the participants had signed the consent form, the researcher started the recording device. All interviews were audio-recorded with two different recording devices: the researcher's smartphone and tablet to guarantee the recording. Each face-to-face interview lasted one hour on average, and the total recording time was about 10 hours.

3.6.2. Field Notes

Field notes are another widely used data collection tool in qualitative inquiry (Schwandt, 2007). Field notes are written observations made during or shortly after participant observations in the field, which are important for comprehending the phenomena under study (Allen, 2017). The field notes can be used to complement interviews or can stand as data on their own in the forms of scratch notes, diaries, journals, or documents such as songs, stories, and pictures.

There are two kinds of field notes called descriptive and reflexive (Allen, 2017). While the former refers to a thick and rich description of the research setting, the context, the people involved, the latter refers to the researcher's subjective interpretation of the observation and allows the researcher to develop critical insights or inferences related to the observed phenomena (Frey, 2018; Mackey & Gass, 2015).

In this study, field notes were used to complement interviews to write down what might not have been stated explicitly during the interviews or overlooked. The researcher employed descriptive field notes to provide detailed information about the context, the location of the families where they live, and, if possible, the interaction between family members, especially between children and the parents who implement the FLP. For example, although the children were not the primary data source and were not interviewed, their interaction with their parents during the interviews tried to be observed and written down to complement the language practices component of FLP. Reflexive field notes were used to interpret the observed language practices and materials used to transfer the Kurdish language.

Moreover, if there was any, the parents were asked to provide a copy of the materials such as story books, games, songs, or language production activities that they used to illustrate the families' language management strategies and practices. Derya, for example, provided a story that her daughter had written in Kurdish. In another case, Vedat shared a crossword puzzle he prepared in Kurdish for his son.

3.7. Data Analysis Methods

The demographic information, audio recordings of the interviews, field notes, and documents were transcribed verbatim after the fieldwork and organized in a word document. The process of transcription enabled the researcher to become familiar with the data and start thinking about the emerging themes (Gibson & Brown, 2009; Riesmann, 1993). 309 pages of transcribed data were formed in total and transferred to MAXQDA, the qualitative analysis software program. All interviews and the data were analyzed in Turkish to keep any nuances in meaning. The selected excerpts for different categories were translated into English at the data analysis stage.

The Three-Component FLP Model was employed to identify and describe each of the 7 families' language ideologies, practices, and management strategies. Additionally, Thematic analysis was employed to determine the emerging themes in cases and was conducted via the software MAXQDA.

3.7.1. The Tripartite FLP Model (Spolsky)

In multiple case studies, each case is considered a single case, and each case is of interest (Mills & Wiebe, 2010). Each case's findings contribute to the entire phenomena under the study. Therefore, the three-component FLP model (Spolsky, 2004; 2009) was used as an analytical framework to explore and describe each of the 7 families' language ideologies, practices, and management. Within-case analysis was used in each family to provide an in-depth understanding and description of their FLP.

3.7.2. Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method that is widely used to identify, analyze and report the repeated patterns or themes within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2013; Mills et al., 2010). Boyatzis (1998) states the goals of thematic analysis

as a means of; (i) seeing, (ii) finding relationships, (iii) analyzing, (iv) systematically observing a case, and (v) quantifying qualitative data (cited in Mills et al., 2010). The goal here is to develop patterns of meaning, themes that are important for the study. Since in qualitative research design, the researcher is the key instrument in data collection; themes are generated by the researcher across a dataset through data familiarization, coding, theme development, and review. These emerging themes are used to address the phenomena under the study (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Thematic analysis as a method is not associated with a particular epistemological or theoretical perspective. It can be applied to different datasets, and different research designs, and this makes it a very flexible and versatile method to be employed in data analysis (Michelle & Lara, 2020). When the aim is to understand a set of experiences or thoughts within a dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2012), thematic analysis is a useful and effective method to utilize. Therefore, Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6-step Thematic Analysis (TA) framework was employed in this study.

Step 1: Become familiar with the data	Step 4: Review themes
Step 2: Generate initial codes	Step 5: Define themes
Step 3: Search for themes	Step 6: Write-Up

Figure 4 Braun & Clarke's Six-phase Framework for Doing a Thematic Analysis

The framework consists of 6 steps and the phases are based on a recursive process rather than linear which means that the researcher can move back and forth in light of new data or newly emerging themes (Michelle & Lara, 2020).

Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012) distinguish between Inductive and Deductive Thematic Analysis (TA). While the former refers to emerging themes from the dataset, a bottom-up approach, the latter refers to a pre-existing framework used to answer a particular question. In this study, for the semi-structured interviews and field

notes, both Deductive and Inductive TA were utilized in turn. First, Deductive TA was employed within the FLP framework in order to identify language ideologies-practices-management of each of the 7 families and provide a first holistic view of the FLP within each family. The first stage of the data analysis provided an in-depth and holistic account of the families' FLP. The Kurdish parents' life story and documents related to the Kurdish language were analyzed together as one family data set, and any code related to the three components of the FLP was identified and reported accordingly in each family's case study report.

Secondly, the data were analyzed from an Inductive TA approach to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and underlying challenges that the families encountered. Cross-analysis of all parents' data was conducted to identify codes, and themes independently of the research questions. Furthermore, in this research, a theme was described as prevalent based on the number of participants who stated it.

Considering the small sample used for the case studies, a theme had to have been articulated by at least three participants to be considered prevalent.

3.8. The Role of the Researcher

In qualitative research inquiry, the role of the researcher as the key instrument in data collection, analysis, and interpretation makes it essential for researchers to understand and report their roles in the research process (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, before moving onto the case findings, I believe that the readers need to know my identity and my investment in this study as the researcher.

I am a graduate of Middle East Technical University and I have been working as an English Language Teacher in one of the state's high schools located in a predominantly Kurdish city for 3 years. During these 3 years, I kept observing the city to understand Kurdish and its use in different areas such as bus services, marketplaces, streets, and among people from different generations.

Through these observations, I realized that Kurdish people were speaking both Kurdish and Turkish in bus services and marketplaces depending on the language choice of the customers or passengers. If the customer spoke Kurdish while asking for the price of the goods in the marketplace, the seller responded in Kurdish or vice versa. However, given that I was working in the city center, urbanization might have played a role in that, as far as I observed, Turkish was spoken much more widely than Kurdish.

Among the generations, I observed variations with regard to the use of Kurdish. While the first generation, regardless of gender, was mainly speaking Kurdish among themselves in the city streets or coffee houses, this situation seemed less widespread in the second and third generations. The second generation had knowledge of Kurdish and spoke it with their elderly ones. Yet, the language transfer seemed to be hampered when it came to the third generation, their children. Although there were some acquaintances of mine aimed to teach the language to their children, I left with the impression that these families were not among the majority. When I asked some of the parents who did not teach the language the reasons behind their decisions, they stated several reasons such as the criminalization of the Kurdish language by the dominant society and valuing Turkish as the language of education.This was what it looked like from the outside world, the city streets. So, I became curious about families who decided to transmit their heritage language, Kurdish to their children and what was going on in their home domain, a private context and started investing in this idea. Therefore, doing research in the field of Family Language Policy to see the transfer of Kurdish mainly was a result of these observations.

As the researcher, my role in this study was both insider and outsider. I was an insider because, as a Kırmancki/Zazaki native speaker, I was familiar with the transfer of Kurdish as a heritage language to the next generations. Due to the common linguistic background, the participating parents regarded me as one of them. Hence, they felt comfortable talking about their FLP and being critical of factors that played roles in

their FLP. Additionally, a three-year experience of teaching in a Kurdish city allowed me to invest myself in observing Kurdish people and the Kurdish language in their natural setting. Therefore, I was familiar with the situation of the Kurdish language in society and the struggle for its vitality.

However, the fact that the participating parents were second generations of the Kurdish language and their marital status made me an outsider, as well. In other words, as the researcher, I was among the third generation of the Kurdish language, and my experience was different from theirs given that they had witnessed the 90s of the Republic of Türkiye. Additionally, considering that I was single and had no experience implementing my own FLP, their marital status and having kids were among other characteristics that I diverged from. These differences in personal histories, therefore, allowed me to distance myself and explore the quintain from an etic perspective.

Moreover, to minimize the pressure participants may have experienced, I explained the rationale of the study and stated that the study was meant to understand families' experiences in implementing FLP. Accordingly, during the data collection, I avoided making comments on families' language use or criticizing their FLP.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

Doing research with human participants requires paying attention to ethics. In the present study, two main ethical considerations were central to the data collection procedures: protecting privacy through the anonymity of the participants and the research setting and providing a consent form to each participant. In order to adhere to the ethical standards, the researcher applied for the Middle East Technical University Human Research Ethics Committee and received ethical approval for the study (see App. A).

Before the ethical approval, the researcher started looking for possible participants who would fit the study and made phone calls with them. After the ethical approval, the researcher engaged in fieldwork and started the data collection procedure. The data collection phase was based on willingness. When the institutions informed the families about the study, they were both excited and eager to take part in such a study stating that they would do anything to contribute to Kurdish language studies and that this was the first time they would participate in such a study to talk about their own experiences and struggle with transfer of Kurdish language, which was an indication that the parents appreciated the study.

At the beginning of the data collection, the participants were provided a consent form (Appx. B) and informed about their rights, and they had the right to withdraw from the study anytime they wanted. While initially, the first ethical approval included the name of the research setting explicitly, as the researcher engaged in fieldwork and understood that for the participants, talking about the Kurdish language and their efforts were delicate and sometimes dangerous due to the criminalisation of Kurdish language in the wider society, the researcher made a revision in the second ethical approval and removed the name of the city from the study. Additionally, in order to protect the participants' and their kids' identities, pseudonyms were substituted. However, the researcher paid attention to the language. Kurdish and Turkish names and surnames were replaced by Kurdish and Turkish pseudonyms respectively to provide an authentic description of the participants.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: THE CASE STUDIES

This chapter presents each of the 7 families' FLP in turn. Having provided the demographic information with participants' own life stories, every case study describes the following FLP components;

1. The parental language ideologies
2. The language practices of family members and
3. parental language management strategies.

The data for each case study were collected through the methods described in the methodology chapter, which included semi-structured face-to-face interviews with Kurdish parents, field notes, and language materials.

Following the case study descriptions, a cross-case analysis and discussion of the findings (Chp. 5) were presented.

For clarity, excerpts from the data were provided separately as in the form of long quotations and sometimes were embedded in case description as quotations to better reflect and interpret the FLP of the family.

The translations for any kinds of materials provided in Kurdish were double-checked by an instructor who works in the Kurdish music course as a Kurdish language teacher. The instructor translated the Kurdish materials into Turkish, and later, the researcher translated them into English. Moreover, in this study, Kurmanji and Kurdish were used interchangeably.

4.1. The Case Study Descriptions

Case Study 1: the Demir Family

Among the participants, Mahir was the first parent that I interviewed. I met him thanks to my colleague and later we found out that he was a close friend of my cousin from Sağlık ve Sosyal Hizmet Emekçileri Sendikası (SES; Health and Social Service Workers Union). From that moment on, it became much easier to reach the participants who fit the participants' profile because Mahir directed me to two different organizations where Kurdish families gathered together to socialize with their kids in the Kurdish language.

Mahir is 38 years old, and is a Psychology graduate. He has been living in this city for about 20 years. Initially, he was working as a Psychologist in a state hospital, however, due to his affiliations with the SES, he was dismissed from his job with KHK, the statutory decree. His legal fight still continues, and now, he is working as a free-lance Psychologist. He speaks Kurdish Kurmanji and Turkish. With his own efforts, he has become literate in Kurmanji, as well. He is married and his wife, Nurdan (37), is Visual Arts teacher, and has Dımılı/Zazaki as her mother tongue, yet she is not competent in it, and her knowledge of Kurmanji is at a very basic-level. Their only child, Serdest, is 9 years old and is in the 3rd grade. He has been living in this city since birth. Serdest has Kurdish, Turkish, and English in his language repertoire and understands basic-level Zazaki. Mahir speaks Kurdish while his wife, Nurdan, speaks Turkish to their son. However, Turkish is his dominant language at the moment.

Since Mahir was the parent who implemented the FLP to transmit the Kurdish language and his wife did not want to participate in the study, the interview was only conducted with Mahir. However, his wife Nurdan was also present in the

room along with their son Serdest and expressed that she supported her husband in his decision on transmitting the heritage language to their son.

When Mahir was asked about his childhood years, in which languages he grew up or whether he knew Turkish or not when he started his formal education, he said that he was surrounded by a Kurdish monolingual entity and met Turkish at school. The lack of mass media such as television or radio, prevented the introduction of Turkish or another language to his life which contributed to the idea that "the presence of another language besides Kurdish was not possible for him." Mahir also attributed his zero knowledge in Turkish to having a monolingual Kurdish speaker mother;

> Well, most probably, it has something to do with my environment; it is a little more closed society. Actually, we can add my mother's not knowing any Turkish as a contribution to this situation, as well.

Mahir perceived his mother's lack of knowledge in Turkish as a positive contribution to his language development in Kurdish. This was echoed in several studies, as well that the roles of mothers as the first caregivers and home domain played crucial roles in heritage language transmission and maintenance (Fishman, 1991; Gharibi & Mirvahedi, 2021; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984).

Moreover, during our interview, he expressed that learning Turkish as "a second language and doing his job in Turkish" kept him wondering how it could have been if he were doing his job in his "mother tongue." He stated that this question often caused him to question his situation because he sometimes confused the Turkish grammar due to his heritage language, meaning that there was an L1 transfer from his first language to the second language and he sometimes had difficulty expressing himself while especially talking to his patients.

Language Ideologies

Parental motivations for transmission of the heritage language

Mahir expressed that their language policy was based primarily on "raising a multilingual kid." They aimed to develop their son's language repertoire by adding multiple languages because they believed that learning several languages contributed to linguistic development and acquisition of other languages.

> His language repertoire will probably develop. Because when you learn several languages simultaneously, I believe that language repertoire will develop, which has already happened. Well, he has just started English, but he has achieved a good level within an 8-month period. Probably, it has something to do with the language (meaning Kurdish*).*

According to what Mahir indicated, his son acquired a good level of English within a short period and attributed this development in the third language acquisition to his son's knowledge in his heritage language and also, in the majority language, Turkish. As reported in the literature as well, the knowledge of several languages helped "the acquisition of additional languages" (Abu-Rabia & Sanitsky, 2010; p.194) and the bilinguals used their linguistic repertoire when they encountered a new language (Maluch & Kempert, 2017). Considering that Serdest was subjected to two languages since birth, bilingualism contributed to trilingualism, reinforcing the acquisition of another language, English.

Secondly, during our interview, Mahir shared his past language experiences and mentioned how he learned Kurdish literacy 20-30 years later with his own efforts. It took a couple of years for him to learn how to read and write in Kurdish. He said that "I was listening through the headphones and following the lines from the books", pointing out the fact that the Kurdish language mostly had an oral status (Öpengin, 2012) and he had difficulty while learning the literacy of the language and improving his receptive and productive skills in the heritage language. As a result, he did not want his son to experience the same difficulties that he had. Therefore, his past

negative experiences impacted his FLP and led to a decision to teach his son Kurdish literacy as well, which provided positive outcomes for his FLP. His son became literate in Kurdish as well. In other words, Mahir's literacy practices resulted in the acquisition of productive skills in the heritage language.

Another motivation for Mahir's FLP was to preserve Kurdish language because he did not want his mother tongue to be listed under the endangered languages as in the case of the Zazaki/Dımılki dialect of the Kurdish language. He expressed his sensitivity to language as:

> We have a concern about the Kurdish language not to be a part of the list of languages that are becoming extinct. So, we want him to learn his language, too.

For example, in 2003, UNESCO published the *Language Vitality and Endangerment* document with six degrees of endangerment, namely "Safe (5), Stable yet threatened (5), Vulnerable (4), Definitely endangered (3), severely endangered (2), critically endangered (1) and extinct (0)" (p.12, cited in Moseley, 2010) to identify the vitality of the languages through illustrating the intergenerational language transmission. Within the third edition of the Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, whereas despite its high number of speakers, Zazaki has been listed as "vulnerable at minimum" (Moseley, 2010, p.40), Kurmanji has not been regarded as endangered. However, considering the status of the Kurdish language is in the Republic of Türkiye such as lack of state support in the wider community or not having education in the mother tongue, Mahir wanted to protect his heritage language and secure intergenerational language transmission through his pro-Kurdish FLP to prevent having a similar situation to that of Zazaki dialect of Kurdish.

Moreover, Mahir referred to the role of language in communication with older generations, for example, with his mother. He expressed that he did not care about whether Kurdish would provide an economic benefit for his son or not because Mahir's mother, for example, was a monolingual speaker of the Kurdish language, and in this

case Kurdish was their one and only choice for communication with the family elders.

> What I mean is that even if he speaks of nothing, he will be able to speak to his grandmother because his grandmother does not know any other language than Kurdish.

However, as illustrated in the literature, some families also invested in the heritage language because it yielded economic opportunities in the job market for their children (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Surrain, 2021). In the case of Mahir, on the other hand, he could not and did not rely on this factor because as pointed out by the Kurdish parents in Coskun et al. 's study (2010) as well, Kurdish did not have a place either in education or in the job market in the Republic of Türkiye. Therefore, being aware of the status of Kurdish in society, Mahir based his motivation for investing in the heritage language on protecting and maintaining communication with older generations.

Language Practices

Mahir said that "I always felt the anxiety about whether it would backfire or he would show a counter-reaction, he would give up completely", meaning that he was worried that following a strict approach might lead his son, Serdest to develop a negative attitude towards the heritage language and result in complete failure. Hence, he opted for a flexible approach to transmit the Kurdish language. As parents, they implemented the OPOL (One Parent-One Language) method while addressing their son. The OPOL method referred to situations in which both parents' language backgrounds were different from one another, and each parent used his/her language while communicating with the children by aiming that their children would successfully associate each language with each parent and hence achieve a good level of acquisition in both languages (Leopold, 1939; Ronjat, 1913; Venables et al., 2014). Accordingly, while Mahir spoke Kurdish with his son from the day he was born, his wife Nurdan spoke Turkish. However, as parents, they used Turkish for communication with each other because Turkish was the common language for both parties. Additionally, although Mahir kept speaking the heritage language with his son,

he did not push Serdest to respond in Kurdish and according to Mahir, Serdest responded mostly in Turkish while talking to him.

Regarding language use, Mahir expressed that the introduction of formal schooling had an impact on their language practices.

> For example, when he goes to school, his communication, education, and science becomes completely in Turkish. Well, I still try to explain in Kurdish while lecturing. However, Turkish highly dominates the process, no matter how hard I try. Since it is not the language of education, I make an extra effort to be able to teach him.

Although Mahir used predominantly Kurdish while explaining or helping with the homework, he sometimes needed to use Turkish to check his son's comprehension. He attributed this situation to the Kurdish language status not being a language of formal education.

For the communication between the extended family such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles of both sides, Mahir reported that Serdest spoke mainly in Turkish with his mother's side because they knew both Turkish and Zazaki. However, when it came to Mahir's parents, he stated that Serdest had to speak Kurdish because his mother, Serdest's grandmother, did not know any Turkish besides"Nasılsın? (How are you?***).***" He shared an anecdote about the communication between his mother and his son:

> My mom said: "How is your mother? How is your dad? (asked in Turkish). He reacted "You were supposed to say "Bawo" (meaning dad in Kurdish). Why do you say "baba" (meaning dad in Turkish)? You have to say "Diyamın" (meaning mom in Kurdish). Why do you say "anne" (meaning mom in Turkish)?

As shared in the above excerpt, Serdest showed an example of child agency in which the child had the power to shape the FLP of the family and remind or challenge the language practices among family members (Gafaranga, 2010). Hence, the warning of the grandson led the grandmother to adjust her communication, and later resulted in a return to Kurdish. In other words, Serdest responded to each grandparent in the appropriate language.

Regarding literacy practices, Mahir shared that while buying Turkish story books, he also bought Kurdish story books to balance the literacy practices in both languages and stated that his son could read and write in Kurdish as well. Initially, when Serdest was little, his father was reading Kurdish stories to him and his mother was reading Turkish books. However, when Serdest developed literacy skills, he began reading on his own.

Parental Language Management Strategies

Mahir opted for a flexible approach in the transmission of Kurdish due to his fear that his FLP might backfire and Serdest would give up altogether. His language management varied from speaking only Kurdish with his son since birth to buying Kurdish books and choosing language support centers.

For example, when the HDP was governing the city, there were kindergartens known as Zarokistan, and the language of education in these centers was being carried out in Kurdish. Mahir firstly enrolled his son in one of those Zarokistans to contribute to his language development. However, when they were shut down by the Kayyıms (administrators appointed by the ruling party), families and Mahir came together, and founded an alternative place for Zarokistans, the Kurdish playground. So, Mahir sent Serdest to this playground so that he could spend time in the Kurdish language and practice it through activities with his peers.

Mahir stated that sending his kid to an alternative place contributed to the language acquisition and development since it did not interrupt the process. Moreover, when the kindergarten journey ended, the Covid-19 pandemic broke out, and they relied more on internal control for FLP such as reading Kurdish story books, listening to Kurdish music, or playing games in Kurdish to develop their son's comprehension skills in the heritage language. When the pandemic got normal, they took help from another external source and enrolled their son in the Kurdish music course.

> I sent my child to a course that teaches Kurdish, both Kurdish, and culture and also music. He still goes there…The kid is there, in that life. We leave him in his natural environment.

In the Kurdish music course, Serdest was exposed not only to the music and culture but also to the Kurdish-speaking children his age. Serdest was immersed in a Kurdish monolingual environment and it contributed to the socialization in the heritage language.

To summarize the FLP of the Demir family, multilingualism, parental language experiences, preserving the Kurdish language, and communication with grandparents emerged as the driving forces behind their FLP. To manage the language practices, the parents used the OPOL method while communicating with their son, Serdest. Moreover, as classified by Schwartz (2010), Mahir used both external and internal control for their FLP to secure the heritage language transmission. They sent their son to Zarokistan; when it was shut down, Mahir came together with other families, founded the Kurdish playground, enrolled his son there and later to the Kurdish music course so that the heritage language transmission could continue smoothly. Regarding language practices, according to what Mahir reported, his son mostly communicated in the majority language, Turkish, with him. However, when it came to the communication with the grandparents, Serdest responded to each grandparent in the appropriate language, namely Kurdish on his father's side and Turkish on his mother's side.

Case Study 2: the Ekinci Family

In the Ekinci family, the interview was done with only Ahmet because his wife was working at the moment of the data collection process. Ahmet is 40 years old and works as a Kurdish folk dance instructor. Currently, he is writing a book about Kurdish folk dance and is about to finish it. He speaks Kurmanji, Turkish, and, to some extent Zazaki. His wife, Zelal (40), speaks Kurmanji, and Turkish and works in one of the big shopping malls in the city center. They have two daughters. Their first daughter Esra, 12, was born in X city in the West of the Republic of Türkiye and is in 6th grade. Meryem, 10, was born in a Kurdish city, and is in 5th grade. Both children know Kurdish and Turkish. They are literate in their heritage language, as well.

Ahmet was born in a Kurdish village in the Southeast and grew up in a monolingual Kurdish environment. He had no formal schooling and did not know Turkish until he was 13-14 years old. He met Turkish when as a family, they had to move to the West of the Republic of Türkiye, where they lived in the X city for 22 years due to the village evacuations in the 90s. He learned Turkish at work and faced some problems due to his lack of competence in Turkish:

> I learned Turkish after we had moved to X city, I mean, we migrated to X after our villages had been burned. I learnt it there, in my work environment. In fact, there were fights over it, too. I was being excluded all the time since I did not know Turkish.

What Ahmet experienced at work was a common reaction that the Kurds received due to the language barrier. The work environments Ahmet mentioned were construction and textile. He was working as a worker in these sectors. When he was informed about a Kurdish non-governmental organization in X city, he attended and learned both Kurdish and Turkish literacy there. Moreover, his journey in Kurdish folk dance career began in this NGO in 1996.

Before coming to his hometown, he lived in X for 22 years. However, when his first daughter, born in X, uttered her first sentence in Turkish, Ahmet decided to move to his homeland to protect his heritage language and transmit it to his daughter.

Language Ideologies

Parental motivations for transmission of the heritage language

According to Ahmet, one needed to know both the Kurdish language and culture to be able to claim that he or she was a Kurd.

> I mean, she will grow with her culture, but she won't know the language. I mean, something will be missing. Therefore, she has to know both her culture and language. Otherwise, the identity won't be completed.

Ahmet considered language and culture as crucial factors for identity formation and based his motivation on this idea. He received the heritage language as a marker for his ethnic identity. He stated that as parents, they both wanted their daughters to grow up speaking Kurdish, surrounded by Kurdish culture. In other words, they wanted their daughters to grow up by being true to their roots, their Kurdishness. The Kurdish language was "their life, their lifestyle," and "the Turkish language was a foreign language" for them.

Another motivation for the family was that they wanted to preserve the Kurdish language. Initially, Ahmet was living in X city, and their home was functioning as a Kurdish monolingual entity within a Turkish-speaking society. So, when their first daughter, Esra, was born, although she was born in a monolingual Kurdish home where all the family members were speaking Kurdish, she was exposed to Turkish as well, given that it was the societal language. Therefore, Esra's first words were in Turkish. This situation upset Ahmet, and as a result, he had to move to his hometown 22 years later to protect his heritage language and culture.

> When my first daughter was born, the first words she uttered were Turkish. When I experienced this, I got very upset. So, I immediately made a decision and moved.I mean, I migrated from X right away. I immediately went to Y city (a Kurdish city in

> the South). In fact, my daughter started speaking Kurdish better than me in four months there.

Since the Ekinci family was living in a Turkish-speaking mainstream society, X, the home domain was not enough for the heritage language transmission. So, Ahmet's decision to move to a monolingual Kurdish village in Y produced positive outcomes for the families' FLP. His second daughter, Meryem, was born in this village and along with her sister, they grew up speaking only Kurdish until they went to state school.

Communication with grandparents and extended family members was another driving force behind their motivation. Ahmet reported that his mother and all his siblings did not speak Turkish and that it was the case on his wife's side as well:

> If the child only speaks Turkish, she will not be able to communicate with her grandmother, sister-in-law, grandfather, and uncle. Now, her grandmother speaks Kurdish to communicate with her. If the child does not know the language, then the kid feels inadequate.

In other words, the children might feel alienated when they could not express themselves in their heritage language while communicating with their family elders. Therefore, Kurdish was necessary for the well-being of the family members' communication.

Language Practices

According to Ahmet, the home language was mostly Kurdish. When the four family members were present, the Kurdish dominated the conversation. However, Turkish was also in family conversations due to the children's school and his wife's job at the shopping mall.

For the language choice between siblings Esra and Meryem, there were two different periods: Kurdish school experience and Turkish school experience. When Ahmet moved to Y as a family, they stayed there for about 5-6 months and then moved to another Kurdish city due to a work-related situation. In 2013, when Esra was 5-6 years

old, a Kurdish school was opened in the city, and the medium of instruction in this school was 100% Kurdish. Ahmet enrolled his daughters in this school. Esra studied there for 3 years and Meryem studied there for a year.

During this Kurdish school experience, the language of communication between family members was Kurdish. The siblings spoke only Kurdish while communicating with each other because the Kurdish language was not only the home language but also the language of instruction. There was a positive transmission from the school to the home domain. However, 3 years later, the Kurdish-instructed school was shut down by the Republic of Türkiye, and the children had to start a Turkish-instructed school. This situation influenced the family language practices, in general.

When the children had to start a Turkish school, they had difficulty understanding the Turkish curriculum, especially Meryem, which Ahmet explained as:

> The school (Kurdish) was shut down. Such trauma was experienced, too. Well, when the child switched to a Turkish school, she (Meryem) had lots of trouble. She couldn't express herself. She didn't know Turkish.

As a result, Meryem, for example, refused to speak Kurdish and asked her parents to speak Turkish with her, pointing it out to the child's agency in FLP (Luyks, 2005). According to what Ahmet reported, he started to accommodate himself while speaking to his younger daughter so that her development and well-being weren't affected by this change in their life. Meryem started speaking more Turkish to succeed at school. Esra, on the other hand, did not react and kept learning both languages without rejecting her heritage language. However, the two sisters' communication became Turkish dominant due to the formal education in Turkish.

For the communication between the family elders and the children, Ahmet stated that the fact that the grandparents did not know any other languages besides Kurdish reinforced the use of Kurdish between two generations. That is, although the children started to receive education in Turkish, and this impacted their language practices, it

did not change the language of communication between the family elders and the children.

Parental Language Management Strategies

Ahmet implemented a flexible approach. He did not force his kids to speak Kurdish because, according to him, moving to a Kurdish-speaking village was an enough step for the development of the heritage language. For the strategies, he responded as follows;

> I did nothing. I only moved to another place. I mean, I moved from X city to Y city. The kids learnt the language there. Because everybody speaks Kurdish there. No one speaks Turkish.

In other words, the children were immersed in a monolingual environment and exposed to the authentic use of the Kurdish language in everyday communication, which contributed greatly to the heritage language development.

Moreover, sending their daughters to a Kurdish school was another strategy. Getting education 100% in Kurdish supported language practices at home and boosted language development, and production. Receiving education in Kurdish naturally resulted in Kurdish literacy and Meryem and Esra started to read books in Kurdish to advance their level.

Another strategy Ahmet implemented was what Lanza called the minimal grasp strategy (1997). With this strategy, "the adult provides a minimal grasp to the child's mixing of languages in interaction, thereby highlighting his or her monolingual role" (1997, p. 268):

> When she went to Turkish school, when she started speaking Turkish, I immediately responded in Kurdish. But I didn't say something like this: I didn't show a reaction like why you aren't speaking Kurdish. I offered her that comfort. But still she would realize it and reply in Kurdish.

Ahmet reminded his monolingual role that his daughters were supposed to speak Kurdish to him. Therefore, responding in Kurdish was a strategy to direct the daughters to the heritage language.

The last mentioned strategy was sending his daughters' pictures to a Kurdish TV channel. By doing so, he tried to expose his daughters to Kurdish input via mass media because the kids were waiting eagerly for their pictures to be shown on TV, and while they were waiting for them, they were exposed to Kurdish input, which contributed to the language comprehension skills in Kurdish, as well.

To summarize the FLP of the Ekinci family, perceiving the Kurdish as a marker for ethnic identity, preserving Kurdish language, and communication with extended family members emerged as the reasons behind their FLP. When they saw the effect of the Turkish mainstream society on their first daughter's language production, they moved from the Turkish city to the Kurdish city, their hometown to transmit the heritage language, and there, they managed to reverse the language shift. Therefore, although Ahmet stated that "I did nothing" regarding the language management approach, he used internal mechanisms such as using minimal grasp strategy and external mechanisms such as enrolling his children to the Kurdish school and sending their pictures to a Kurdish TV channels so that the quality and quantity of the input in the heritage language could be increased. The language practices, on the other hand, were affected by the introduction of formal education in state's school. According to what Ahmet reported, before state's school, the family conversations were always Kurdish. However, when the Kurdish instructed school was shut down and the children had to start a Turkish instructed school, Turkish as the majority language started to appear in family conversations, as well. However, the communication with the family elders were not affected by this change in their life. That is, both Meryem and Esra kept speaking the heritage language with their grandparents.

Case Study 3: the Şimşek Family

Zozan is 32 years old and works as an English language teacher in one of the states' primary schools. She studied for her bachelor's degree in a university in the west of the Republic of Türkiye and has been living in the research site since graduation. Her husband, Nedim (35), is a doctor, and their only child, Ayşe, is 4 years old. Zozan speaks 3 languages Kurdish, Turkish, and English, and she is literate in Kurdish, as well. Initially, her husband did not know Kurdish, however, with his wife's encouragement, he started learning Kurdish for his daughter. Now, he knows Turkish and has a good level of Kurdish. However, currently, he mostly communicates in Turkish with his daughter. Ayşe has Kurdish, Turkish, and English in her language repertoire. According to her mother, she often code-switches the languages she knows; however, her dominant language is Turkish.

Zozan was born in 1989 in a Kurdish monolingual environment. During her childhood, Zozan stated that "the societal language was still Kurdish" and she was exposed to Kurdish both at home and in the streets, contributing to her heritage language development. She learned Turkish while socializing with her friends in the streets and developed it at school. When I asked whether schooling had an effect on her language practices, Zozan reported that since her home language was Kurdish, the school did not affect her. Yet she drew attention to the political atmosphere of those years. Being born in the 90s also meant hard times for the Kurds due to political reasons. Speaking Kurdish, for example, was forbidden, and Zozan shared an anecdote related to this issue.

> I am on my father's lap, I remember such a situation. We were with my father, we went out. A police officer stopped us, and I was speaking Kurdish because I did not know Turkish very much. And I remember the police officer asking why I was talking like that. I barely remember it. Then, when we sat together and talked about it later, he says; Yes, because for years, it was forbidden.

During the interview, Zozan got emotional because it was hard for her to remember those years and think once more about the reasons behind such practices. According to Zozan, her mother chose to speak Kurdish in those "hard times" and she decided to do what her mother did: transmit the heritage language to her daughter, Ayşe. That was one of her driving forces for the transmitting the heritage language.

Language Ideologies

Parental motivations for transmission of the heritage language

According to Zozan, raising a multilingual child had always been her dream. She wanted to teach "all the languages that she knew to her daughter" and based one of her motivations on multilingualism. She stated that:

> Mentally, I see advanced developments in my child. She is very perceptive. Although my daughter hasn't learnt how to read and write yet, when she looks at the pictures in an activity book, she can complete the exercise correctly."

Zozan attributed this development to the child's language learning process and drew attention to the advantages of multilingualism on linguistic and cognitive skills.

The other motivation was preserving the heritage language, Kurdish. Zozan said that "my mother chose to speak Kurdish in hard times. If my mom had done it during the hardest times, I could do it, as well. And I did it." In other words, Zozan's motivation was a defense of her heritage language, and she wanted to maintain it and secure intergenerational heritage language transmission. Although, due to political reasons, Kurds were alienated from their own language, and their levels in Kurdish got weakened, Zozan wanted to reverse this situation with her daughter, as she put it: "I want to keep Kurdish alive. I don't want it to be forgotten, I don't want it to be a forgotten language."

Language Practices

According to Zozan, the home language was Kurdish when her husband was not at home. However, when he was present, Turkish dominated the family conversations. She pointed out that the father, Nedim, did not know Kurdish at the beginning of her pregnancy. He learned it later so that he could contribute to his daughter's heritage language development. In the beginning, therefore, he spoke Kurdish to his daughter until she was around 2 years old, and when he felt inadequate, he gave up speaking Kurdish and started speaking Turkish. According to what Zozan reported, Nedim was feeling more comfortable speaking Turkish, given that it was his first language. As a result, the conversation between the daughter and the father became Turkish-dominant. The language of communication between the parents was Turkish because this was how they started and kept using Turkish with each other even after their Ayşe was born.

Zozan, on the other hand, spoke only Kurdish with Ayşe when she was pregnant. Kurdish was her first choice during her pregnancy. When Ayşe was born, she started including English through activities, as well.

> When I was pregnant with her, I never spoke English; it was only Kurdish. After she was born, I tried to add the other language, as well. How was English involved in our life? Firstly, it was involved in reading books. As Ayşe grew older, I used it as a play language. The daily language was still carried on in Kurdish.

As the above excerpt made clear, Zozan divided domains where she used the languages. Accordingly, she used Kurdish as a daily language and English as a play language. She never used Turkish while communicating with her daughter and shared one of her language activities and explained how she practiced both languages.



Figure 5 Zozan's Language Activities Animal Cards

> We always used our animal cards in both languages. It is a rabbit/kivroşk. We used 'Guess what' often. I was explaining the features without showing the card, and Ayşe would find the names of the animals. Of course, she sometimes said 'kivroşk', and sometimes said 'rabbit'.

Moreover, when I asked about the language choice between mother and daughter, Zozan reported that Ayşe spoke only Kurdish with her and kept speaking Kurdish until about 2 years old. However, when Ayşe realized that she wasn't understood by her peers while socializing with them in the heritage language, she gave up Kurdish. Zozan said:

> She was using Kurdish to me, she was using English, and she was using Turkish as well, but in her friend zone, there was no Kurdish. No English. Always Turkish."

This way, Turkish became Ayşe's dominant language because it was the language of communication between her and her peers. In other words, in socialization with the outside world, the friends prioritized the use of Turkish, leading to a decrease in the use of the heritage language. Although Ayşe used Kurdish while talking to her mother, Turkish also started to have a place in mother-daughter talk after this experience.

Regarding the communication with the family elders, Zozan reported that her husband's side chose to speak Turkish because they were not competent or did not feel competent in their heritage language. Zozan's mother's side, on the other hand,

spoke only and always Kurdish until Ayşe was around 2 years old. When Ayşe started speaking more Turkish, Zozan's mother, for example, started speaking Turkish with her granddaughter as well. However, Zozan kept reminding her mother that she was supposed to speak her heritage language. Accordingly, Ayşe spoke Turkish on her father's side and Kurdish on her mother's side. When she experienced the park incident described above, she started code-switching. According to what Zozan reported, code-switching became a natural habit for Ayşe, especially when she was speaking to her mother Zozan.

For example, I, as the researcher, observed an example of Ayşe's language practice with her mother, and the below conversations were from the field notes I took during the family visit, which were also congruent with the reported language practices.

Ayşe wanted to drink milk and opened the fridge and said to her mother:

> Şir yok. (Şir means milk in Kurdish; yok: means There is not in Turkish)
> There is no milk.

And later, when her mother brought milk for her, she uttered her sentence in English:

> I want to drink in the blue glass.

Parental Language Management Strategies

Zozan's language management strategies varied according to the developments in their life. Initially, Zozan only spoke Kurdish with her daughter, and as she grew older, she also started using English. However, as stated before, she used Kurdish for daily talk and English for exercises or plays. She relied on Kurdish music to increase the quality and quantity of the input in the heritage language.

Secondly, she requested her extended family members to speak only Kurdish with Ayşe, as she shared in the following:

> When Ayşe was born, I talked to the grandmother, grandfather, aunt, and uncle and told them to speak only Kurdish. I forbid you. I mean, you will not speak any language besides Kurdish. It went well with them, too.

All the family members on Zozan's side spoke only Kurdish with Ayşe. However, when Ayşe gave up speaking Kurdish due to the communication breakdown with her peers, Zozan looked for external control for the FLP.

Accordingly, she enrolled her daughter in the Kurdish playground three days a week and hence Ayşe was exposed to Kurdish and saw Kurdish-speaking children her age there. Therefore, when the Kurdish playground was involved in their life, her language practices were positively influenced, and she started using her heritage language again. Zozan explained the situation as the following:

> My kid had never seen a Kurdish-speaking child before. All of them were the elderly ones who spoke it such as me, grandmother, grandfather. My child, for the first time, saw a Kurdish speaking kid there. Naturally, she realized that: she was also understood in that language. She started speaking Kurdish again.

For a language to be learned and practiced, socialization in the language, especially with peers, was a crucial step for developing the language in question (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Therefore, when Ayşe socialized into the Kurdish language through activities and with her peers, her language development in the heritage language was positively affected, and she went back to Kurdish again.

Additionally, this example also made another thing clear in the city where this study was conducted, it was hard to see a Kurdish-speaking child, which led Ayşe to give up speaking her heritage language. As a child, she showed an example of child agency and impacted the family's FLP, a prevalent factor in FLP studies (Gafaranga, 2010; Wilson, 2019). This was not the only example of child agency. According to Zozan, for example, Ayşe often told her that "Mom, let's speak English," and decided on the language that she wanted to use for communication and hence affected the FLP of the Şimşek family.

To summarize the FLP of the Şimşek family, multilingualism and preserving the heritage language emerged as the parental motivations for the transmission of the heritage language. Accordingly, to manage the practice of the heritage language in communication, Zozan both used internal and external control for the FLP. She spoke only Kurdish with her daughter during her pregnancy. When it came to her husband's language practices, he spoke Kurdish at the beginning. When he felt inadequate, he returned to Turkish to communicate with his daughter. In other words, it can be stated that at the beginning, the parents used the heritage language-only strategy; however, later, it changed due to father's choice of Turkish and mother's activities in English. Moreover, Zozan asked extended family members to speak in the heritage language while communicating with their daughter to increase the input in the heritage language. Although the family members on the father's side chose to speak the majority language, Turkish with Ayşe, the family members on Zozan's side kept speaking the heritage language. Accordingly, Ayşe kept speaking each language with each side. When these internal controls were not sufficient for the heritage language development, Zozan looked for a language support center and enrolled her daughter in the Kurdish playground, which positively contributed to their FLP and led Ayşe to speak the heritage language in addition to other languages in her repertoire.

Case Study 4: the Tunç Family

Vedat is 46 years old, and he is a primary school teacher. He is a member of Eğitim-Sen Sendikası (Education and Science Workers Union), and due to his affiliations with Eğitim-Sen, he was dismissed from his job with KHK on the grounds that he spoke Kurdish in one of the Eğitim-Sen meetings while he was presenting the program. Currently, he does not work, and his legal fight for his job still continues. He speaks Kurdish, and Turkish and he is also literate in Kurdish. His wife, Evin (45), speaks Turkish as her dominant language, and she has a basic level of Kurdish. They have two children, Şiyar Umut, 9, and Şilan Deniz, 7. Both their children speak Kurdish and Turkish. Their level in Kurdish is perfect, and Şiyar Deniz, for example, writes stories in Kurdish.

Vedat was born and grew up in a monolingual Kurdish environment. His neighborhood, childhood games, friends, and relatives were all Kurdish. He reported that he did not know Turkish when he started school and barely learned it at the secondary level. He called this situation "a success for himself and the others in the same position" because they had to learn a new language and were supposed to be successful at it.

> So, I see it as a great success. After having learned a language like this… taking exams in this language, and going to university, it is a success.

According to him, although his classmates were his friends from the neighborhood and he was feeling safe around them, not knowing the language of education caused him to feel alienation due to the fact that they were not allowed to speak their "mother tongue." Similar experiences were also reported in the studies conducted by Coskun et al. (2010) and Çağlayan (2014). The Kurdish participants were feeling inferior due to the fact that they did not know the language of education, Turkish, and had to remain silent most of the time in their classes. Vedat stated that "if there had been smooth

transitions from the language that the child knew to the language of education, the school process would be more healthy for the well-being of the kids" and added that his friends and Vedat himself were spending time on this subject-matter: multilingual education.

Language Ideologies

Parental motivations for transmission of the heritage language

Vedat defined the heritage language as "some sort of existence, protecting his own nature and his culture" and perceived Kurdish as a marker for his ethnic identity. That is, his identity as a Kurd was the sole driving force behind his decision because Vedat believed that being Kurd required speaking Kurdish. In other words, his heritage language meant "ethnicity" to him. Therefore, speaking the Kurdish language was the norm, and he was just obeying what was natural for them: transmitting the heritage language to their children.

Language Practices

Vedat was very sensitive about the transmission of the heritage language and reported using only Kurdish with his children since pregnancy. However, when formal education started, he sometimes used Turkish to help his children with their homework to check their comprehension.

> The language between the children and me is definitely Kurdish. That is, I never compromise there. I tried to teach her the directions. Now that she has learned those concepts in Turkish, I explain them in Turkish so that she can understand them. However, I definitely tell her the Kurdish ones, too; let's say North. But, at the same time, I use Bakur as well.

Vedat was consistent in his heritage language use except for homework. However, even in such cases, he remembered to practice the heritage language, as well. He used both languages while helping his children with their homework.

When it came to the language used between the children and the father, Vedat reported that his children spoke Kurdish with him but mentioned that the school also influenced their language practices. According to Vedat, school was not only school, but it was also a place for socialization. He stated that "There are their peers there. There are games. Everything is Turkish. Therefore, it is a sheer force." In other words, Turkish, as the official language and also as the language of education, had more sources for input and was a strong rival to the Kurdish language. Considering that the children were more exposed to the Turkish language both in their education life and also in their socialization with their peers, their level in Turkish became better than Kurdish. Hence, they sometimes used Turkish while communicating with their father, as well, which led Vedat to implement different strategies to have his kids speak in the heritage language.

The other reason for their good level of Turkish was his wife's role in the family. Considering that his wife's dominant language was Turkish, the communication between the mother and the children and also parents was Turkish, which affected the language dynamics in the family. That is, Vedat drew attention to the roles of mothers in language transmission as they were the primary caregivers and stated that his role as the only-heritage language speaker in the family limited the use of heritage language.

Regarding the language used between the siblings, Vedat reported that he "lost the battle in that domain" because his children's main communication channel was not Kurdish anymore due to social factors such as friends, and school.

> In the beginning, it was sometimes Turkish and sometimes Kurdish. Then, from the moment that they spent time outside, in the neighborhood, school, the use of Kurdish slowly diminished. The communication between them was gone. In the beginning, it was not Turkish. I lost that fight.

Socialization in the majority language, Turkish, resulted in a decrease in the use of the heritage language. Given that Turkish was the language of education and of communication with their peers, the children's exposure to the heritage language was

limited to certain areas such as the home domain and hence, the communication between the siblings became Turkish-dominant.

Concerning the communication with the family elders, Vedat reported that the children spoke Kurdish on their father's side and Turkish on their mother's side. Moreover, Vedat shared an anecdote about language practices between his son Şiyar Deniz and his grandparents from both sides.

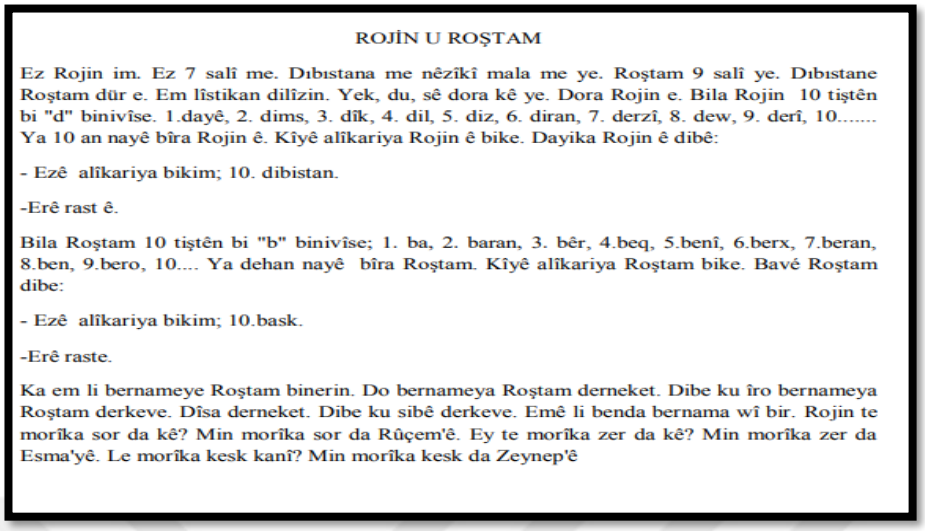
> Once, both grandparents came to visit us, and none of them knew the other side's language. That is, my mother is a monolingual Kurdish speaker, and my mother-in-law is a monolingual Turkish speaker. When we were not around or had to go to work, Şiyar Deniz would act as a translator between both sides and help them to communicate with each other.

In other words, Şiyar Deniz acted as a language broker, which referred to the "interpretation and translation performed in everyday situations by bilinguals who have had no special training" (Tse, 1996; p. 486) on behalf of their family members (Antonini, 2010). As pointed out by Cline et al. (2014) as well, language brokers played meaningful roles in communication and contributed to family life. As seen from the anecdote, Şiyar Deniz facilitated the communication between two linguistically different speakers and helped them to understand each other and hence contributed to the family's well-being.

As regards literacy practices, Vedat stated that he started to teach Kurdish literacy as soon as his kids began formal education in Turkish.

> When they started primary school, when they learned how to read and write, I taught them Kurdish literacy, as well. I wanted the children to enjoy reading in both languages.

For his daughter Şilan Deniz who had just started reading and writing in Turkish, Vedat tried to create words in Kurdish with the letters his daughter learned in Turkish to balance the literacy in both languages. For example, in below Figure 7, Vedat prepared an exercise for the letters "b" and "d".



ROJÎN U ROŞTAM

Ez Rojin im. Ez 7 salî me. Dıbıstana me nêzîkî mala me ye. Roştam 9 salî ye. Dıbıstane Roştam dûr e. Em lîstikan dilîzin. Yek, du, sê dora kê ye. Dora Rojin e. Bila Rojin 10 tiştên bi "d" binivîse. 1.dayê, 2. dims, 3. dîk, 4. dil, 5. diz, 6. diran, 7. derzî, 8. dew, 9. derî, 10..... Ya 10 an nayê bîra Rojin ê. Kîyê alîkariya Rojin ê bike. Dayika Rojin ê dibê:

- Ezê alîkariya bikim; 10. dibistan.

-Erê rast ê.

Bila Roştam 10 tiştên bi "b" binivîse; 1. ba, 2. baran, 3. bêr, 4.beq, 5.benî, 6.berx, 7.beran, 8.ben, 9.bero, 10.... Ya dehan nayê bîra Roştam. Kîyê alîkariya Roştam bike. Bavé Roştam dibe:

- Ezê alîkariya bikim; 10.bask.

-Erê raste.

Ka em li bernameye Roştam binerin. Do bernameya Roştam derneket. Dibe ku îro bernameya Roştam derkeve. Dîsa derneket. Dibe ku sibê derkeve. Emê li benda bernama wî bir. Rojin te morîka sor da kê? Min morîka sor da Rûçem'ê. Ey te morîka zer da kê? Min morîka zer da Esma'yê. Le morîka kesk kanî? Min morîka kesk da Zeynep'ê

Figure 6 Vedat's Syllable Exercise for his daughter

I am Rojin. I am 7 years old. My school is close to our house. Roştam is 9 years old. His school is far from the house. We play games. One, two, three.. Whose turn is it? It's Rojin's turn. Rojin should write 10 words starting with 'd'.

1: Daye (mom); 2. Dims (grape molasses); 3. Dîk (rooster); 4. Dil (heart); 5. beni (thief); 6. Diran (tooth); 7. Derzî (needle); 8. Dew (ayran); 9. Derî (Door); 10…. What is the 10th one? Rojin can't find it. Who will help her? Rojin's mother helps her:

Mom: I will help you. 10. Dibistan (school).

Yes, it is true.

Roştam should write 10 words starting with 'b': 1. Ba (wind); 2. Baran (rain); 3. Bêr (shovel); 4. Beq (frog); 5. Benî (servant); 6. Berx (lamb); 7. Beran (ram): 8. Ben (rope); 9. Bero (it's an abbreviated name, like berfin=bero); 10. Roştam can't find the 10th one. Who will help him? His father helps him:

Dad: I will help you. 10. Bask (wing).

Yes, it's true.

Come on! Let's look at Roştam's schedule. It wasn't ready yesterday. It's not ready yet. Maybe, it will be ready tomorrow. We'll wait for his Schedule.

Dad: Rojin, who did you give your red bead to?

Rojin: I gave the red bead to Ruçem.

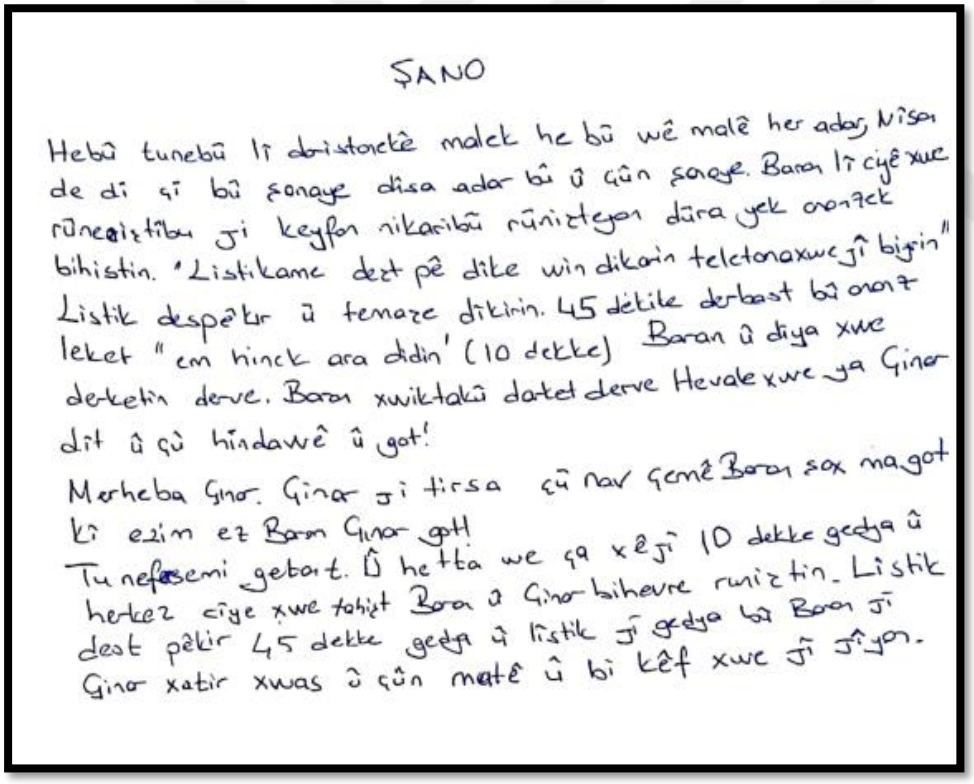
Dad: Okay, who did you give your yellow bead to?

Rojin: I gave the yellow bead to Esma.

Dad: Okay, then where is the green bead?

Rojin: I gave the green bead to Zeynep.

Moreover, Vedat bought Kurdish storybooks for his children. When they were little, he used to read them. However, after having learned how to read and write in both languages, his son, Şiyar Deniz, for example, started to read on his own and wrote stories in his heritage language (See figure 7) which exemplified his son's production skills in the heritage language.


ŞANO

Hebû tunebû li dibistanekê malek he bû wê malê her adar Nisan de di şi bû şanoye dida adar bû û çûn şanoye. Baran li ciyê xwe rûneniştibu ji keyfan nikaribû rûniştaya dûra yek carekê bihistin. "Listikane dest pê dike windikarin telefonaxwe jî bigrin" Listik despêkir û temaze dikirin. 45 dekike derbast bû carek leket "em hinek ara didin" (10 dekke) Baran û diya xwe deketin derve. Baran xwiyakû daket derve Hevale xwe ya Çinar dit û çû hindawê û got!

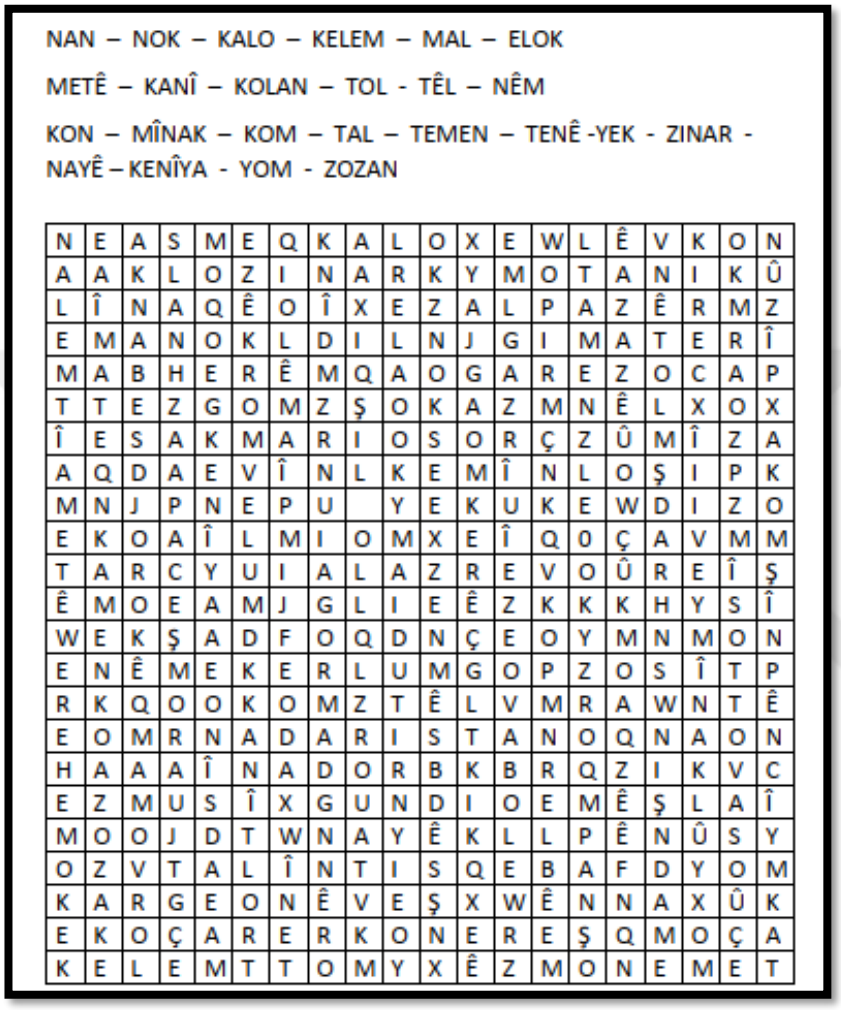
Merheba Çinar. Çinar ji tirsa çû nav çemê Baran sax nagot ki ezim ez Baran Çinar got!

Tu nefesemi getarit. Û hetta we çi xêjî 10 dekke geciya û herkez ciye xwe tahişt Baran û Çinar bihevre runiştin. Listik dest pêkir 45 dekke geciya û listik jî geciya bû Baran jî Çinar xatir xwas û çûn malê û bi kêf xwe jî jîyan.

Figure 7 Şiyar's Kurdish Story Şano (the Play)

In the story named the Play, Şiyar wrote a story about people who lived in a forest and used to go to the theater every March and enjoyed watching it. The main characters were Baran, his mother, and his friend, Çınar, whom they came across in the theater.

Moreover, Vedat also prepared Kurdish crosswords known as Xaçepırs to support the heritage language development through different kinds of materials.



NAN – NOK – KALO – KELEM – MAL – ELOK

METÊ – KANÎ – KOLAN – TOL - TÊL – NÊM

KON – MÎNAK – KOM – TAL – TEMEN – TENÊ -YEK - ZINAR - NAYÊ – KENÎYA - YOM - ZOZAN

N	E	A	S	M	E	Q	K	A	L	O	X	E	W	L	Ê	V	K	O	N
A	A	K	L	O	Z	I	N	A	R	K	Y	M	O	T	A	N	I	K	Û
L	Î	N	A	Q	Ê	O	Î	X	E	Z	A	L	P	A	Z	Ê	R	M	Z
E	M	A	N	O	K	L	D	I	L	N	J	G	I	M	A	T	E	R	Î
M	A	B	H	E	R	Ê	M	Q	A	O	G	A	R	E	Z	O	C	A	P
T	T	E	Z	G	O	M	Z	Ş	O	K	A	Z	M	N	Ê	L	X	O	X
Î	E	S	A	K	M	A	R	I	O	S	O	R	Ç	Z	Û	M	Î	Z	A
A	Q	D	A	E	V	Î	N	L	K	E	M	Î	N	L	O	Ş	I	P	K
M	N	J	P	N	E	P	U		Y	E	K	U	K	E	W	D	I	Z	O
E	K	O	A	Î	L	M	I	O	M	X	E	Î	Q	0	Ç	A	V	M	M
T	A	R	C	Y	U	I	A	L	A	Z	R	E	V	O	Û	R	E	Î	Ş
Ê	M	O	E	A	M	J	G	L	I	E	Ê	Z	K	K	K	H	Y	S	Î
W	E	K	Ş	A	D	F	O	Q	D	N	Ç	E	O	Y	M	N	M	O	N
E	N	Ê	M	E	K	E	R	L	U	M	G	O	P	Z	O	S	Î	T	P
R	K	Q	O	O	K	O	M	Z	T	Ê	L	V	M	R	A	W	N	T	Ê
E	O	M	R	N	A	D	A	R	I	S	T	A	N	O	Q	N	A	O	N
H	A	A	A	Î	N	A	D	O	R	B	K	B	R	Q	Z	I	K	V	C
E	Z	M	U	S	Î	X	G	U	N	D	I	O	E	M	Ê	Ş	L	A	Î
M	O	O	J	D	T	W	N	A	Y	Ê	K	L	L	P	Ê	N	Û	S	Y
O	Z	V	T	A	L	Î	N	T	I	S	Q	E	B	A	F	D	Y	O	M
K	A	R	G	E	O	N	Ê	V	E	Ş	X	W	Ê	N	N	A	X	Û	K
E	K	O	Ç	A	R	E	R	K	O	N	E	R	E	Ş	Q	M	O	Ç	A
K	E	L	E	M	T	T	O	M	Y	X	Ê	Z	M	O	N	E	M	E	T

Figure 8 A Kurdish Crossword Xaçepırs

Parental Language Management Strategies

Due to his high sensitivity towards the heritage language, Vedat was determined to speak only Kurdish with his children. He implemented various strategies to secure heritage language development and maintenance.

Vedat, for example, used what Lanza (1997) called the minimal grasp strategy to remind his kids that they were supposed to speak Kurdish with him.

> For example, when he told me, "Bawo su bıdemın."
> (Bawo: means dad in Kurdish,
> Su: Water in Turkish.
> bıdemın: Get/give me in Kurdish).
> I would respond like this: "Su çiye? (What is water?)
> (Çiye: means "what is" in Kurdish). I mean, I was pretending that I didn't understand him. Then, naturally, he would correct himself saying, "Dad get me water."

In other words, Vedat reminded his children that he played a monolingual role in their communication with them and that they were supposed to speak in the heritage language with their father. However, instead of using an explicit warning or strategy, Vedat opted for a minimal grasp strategy and gave his children a clue so that they could return to Kurdish.

Another language management strategy Vedat implemented was that he was not visiting his Turkish-speaking friends as a family. Because if they had visited them as a family, the monolingual Turkish environment of the family visits would benefit the use of the Turkish language, and hence the children would have been exposed to the official language, which already had a prestigious place in society. Therefore, instead of going to the places where children would hear Turkish, Vedat preferred the places where his kids would be exposed to Kurdish. He stated that "For example, we go to Kurdish cinema, Kurdish theater. We don't go to the other one (the Turkish one)." This way, Vedat tried to increase the quality and quantity of the input in the heritage language with different activities.

Moreover, at home, for example, Vedat reported that he deleted all the Turkish TV channels because he knew that Turkish was a solid rival for his pro-Kurdish FLP. The kids were only allowed to watch Zarok TV, which was a Kurdish TV channel that broadcasted for the kids and explained the rationale as the following:

> For a time, I did something about other TV channels. When I realized that I couldn't cope with them, so I deleted them. I realized that it was a bit anti-democratic. Otherwise, it wouldn't be possible.

If the children had been allowed to watch Turkish TV channels and exposed to the majority language through media as well, it would have been difficult for Vedat to implement a pro-Kurdish FLP and gain positive developments in the heritage language.

As an external source, Vedat enrolled his kids in the Kurdish playground and Kurdish music course, respectively so that his children could realize that the Kurdish language was also the language of games and music.

> I mean, that language is supposed to give him something. He needs to do an exercise in that language. He needs to play games in that language. He needs to integrate the language into his life. When he doesn't do it, then the kid starts feeling this; he feels that the language is dictated to him.

The children needed to integrate the language into their life. They needed to live in that language so that they could embrace it rather than reject it. Therefore, to avoid experiencing such a rejection, Vedat tried to support the childrens' heritage language development through language support centers, as well. As stated before, in the language support centers, the presence of the Kurdish-speaking peers and Kurdish-based educational activities positively contributed both to the FLP of the families and to the children's development in the Kurdish language as well as Kurdish culture. Thanks to these centers, for example, his son, Şiyar Deniz, started to develop content in the heritage language and broadcast them on social media so that other heritage language speakers could also benefit from using such materials.

To summarize the FLP of the Tunç family, perceiving the heritage language as a marker for ethnic identity emerged as the main motivation for implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP. According to Vedat, language was not separate from his ethnicity, or his nation. Therefore, he implemented various strategies based on internal and external sources to be true to his nature and transmit the heritage language. For example,

as parents, they used the OPOL method, and their children communicated with their parents accordingly. However, due to the school and socialization with their friends, the language of communication between the siblings became Turkish dominant. Moreover, Vedat supported his children's socialization in the heritage language through language support centers and also relied on himself to create materials in the heritage language to contribute to his children's heritage language development. For example, he prepared Kurdish crosswords, and syllables exercises and taught the kids Kurdish literacy as well. Thanks to the education the children received both from their father and the language support centers, the kids developed a good level of Kurdish literacy as well, and Şiyar, for example, produced his own stories in the Kurdish language. However, Mahir also mentioned that although his kids were currently speaking in the heritage language while talking to him, he also admitted that he was competing against a strong rival, Turkish, and was feeling alert all the time to compensate for its effect on his children's language production. Moreover, regarding the communication with the grandparents, Vedat reported that the children spoke Kurdish on their father's side and Turkish on their mother's side. Their son, Şiyar Deniz, for example, acted as a language broker and facilitated communication between both parties when their parents were not there.

Case Study 5: the Akın Family

Berrin is 38 years old and is a producer on one of the Kurdish TV channels. At the same time, she works as a Kurdish language teacher in the same channel and prepares materials for the Kurdish language. Recently, Berrin received an award for her contributions to the Kurdish language. She is a high-school dropout and literate in both Kurdish and Turkish. Her husband, Levent (40), knows Kurdish and Turkish. He works in the same TV channel as a producer. They have three children; Caner, 14; Nesrin, 12 and Roza, 7, and they are going to state's schools. The kids know both Kurdish and Turkish and they are literate in their heritage language, as well.

Berrin was born in a Kurdish monolingual environment and met Turkish when she started school. She stated that her introduction to Turkish was awful, and due to this first lousy impression, she hated the Turkish language and became very prejudiced against it. She explained her language journey in Turkish as the following and illustrated how painful it was for her to learn the official language:

> It was like that: the person who wanted to teach me the language was always using violence on me; Physical violence, verbal violence, emotional violence. And this, whether you like it or not, arouses hatred in you against the language being taught. Because you say Why, Why? Why am I being tortured? You realized this after a while: I face violence because I don't know the language.

> In your language, some sounds may sound different. It may sound vastly different in Turkish. For example, for "ğ", you produce "xw"; there comes a slap. Why do you produce the sound "xw"? It isn't "xw", you'll produce the sound "ğ". Then, you produce the "H" sound as "X", and there comes another slap. You're beaten by the sticks because you couldn't learn the language**.**

The problem experienced here was phonetics. Given that Kurdish and Turkish belonged to two different language families and had different sounds in their repertoire, the production of some of the speech sounds would inevitably be different.

However, the teacher's approach with regard to these speech productions caused a source of alienation, and, also first language transfer made the situation even harder for Berrin. Having experienced such things caused Berrin to invest more in her heritage language. She believed that "in a place where you feel bad, humiliated, or tortured, you can't be successful or feel positive no matter how hard you try". Therefore, when she got married and had kids, she decided to take action for her language, her culture, and this was where her motivations started for implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP.

Language Ideologies

Parental motivations for transmission of the heritage language

Berrin was affected by her past language experiences both in the heritage language and the official language. She recalled her school years and remembered how she was treated by her teachers and how this situation led her to embrace more her heritage language. She reported that she saw language as "one's existence", and "who she was" and, therefore, perceived Kurdish as a marker of her ethnic identity. She expressed that "Because my mother tongue is Kurdish. I am a Kurd. Since I am a Kurd, I need to protect my mother tongue." Being a Kurd naturally meant speaking Kurdish for her. Therefore, when her kids were born, Turkish wasn't her first choice because she wanted to develop and contribute to their ethnic identity.

Another motivation was her childhood, the years that she hadn't met the official language yet and was feeling free and more confident. Berrin expressed that "when she was a child and speaking her heritage language, she was sociable and easy-going." She believed that "those who spoke and grew up speaking their own mother tongue became sociable and successful." She wanted to raise her children in Kurdish because she wanted them to be confident and feel free just like her. Therefore, her past positive language experiences in the heritage language also influenced her motivation for implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP.

Language Practices

Berrin described that her home was Kurdish, and all the family members were speaking Kurdish with one another. Both parents always, and only used the heritage language-only strategy at home, and hence their children's language practices naturally became Kurdish. She expressed that she did not speak Turkish with her three children. She spoke only Kurdish since she was pregnant. Her children learned Turkish while socializing with the outside world, from society and the school.

However, Berrin was not strict about language practices, either. For example, when her youngest daughter, Roza, told her what she did with her friends at school in Turkish, Berrin asked her whether she wanted to speak Turkish or not. In response, when Roza said yes, they continued their conversation in Turkish.

For the language choice among the siblings, Berrin reported that it was Kurdish. But, since they were going to state's school, the kids generally used Turkish while doing homework.

> When they ask something about the lessons, they generally prefer Turkish. Because they receive education in Turkish. For example, let's say; when she asks a question about Turkish, she says, " Brother, I didn't get it." or "Hey! Roza, look! what we need to do." Because in order to solve the problem, he needs to make an explanation in Turkish.

The language of school, in other words, showed itself during the homework, and it was used as a clarification tool. Apart from this example, the school didn't influence their language practices. According to what Berrin reported, in her family, all the family members had the heritage language as the medium of communication.

Regarding the communication with the family elders, Berrin reported that the grandparents of both sides were monolingual Kurdish speakers and the children had no choice but to use Kurdish to be able to communicate with them. In other words, in their

family domain, the children were growing up in a Kurdish monolingual environment, which was a supportive factor for the heritage language development.

To improve literacy practices, Berrin reported that she bought Kurdish story books and read them. After a while, her son, Caner, for example, became curious about the books and asked his mother "whether they were really written in Kurdish or not", revealing a fact about the Kurdish language that it was not rich in the sense of resources. Therefore, when he received a positive response from his mother, he started reading them with his Turkish skills. Then, he learned how to read those books in Kurdish, as well. Lastly, Berrin bought World Classics Books written in Kurdish and stated that such practices were still prevalent in their FLP.

Parental Language Management Strategies

When Berrin realized that speaking was not enough for the transmission of the heritage language, she implemented various strategies to secure the FLP.

For example, she played Kurdish children's games with her children so that the journey in language transmission became enjoyable and they could learn the cultural aspect of the language as well: the childhood games in Kurdish. During the interview, she mentioned some of them:

> The games we played were 'Heftok', it is played with 5 round stones, and it has six different steps. During the game, other players sing a song or tell a tongue-twister that we name zûgotınok in order to distract the player's attention. The winner has others tell the tongue-twister, and the game can be replayed; it is played at least by two people.
>
> The other one is the "Lamb-Shepherd game." It is played by children of all ages. It is dialogue centered. Another one is hide-and-seek which we call 'Veşartok,' and lastly, all kids' most indispensable finger game, 'Hêkil Mêkil'. The finger game tongue-twister:

> Hêkil mêkil dara Xaço çimkî çilo ya bilbilo mastê miya li ser sênîya şîrê firo dixo naxo têr naxo tiro viro qurnîsik.

When they were grown up, Berrin enrolled her first two children in the Kurdish music course because she believed that language was not separate from the culture. In the music course, her children socialized into the Kurdish language, received education in their heritage language, and developed a network of Kurdish-speaking friends, which contributed to the development and production of the heritage language.

Additionally, when her kids needed to see visual materials in Kurdish, she benefitted from Zarok Tv, the Kurdish Kids TV channel, and YouTube, as she put it:

> Okay, you like watching videos on Youtube. Ohh, look! There is something like this in Kurdish. Look! For example, there are Kurdish songs, Kurdish stories, Kurdish films, and Kurdish subtitled films. I implemented such strategies.

Another strategy was the Move-On strategy (Lanza, 1997). That is, when her kids spoke Turkish with Berrin, she did not force her kids to speak Kurdish. However, she replied to them in Kurdish every time. This way, they realized that they were supposed to communicate Kurdish with their mother.

To summarize, the FLP of the Akın family, transmitting the Kurdish language was a natural process for the family. Since they were Kurds, speaking Kurdish was a must for ethnic identity formation. However, Berrin's past negative and positive experiences in her heritage and the official language exerted great influence on her decision for transmitting the heritage language to her three children, as well. Although in her childhood years, she was a happy and confident child, grew up in a Kurdish monolingual environment, the school years caused her to develop a sense of hatred against the Turkish language due to the violent approaches her teachers used on her and hence led her to invest in her heritage language and fight for its maintenance, at least in the family domain. Accordingly, to realize and secure the transmission of the heritage language, her husband and Berrin always spoke Kurdish while communicating with their children and each other. Since the grandparents did not

know Turkish, the children used Kurdish while talking to their family elders. In other words, the Akın family constituted a monolingual Kurdish environment for the children, and in return, the medium of communication remained Kurdish, and it did not shift to the official language, Turkish. Regarding language management, Berrin used both internal and external control for the FLP. She played her childhood games with her children, sent her first two children to a language support center, the Kurdish music course to have her children socialize in the heritage language and become familiar with Kurdish music and culture. Moreover, she benefited from the Kurdish storybooks and mass media or online platforms to support their comprehension skills in the heritage language, as well, which all produced productive results for a pro-Kurdish FLP and resulted in having the heritage language as the main tool for communication in the family domain.

Case Study 6: the Kaya Family

Derya is 40 years old, and she is a university graduate, the department of Office Management and Secretary. However, currently, she is not working. Her husband, Ferhat (40), is an English Language Teacher, yet he is not doing his job. He owns a shop and works there. They have two daughters; Hevi, 9, and Heja, 6.5. Both parents speak Kurdish and Turkish. They are literate in both languages. Their older daughter, Hevi, speaks three languages; Kurdish, Turkish, and English. Also, she is literate in all three languages. Hevi is in 4th grade. Heja, on the other hand, speaks Kurdish and Turkish. She is improving her English. Since she is 1st grade, she hasn't yet learned how to read and write in any of the languages. However, their level of Kurdish is so good, according to what their mother said. Also, they are going to a private school.

When we met for the interview to talk about their FLP, Derya reported that she grew up with a Kurdish identity and she was coming from a family who valued the heritage language very much. Therefore, deciding to transmit the heritage language to her children was a "natural practice" for her. She started school without knowing any Turkish, and although her father was a graduate of a university and knew Turkish, he did not teach his children because he was working as a teacher who was traveling from village to village. He would not take his family with him. That is why the children did not learn the official language. The home language was only Kurdish. According to what Derya stated, she had many problems due to this language barrier at school. She remembered her school years with a bitter smile on her face. During her school years, she was beaten by her teacher and stated that when she decided to transmit the Kurdish language, she looked at her broken-nail done by the teacher and shared that:

> In fact, when I made this decision, I looked directly at my hand. I still have a broken nail. It is from the time when I was beaten by the teacher at the queque. We spent our primary school years with lots of punches.

This situation happened in the 90s, and those years were the times when the Kurdish language was prohibited or prosecuted. Derya's experiences within the state's school worsened when they moved to another city, a western city, due to her father's job. There she started a new school and shared an anecdote regarding the first day of school: her teacher wanted Derya to introduce herself to her classmates. Straightforwardly, she said:

> I am Derya. I am coming from Yıldız Primary School, from Y city, (a Kurdish city), and then, all the class burst into laughter. I mean, what kind of emotion is it? Did I say something wrong? I am so sure of what I said. But, of course I don't speak like them…We went through hard times when we were there..

Experiencing such things, however, did not demotivate her. On the contrary, according to what Derya said, she became so determined to transmit the heritage language. So when she got married, the only thing that she and her husband could not reach a consensus on regarding the Kurdish language was that since both were from different Kurdish cities, they could not decide which dialect of Kurmanji to teach their children. However, later they agreed on academic Kurdish and solved the disagreement.

Language Ideologies

Parental motivations for transmission of the heritage language

Derya saw Kurdish as a language of "affection," referring to the emotive function of the first language, and stated that it was the only tool she had for her cultural roots. She perceived language as a reminder of "who she was". Kurdish language was a marker of her ethnic identity, and Kurdish meant "being a Kurd". That is, speaking Kurdish was a requirement for someone to be able to call her/his a Kurd. Moreover, Kurdish was already her home language; therefore, raising her children in Kurdish was naturally the norm. Hence, this was one of her motivations for implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP.

Another motivation was preserving the Kurdish language. Derya stated that the use of the Kurdish language was decreasing daily, which was one of the reasons they wanted to preserve it inside the family domain. Because she believed that as parents, it was their "responsibility" to transmit the heritage language and drew attention to the roles of family in language transmission:

> We will achieve language transmission through our children. Eventually, aren't languages disappearing like this?Doesn't it disappear because of families' decisions not to transmit the language?

In other words, Derya was well aware of the families' roles in language transmission, as echoed by several scholars as well, such as Fishman (1991), Spolsky (2004), and Schwartz (2010). Especially the language practices inside the family conversations were perceived as one of the most important factors that determine the future of the languages (Mirvahedi & Jafari, 2021). Therefore, parents' approach played a significant role with regard to the transmission of heritage languages.

Moreover, communication with the grandparents was another driving force behind the FLP of the Kaya family. Derya said that when she thought of the grandparents, they did not have an alternative because neither Derya's mother nor her husband's parents parents knew Turkish.

> Especially I have no other choice but Kurdish for communication with our family elders. We wanted them to be able to communicate with our family elders.

Monolingual Kurdish family elders, in other words, exerted influence on their decisions for transmitting the heritage language and resulted in a pro-Kurdish FLP.

Language Practices

Regarding the language practices, as mentioned before, their heritage language was already their home language. Hence, as parents, Derya and Ferhat just paid a little

more attention to their language practices when their children were born. Derya reported that they did not speak any other language besides Kurdish with their daughters because they did not want a communication breakdown, especially between their children and the elderly ones. All the family members spoke Kurdish when communicating with one another. In other words, the parents used the heritage language only while communicating with their daughters, and both Heja and Hevi spoke Kurdish with their parents. The medium of communication did not change until the kids started school.

> We spoke Kurdish as a very consistent practice until 4 years old. After 4 years old, we allowed Turkish TV channels to be opened. Because before that, it was banned. They need to get familiar with it because school education is going to start.

That is, when school was involved in their life, the parents kept speaking the heritage language with their daughters. However, they let them watch Turkish TV channels so that they became familiar with the language of education before they started formal education. According to Derya, Turkish started to show itself when the children were doing homework. They sometimes used Turkish to clarify the meaning and check their comprehension. However, it was not common, and whenever the children asked something about the homework, Derya explained it in Kurdish so that they did not realize that they could speak Turkish with their mother. In other words, Derya tried to protect her monolingual role in their communication.

Regarding the language practices among the siblings, Derya reported that it was Kurdish, but they sometimes used Turkish as well due to formal education. However, it was not common. They played their games mostly in Kurdish, and Derya shared a bedtime rhyme of her little daughter, who said it just before bedtime.

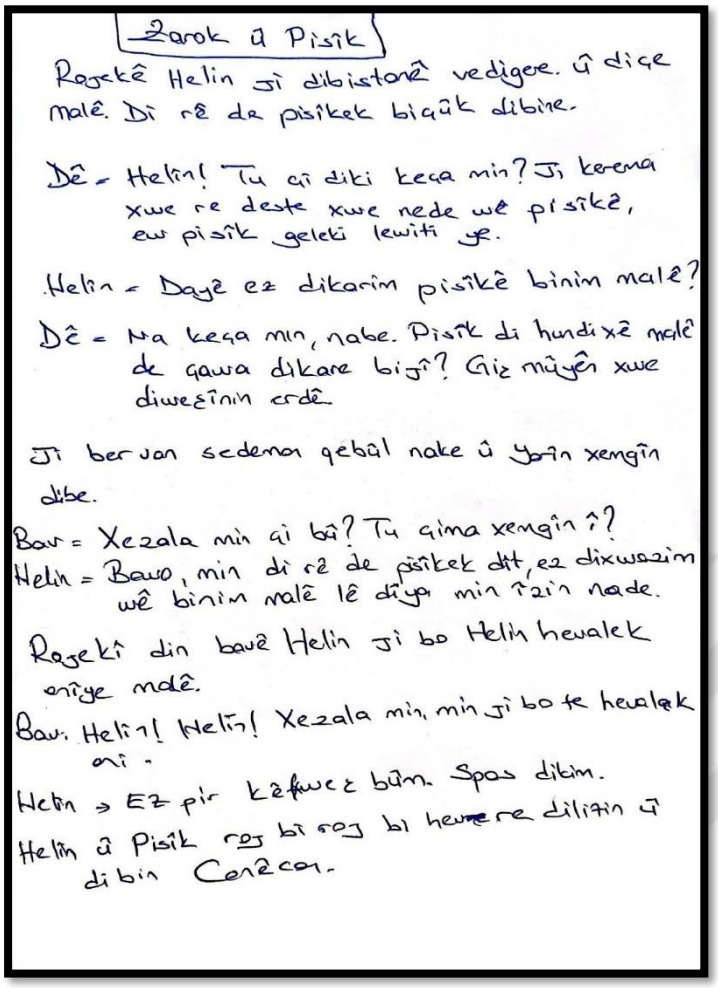
> Şew baş, Hewne xweş,
> Şewa te me, Ne gule xoş
>
> Good night, a good night's sleep
> My night is so nice.

The communication between the family elders and the children was always Kurdish due to the fact that they did not know Turkish. The monolingual role of the family elders influenced the language practices and created a heritage language-only environment for the children. This way, for example, the children's exposure to the heritage language increased.

With regard to literacy practices, Hevi received Kurdish language education in the Kurdish music course as a requirement for enrollment. She had good writing and reading skills in Kurdish. Heja, on the other hand, had just started primary education and her writing skills were at an elementary level at the time of the data collection. She took help whenever she wrote something in her heritage language. For example, as a family, they participated in a project initiated by one of the NGOs, wrote Kurdish stories and then animated and published them as cartoons.

> We have cartoons shot in stop-motion format written by our children and narrated by the family members.

Having engaged in practices such as producing stories in their heritage language and then animating them with their daughters played a positive role in heritage language transmission and encouraged their daughters to produce their own materials in the heritage language. Starting from this experience, for example, Hevi wrote a story about animals on her own, which provided an example of her production skills in the heritage language as well (fig. 9).



Zarok û Pisîk

Rojekê Helin ji dibistanê vedigere. Û dîce malê. Di rê da pisîkek biçûk dibîne.

Dê - Helin! Tu çi diki keça min? Ji kerema xwe re deste xwe nede wê pisîkê, ew pisîk geleki lewitî ye.

Helin - Dayê ez dikarim pisîkê binim malê?

Dê - Na keça min, nabe. Pisîk di hundixê malê de çawa dikare bijî? Giz mûyên xwe diweçînin erdê.

Ji ber van sedeman qebûl nake û yerîn xemgîn dibe.

Bav - Xezala min çi bû? Tu çima xemgîn î?

Helin - Bavo, min di rê de pisîkek dît, ez dixwazim wê binim malê lê dîya min rîzin nade.

Rojekî din bavê Helin ji bo Helin hevalek anîye malê.

Bav: Helin! Helin! Xezala min, min ji bo te hevalek anî.

Helin - Ez pir kêfxweş bûm. Spas dikim.

Helin û Pisîk roj bi roj bi hevre dilîzin û dibin Cerçeq.

Figure 9 Zarok û Pisîk a Story by Hevi

The Kid and The Cat

One day, Helin goes to the forest for a walk, and on the way back home, she sees a kitten.

Mom: Helin! What are you doing? Don't touch that cat. It is so dirty.

Helin: Mom! Can I bring him home?

Mom: No, my girl. You can't. How does a kitten live in a house? He sheds his hair a lot.

Because of these reasons, the mother doesn't accept it and Helin gets upset.

Dad: Why are you sad, my beauty?

> Helin: Dad, I found a kitten on my way back home. I want to bring her home but my mom doesn't let me do so.
>
> Another day, Helin's father brings a friend home for Helin. A cat.
>
> Dad: Helin! Helin! My beauty! I brought a friend for you.
>
> Helin: I am very happy. Thank you.
>
> Helin and the cat become best friends and live happily ever after.*"*

Parental Language Management Strategies

Parental language management varied from what Lanza (1997) called Discourse Strategies to explicit attempts to have children speak Kurdish.

For example, when her kids were little, one of the strategies Derya implemented was not opening Turkish TV channels until they were 4 years old. Instead, they opened Kurdish TV channels. During this time, both parents read Kurdish stories to them and also Derya reported that since Kurdish was the home language of all the extended family members, they developed a Kurdish network among one another and said that "Because everybody's mutual goal was to have kids speak in Kurdish., we informed one another when we were going to parks." so that the children could socialize in the heritage language with their peers.

Further, Derya enrolled her daughters in the Kurdish music course. They started their education in this center when they were 2 years old. What Derya aimed for was that her daughters could see other people speaking Kurdish and know that this language was the language of music, of culture as well. She expressed that:

> The time she spent there is very precious to me. Because she met the kids who came there. She communicated with other kids there in Kurdish. In their free time, her teacher read her Kurdish books. Such institutions are very precious to us.

The presence of such institutions was valuable for the parents because their resources in the heritage language were limited. Hence, both Ferhat and Derya sent their kids to the music course so that they could increase their input in the heritage language and contribute to their children's language skills in the heritage language. Given that the Kurdish music course was a Kurdish-only environment, their exposure to the authentic use of the language led the children to have positive attitudes toward the language and hence enjoy it.

Moreover, Derya implemented discourse strategies such as the repetition strategy or the minimal grasp strategy to manage language practices. For example, when her younger daughter, Heja, spoke to her in Turkish due to the school factor, Derya explicitly told her to speak Kurdish with her mother, as shared in below:

> For example, I have frequently started using this nowadays: "She asks, "Ask in Kurdish, my girl. Speak Kurdish to me." For example, she starts so excitedly, and I wait for her to finish so as not to break her heart. She finishes, and I say: "Let me hear it in Kurdish". Sometimes I say, 'I didn't get it**'.**

Both minimal grasp and repetition strategies played a monolingual role in communication. Therefore, by implementing such strategies, Derya made it evident that she had a monolingual Kurdish role in their family domain, and the children were supposed to obey this choice of language.

To summarize the FLP of the Kaya family, the transmission of the heritage language was a natural process. Being a Kurd required speaking Kurdish. Hence, heritage language as a marker for ethnic identity, preserving the heritage language, and communication with the family elders emerged as what motivated Derya and Ferhat to implement a pro-Kurdish FLP. Moreover, although Derya did not mention it explicitly, her past negative experiences in the majority language through schooling also impacted her decision. Although it was a natural practice for her to speak in her heritage language with her children, her nail wound, for example, reminded the bad years as well. Hence starting from such motivations, Derya used various language

management strategies to maintain Kurdish in the family domain. She used internal control for the FLP. For example, she came together with the children of the extended family members so that the children could socialize in the heritage language. Derya and her husband, Ferhat, read Kurdish story books and did not open Turkish TV channels so that the children would not be exposed to the majority language at an early age. Moreover, the Kurdish music course contributed to their FLP as an external resource and supported the children's heritage language development by providing a Kurdish-only environment in which music, activities, communication, and education all happened in the heritage language. All these language management strategies contributed to their FLP, and their language practices were not affected by the majority language; it remained Kurdish. The children kept speaking their heritage language both with each other, with their parents and also with family elders.

Case Study 7: the Çiftçi Family

Yılmaz and Çiğdem were the only family in which both parents participated in the study. I interviewed them together because this was how they felt comfortable. Çiğdem is 37 years old and works as an IT teacher. She knows Turkish and Kurdish. Yılmaz is 38 years old, and he is a Math teacher. He knows Kurdish and Turkish. Both Yılmaz and Çiğdem can read and write in both languages. However, Yılmaz's level in Kurdish is better than Çiğdem's. They have two children, a son, Roni, 3.5, and a daughter, Arjin, 2. The kids speak Kurdish. Turkish has not started to dominate their life yet. Both parents speak only Kurdish with them, and Roni and Arjin attend the Kurdish playground together on weekdays. Additionally, Roni goes to the Kurdish music course as well. When I went to their home, both kids were singing a Kurdish song and, at the same enjoying their fruits.

Yılmaz and his family were living in the city center (the research site) and as a result of this location, he grew up hearing both Kurdish and Turkish. However, the home language and the language spoken with the family elders were always Kurdish because most of them did not know any other language besides Kurdish. When he went to school, he did not have any problems related to language.

Çiğdem, on the other hand, was born in a Turkish-dominated western city and grew up speaking Turkish. She was the only participating Kurdish parent in this study whose first language was not Kurdish. Her parents did not want their kids to learn and speak Kurdish because of their past negative language experiences. Çiğdem did not have problems at school regarding language use. Since she was living in a Turkish-dominant environment, she realized her Kurdish identity later on, during her high school years. The idea of having kids resulted in learning Kurdish. That is, when she got married, it became a prerequisite for her to learn the heritage language because her husband, Yılmaz, was very sure about the transmission of the heritage language.

He even told Çiğdem "not to have kids if she were not going to speak Kurdish to the children." As a result, Çiğdem started Kurdish language courses to communicate with her children in the heritage language.

Language Ideologies

Parental motivations for transmission of the heritage language

Yılmaz perceived the Kurdish language as a tool for transmitting cultural heritage and as a strong marker of ethnic identity. For Yılmaz, it was the main motivation to transmit the heritage language as part of the ethnic identity. He believed that "language is the vehicle for culture, history, ethnicity. That is, all these elements are built on it."

> I didn't decide to transmit this language. Nature did. I didn't decide to be a Kurd. But I am a Kurd, right? Again, I didn't decide on that. My kid didn't decide to be, either. This is the law of nature. We obey those laws.

According to Yılmaz, one needed to know the Kurdish language to be able to claim a Kurd. Therefore, what they did was the norm, intergenerational transmission of the heritage language to complement the ethnic identity formation.

Another motivation was preserving the Kurdish language. Yılmaz stated that Kurdish was the language that could not be disappeared or be finished, referring to the 90s. It was a treasure. However, the use of Kurdish by its speakers was decreasing, which caused him to be very sensitive and alert about its transmission:

> I consider myself a vehicle for transmitting this language. I promised myself this: Neither I nor my kids, grandchildren of my descent, will let this language be forgotten. Even if it was just my family's responsibility, I won't let this language be forgotten.

In other words, Yılmaz was well aware of the fact that he was one of the sources for the language transmission, and his attitude towards the heritage language would play a crucial role in its vitality, which led him to contribute to the future of the heritage language by implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP.

Çiğdem, on the other hand, perceived language as a vehicle for transmitting emotions. Since her first language was Turkish, she reported that she still feels "inadequate" for showing her affection in Kurdish, which had been reported in the literature as well that the L1 was the language of emotions (Caldwell-Harris, 2014; Harris et al., 2006; Pavlenko, 2005) and Çiğdem had difficulties expressing herself whenever she wanted to react to something emotionally. Therefore, her motivation for transmitting the heritage language came from her husband, Yılmaz. He said to her: "If we have kids, you are going to speak Kurdish to them. Otherwise, I won't accept it." This was how it started for Çiğdem. According to her, if Yılmaz had not asked such a thing, she would not have thought about it. And Yılmaz gave her wife credit for transmitting the heritage language as the primary caregiver of the heritage language transmission, stating that:

> Yılmaz: She is the architect of the kids' Kurdish. I mean, I could not do this job on my own. It is not possible. I am spending most of the time outside due to my job. On this subject, I thank my wife. She respected my decision.

The role of mothers as primary caregivers exerted significant influence on the language practices of the children. In other words, since children spent most of their time with their mothers, what language was used as the medium of communication between the mother, and the children determined the future of the language in question (Fishman, 1991; Schwartz, 2010). Considering that Yılmaz had to work to support the family financially, Çiğdem became the primary source of input and therefore, she had to learn Kurdish as a second language to be able to support her children's heritage language development.

Language Practices

Both Çiğdem and Yılmaz described the conversations between one another in Turkish because Çiğdem was expressing herself better in Turkish. However, with the kids, Yılmaz always spoke, and only Kurdish. Çiğdem, on the other hand, initially mixed both languages. As she became competent in Kurdish, she started to use Kurdish more. Both Roni and Arjin communicated in Kurdish with their parents.

Regarding the language practices among the siblings, both Yılmaz and Çiğdem reported that it was Kurdish. When I went there for an interview, I had the chance to observe their language practices: Roni and Arjin were singing a Kurdish song, and when they finished it, they communicated with their parents, again in Kurdish. This observation was in parallel with what the parents said regarding language practices.

The communication with the family elders was Kurdish. The grandparents of both sides were speaking Kurdish to the children. The communication with the aunts or uncles again was in Kurdish on Yılmaz's side. On Çiğdem's side, given that her sisters did not know Kurdish, they communicated in Turkish with their niece and nephew. However, initially, Yılmaz forbade them from speaking Turkish to Roni and Arjin as a language management strategy.

For comprehension skills, Çiğdem reported that she was reading Kurdish stories to them. When the Kurdish ones were inadequate, she simultaneously tried to translate the Turkish ones into Kurdish. However, this was a challenging practice for Çiğdem. As a result, she wanted to speak Turkish with them after 2 years. When Yılmaz agreed with her decision, she talked to her son, Roni, who was 3.5 years old, and she was rejected:

> Çiğdem: I told Roni: "From now on, I want to speak Turkish to you. I want to read you Turkish books". By the way, I spoke Turkish. I uttered these in Turkish, too. He did not accept it. He refused me in Kurdish.

Roni's rejection was an example of child agency which meant that kids could exert power on the FLP of their families and challenge their language practices (Gafaranga, 2010). As in the above example, Roni did not accept his mother's decision and made her continue speaking in the heritage language.

Parental Language Management Strategies

As a language management approach, Yılmaz implemented strict language consistency with his children. He tried to control every variable to secure their FLP. For example, the kids did not know that there were Turkish TV channels.

> Yılmaz: Especially we had them watch Kurdish TV channels. For example, my children haven't watched any Turkish cartoons yet. They are not even aware of the presence of Turkish Cartoon TV channels. If they had known, we couldn't cope with it.

As Yılmaz made it clear, if the kids had been aware of the Turkish TV channels, they would have had great difficulty in implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP, given that Turkish was the official language and had a powerful status in society and was rich in terms of resources. Therefore, they relied on Zarok TV when they needed visual materials.

Another strategy was to prevent the kids from socializing in the Turkish language. In other words, both parents did not allow their kids to socialize in the streets with their peers. According to Çiğdem, "the societal language of the city was Turkish dominant," and if they had allowed their kids to socialize there, it would harm their heritage language transmission.

Hiring a Kurdish-speaking babysitter was another strategy the family implemented. Yılmaz, for example, said that "It was my first proviso expected from a babysitter. The first proviso. In fact, the only proviso." and according to Çiğdem, initially, the babysitter was only speaking Kurdish to Roni. With Çiğdem's explicit warning, she began speaking Kurdish to both children. The reason behind it was that the babysitter thought Arjin would not understand her if she spoke Kurdish to her.

Enrolling kids in the Kurdish playground and Kurdish music course was the last mentioned language management strategy. Here, both parents complained about the Kurdish playground because the communication language of the children at this center

was Turkish. Although the teachers were speaking Kurdish and the activities were in Kurdish, the kids' dominant language was Turkish, which was not a contributing factor to their FLP.

On the other hand, the Kurdish music course was strict about language consistency. It was always Kurdish. The learners attending there were also speaking Kurdish, and according to what Çiğdem said, Roni enjoyed being at the Kurdish music course the most.

> Çiğdem: In fact, Roni goes there so eagerly. For example, normally if we don't send him to the Kurdish playground, he doesn't go. But, he wants to go to Kurdish music course.

Roni wanted to attend the Kurdish music course because the education and all the activities solely were in Kurdish, and more importantly, his peers were speaking Kurdish. As a result, he developed a positive attitude towards the Kurdish music course and his heritage language and embraced it.

To summarize the FLP of the Çiftçi family, perceiving heritage language as a marker for the ethnic identity and preserving the Kurdish language emerged as the driving forces behind their motivations, especially for Yılmaz. Accordingly, the parents implemented various strategies to realize their motivations and support their children's heritage language development. They were very sensitive about the transmission of the heritage language and tried to implement all the available strategies and resources. For example, they benefited from Kurdish storybooks and Zarok TV. They hired a Kurdish-speaking babysitter to increase the input in the heritage language and support their FLP. They sent their children to language support centers such as the Kurdish playground and music course. Although the parents stated that the playground's contribution to their FLP and children's heritage language development was limited due to the language of communication among the other children, the Kurdish music course contributed to Roni's heritage language production because there was a strict

pro-Kurdish ideology. Hence, the children were communicating in the heritage language. Regarding the language practices, it was reported that the communication between the parents and the children was Kurdish, and this was congruent with what the researcher observed during the interview as well. Moreover, the communication with the family elders was also Kurdish. The children spoke in the heritage language with their grandparents and used Turkish while communicating with their uncles/aunts on their mother's side.

And before concluding the findings, I want to finish the chapter by referring to what Yılmaz said regarding his heritage language, Kurdish, to show his dedication and what it means to him;

> ***Yılmaz: My child can speak 80 languages. If he does not speak Kurdish, he is a mute child who, in my eyes, cannot speak.***

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

For the discussion chapter, thematic analysis was carried out on all cases to identify the recurrent and significant themes in general independently of the research questions. Considering that there was a research void in the FLP of the Kurdish families, the discussion of the findings was done with other heritage language studies conducted in different sociolinguistic communities. However, Coşkun et al.'s (2010) and Çağlayan's (2014) studies provided a meaningful base for discussing some of the findings.

5.1. The Parents' Language Ideologies

One of the components of the family language policy were language ideologies and they were considered the driving forces behind parents' decisions for implementing a certain type of FLP. The term *language ideology* included the elements related to the "linguistic culture -the sum total of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural baggage that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture (Schiffman, 2006, p.112; cited in Mirvahedi & Jafari, 2021), and these variables played a crucial role in the formation of the language ideologies. Examining this component of the FLP in Kurdish families living in the Republic of Türkiye, therefore, revealed that all the participating parents considered the heritage language an indispensable part of their life and made significant commitments to transmit it to their children.

In this research, in terms of language ideologies, preserving the heritage language Kurdish, perceiving the heritage language as a marker for ethnic identity, communication with the extended family, and past language experiences emerged as

the recurrent and significant motivations expressed by the heritage-language parents. The reported parental motivations were in line with the findings of the other heritage language studies conducted in different sociolinguistic groups (Bezcioglu-Göktolga, 2019; Hua & Wei, 2016; Kaveh & Sandoval, 2020; Kirsch, 2012; Kopeliovich 2013; Savikj, 2018; Wilson, 2019).

Preserving the heritage language, Kurdish emerged as the most prevalent and explicitly stated parental motivation. Heritage-language parents in five cases (except the Tunç and Akın families) considered the preservation and protection of the heritage language as crucial for a successful intergenerational language transmission and vitality of the language. For example, Derya emphasized the roles of families in intergenerational language transmission and stated that 'language loss happens because parents do not transmit it to their children', meaning that the parents played a crucial role in transferring the heritage language to their children. In another case, for example, Yılmaz considered himself a 'vehicle for transmitting Kurdish' to the next generations. Furthermore, Mahir, Zozan, and Ahmet drew attention to the vitality of the language: 'We do not want our language to become extinct' (Mahir); 'I want to keep Kurdish alive' (Zozan); 'I moved to my hometown to keep my mother tongue' (Ahmet) and made significant efforts to be able to transfer Kurdish to their children.

The parents' remarks pointed out that Kurdish had to be protected and maintained in the family domain to make intergenerational language transmission possible and reinforce the vitality of the language. The fact that Turkish was the official language of the country as well as being the language of instruction led the heritage-language parents to develop a sense of protection towards their heritage language. As Tsui and Tollefson (2004) argued, the medium of instruction could either contribute to intergenerational language transmission or serve as a "direct agent of linguistic genocide" (p.4). Therefore, when the unofficial or heritage languages were excluded from the education system or did not enjoy any institutional support, the future of such languages fell on the families' shoulders (Grenoble, 2011; Yu, 2010). Considering that the Kurdish language neither had a meaningful place in the official ideology nor was

a language of instruction, the transmission of Kurdish became the parents' responsibility. Similarly, the Kurdish parents in this study decided to transfer their heritage language by stating that it was their responsibility to transmit Kurdish and contribute to its survival by implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP. They believed that their children could learn the language of education by socializing into mainstream society, which they did as indicated. However, if they had not made efforts for the transmission of Kurdish as the main source of input for the heritage language, their children could not have learned it or would have had great difficulty acquiring the language. In this regard, the parents in this study revealed some discrepancies from the parents in Çağlayan's (2014) study. That is, some of the Kurdish parents in Çağlayan's study did not make such commitments to transmit their heritage language to their children due to the fact that Kurdish had no place in education and the use of Kurdish did not provide any educational or occupational opportunities for their children (2014). The monolingual education system of the Republic of Türkiye, in other words, caused the parents to value the official language, Turkish the most since it was the ticket for gaining access to economic, political and educational resources.

In a similar vein, the Turkish-Jews living in the Republic of Türkiye also attributed a high social status to Turkish to increase their linguistic and academic success in society (Seloni & Sarfati, 2013). As a result, Judeo-Spanish, the heritage language of the Jews for centuries, was restricted to a limited communicative function which influenced the vitality of the language. In other words, both Jews in Seloni and Sarfati's study (2013) and the Kurdish parents in Çağlayan's study (2014) were influenced by the hegemonic language ideologies. As Canagarajah put it, "the family unit is not autonomous or completely free to take responsibility over preserving the language" (2008, p. 172), indicating that there were factors external to the family domain that exerted influence on parental language ideologies. However, the Kurdish parents in the current study did not seek such motivations while implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP. Instead, what they aimed for was that they wanted to protect and maintain their heritage language so that it did not become extinct and stay alive, at least in the family domain.

Secondly, perceiving Kurdish as a marker of ethnic identity was another motivation stated the most by the parents, and it had been a common finding revealed in heritage language studies as well (Gharibi & Seals, 2020; Fishman, 1991; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). The heritage-language parents, namely Yılmaz, Berrin, Derya, Vedat, and Ahmet, considered the heritage language as a prerequisite to be able to call themselves as Kurds and stated that if one of them was missing, they would fail to acquire the Kurdish identity. Ahmet, for example, shared that his daughters had to know both their heritage language and culture to be able to complement their identity formation and call themselves as Kurds. Furthermore, Vedat, Berrin, and Derya perceived their heritage language as a reminder of who they were: 'Kurdish is my existence' (Vedat); 'because my mother tongue is Kurdish, I am a Kurd.' (Berrin); 'the Kurdish language means being Kurd' (Derya); 'culture, history, ethnicity, all these elements are built on language.' (Yılmaz). Their heritage language played a defining role in their ethnic identity. In other words, the loss of the heritage language was associated with the loss of their Kurdish identity, indicating that the loss of the heritage language would also mean the loss of cultural or ethnic identity (Gharibi & Seals, 2020; Lee, 2013).

Therefore, the Kurdish parents in this study based one of their motivations on ethnic identity formation for the reasons of transmitting the heritage language to their children and considered it as the norm. Since they were Kurds, communicating in the heritage language with their children was a default practice. In Yılmaz's own words, what they were doing was "the law of nature," and they were just "obeying those rules." Furthermore, among the participants, Yılmaz, for example, was very strict about the transmission of the heritage language and the interplay between the language and the ethnic identity. He even stated that if his son did not speak Kurdish to him, then it would mean that "he isn't his son anymore". Because in this case, his son Roni would be rejecting his identity, which meant that "he rejects his father as well". As shown, the formation of the identity was associated with the acquisition and maintenance of the heritage language of the speaker as well as some sort of connection to the ethnic culture (Val & Vinogradora, 2010).

In addition to its defining role in ethnic identity, communication with the extended family emerged as the other reason that encouraged the parents to transmit their heritage language (Gharibi & Seals, 2020; King & Fogle, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007). In three case studies, the Kurdish parents (Derya, Mahir, and Ahmet) explicitly and in one case (Yılmaz) covertly stated that Kurdish was their one and only choice when it came to communication with the grandparents due to their monolingual Kurdish roles in the family. Hence, the parents reported that they would like their children to learn and use Kurdish so that they could communicate in the heritage language with their grandparents or extended family. In other words, being able to speak in the heritage language would also mean that with a common language of communication, the children would contribute to the family's well-being. Considering the monolingual roles of the grandparents or the extended family, Kurdish emerged as the sole medium of communication for people from different generations.

Similar findings were also found in the literature. For example, in Gharibi and Seals (2021) study, Iranian parents attached the utmost importance to the acquisition and maintenance of the heritage language due to the fact that they would like their children to be able to communicate in Persian with their grandparents and felt like members of the family rather than seen as strangers. In contrast, the findings in Çağlayan's study (2014), for example, showed that the grandparents had to learn the majority language, Turkish, for the sake of their grandchildren. Blaming their own children, the second generation, for not teaching Kurdish to their grandchildren, the grandparents stated that due to this language barrier between them, as the first generation, they tried to learn Turkish and use it while spending time with their grandchildren. In other words, there was a transmission of Turkish from the third generation to the first generation, which led to a communication breakdown and a limited transmission of "emotions, thoughts, and experiences" as well (Çağlayan, 2014, p.82). Therefore, the Kurdish parents in the current study aimed to transmit the heritage language to prevent having similar experiences to those of Çağlayan's study and contribute to the family's well-being.

Lastly, the past language experiences of the heritage-language parents were another reason that motivated the Kurdish parents to implement a pro-Kurdish FLP, a finding supported in the literature as well (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King & Fogle, 2006). Almost all the Kurdish parents in this study stated that they met Turkish when they started formal education and this first introduction of Turkish to their life was not a positive one. That is, during their school years, while some of the Kurdish parents had to remain silent (i.e. Vedat, Mahir), others faced violence (i.e. Berrin, Derya) due to the fact that they did not know Turkish, the language of instruction.

In this regard, Salmi (2000) mentioned four types of violence: direct violence, indirect violence, repressive violence, and alienating violence, and how these types of violence could be reproduced or work best in education to prevent the violence. Direct violence, for example, referred to physical acts that aim to deliberately harm the human life and included examples such as murder, massacre, or genocide. Indirect violence referred to the indirect acts that violate one's right to survival, and it consisted of two sub-categories as violence by omission and mediated violence. Violence by omission referred to the situations when a problem such as hunger, disease, poverty, or accidents were not prevented due to the lack of protection, and mediated violence referred to the dangerous modifications done to the environment whose adverse effects revealed itself later on, and decreased the quality of resources in society. The third category, repressive violence was the violation of fundamental human rights such as deprivation of civil rights (i.e. freedom of speech, freedom of religion, equality before law), political rights (i.e. freedom to vote, freedom of holding meetings), and social rights (i.e. freedom to go on a strike or form a union). Lastly, alienating violence was the deprivation of one's right to have access to psychological, emotional, cultural, or mental health and included racism, living in fear, cultural repression, or social ostracism (Salmi, 2000; p. 2-6).

In light of these terms, therefore, the data gathered from the participants revealed that the heritage-language parents were subjected to these types of violence during their

school years due to the language barrier. Vedat, for instance, shared that even if there were his Kurdish-speaking friends in the classroom, he had to stay silent because he didn't understand the teacher, and also, it was "forbidden" to use their heritage language in school settings among friends. Moreover, Derya and Berrin, for example, stated that they were being beaten by their teachers with sticks just because they did not know the language of instruction and had difficulty understanding the topics. In this regard, what the Kurdish parents were going through was the reflection of these types of violence. Firstly, it was direct and repressive violence because the Kurdish parents in this study were physically harmed for speaking their heritage language in class or with their friends. Secondly, it was indirect violence because the language of instruction caused psychological, educational, and social problems. Thirdly, it was alienating violence because the Kurdish parents were forced to receive education in a language foreign to them. As seen, the Kurdish parents in this study, as in the participants in Coskun et al (2010) study, faced different kinds of violence and developed their own life trajectories, which influenced their decision to implement a pro-Kurdish FLP.

However, unlike the studies of Curdt-Christiansen (2009) or King and Fogle (2006), in which parents had past positive language experiences and considered implementing a bilingual or multilingual FLP as an opportunity to increase their children's social mobility in the wider society, the parents in the current study had past negative language experiences caused by their school years and perceived the transmission of their heritage language as a defense mechanism against the society's monolingual ideology. However, the majority of the Kurdish parents in Çağlayan's study (2014) did not transmit their heritage language due to the fact that they did not want their children to experience the same difficulties they had in their school years. They wanted their children to acquire the language of instruction and be competent at it so that they could reach education or occupational opportunities available in the wider society. In this regard, the Kurdish parents in the current study diverged from the parents in Çağlayan's study (2014) because they did not abandon their heritage language. Instead, they tried to contribute to its vitality and promote its use in the family domain

by transmitting it to their children. Therefore, parental past language experiences emerged as one of the driving forces for implementing a pro-Kurdish FLP, and it also emerged as one of the reasons that led Kurdish parents to become conscious and adhere to their Kurdish identity more than ever.

5.2. Language Practices

Considered the "real" language policy (Spolsky, 2009, p.4) or the "practiced language policy" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, p.213), the language practices, the second component of the FLP, referred to the language choices in interaction among family members (Lanza, 2007; Spolsky, 2004). The parental language ideologies were manifested through language practices, and they might or might not be congruent with the reported language practices (Nandi, 2018).

In the current study, the language practices data came from the interviews, and observations and they were based on parents' reported language practices, although in some cases, the researcher managed to observe the kids' communication in Kurdish with their parents (i.e.the Şimşek and Çiftçi families).

The majority of the participating parents in this study (Vedat, Mahir, Zozan, Yılmaz, and Çiğdem) reported that they used Turkish as the main tool for communication with each other due to the fact that they were two linguistically different speakers. In the remaining families, however, the Kurdish language was the common language of the parents, which showed its positive effects on children's language practices as well.

Regarding the language practices with their children, all the participating parents in this study stated that they mostly used Kurdish as the main tool for communication with their children. That is, apart from the Şimşek and Çiftçi families, the children of the remaining families (the Demir family, the Ekinci family, the Tunç family, the Akın Family, and the Kaya family) were at school age and attending a state's school. Therefore, in the case of homework, the parents sometimes had to use Turkish, the

language of instruction, in order to check the comprehension and help their children. However, according to what the Kurdish parents reported, the homework case was the only example where Turkish appeared. Even in such cases, the heritage-language parents did not miss the chance to practice the heritage language along with Turkish. For example, Vedat stated that "I explain the directions in Turkish, however, I definitely tell her the Kurdish ones, as well" indicating that he was consistent in his language use with his children and used every opportunity to increase the heritage language input.

Furthermore, the data illustrated that the language choice between the parents and the children showed variations though parents reported that they mostly used the heritage language in their communication with their children. According to what the parents said, some of the children did not use the heritage language as frequently as their parents. For example, in Demir's family, the son of Mahir, Serdest, mostly responded to his father in the majority language, Turkish. Moreover, in Zozan's case, for example, her daughter Ayşe decided on which language to use for communication, which showed an example of child agency as well (Gafaranga, 2010; Luykx, 2005). That is, the children played an active role in communication with their parents. They sometimes conformed to or challenged their parents' ideologies, causing them to accommodate themselves according to the needs of their children. Similarly, in the Şimşek family, Ayşe challenged her mother's FLP and decided on which language to speak by herself. However, in the remaining case studies, Kurdish parents, namely Vedat, Berrin, Derya, Yılmaz, and Çiğdem reported that their kids used Kurdish when speaking to their parents.

Regarding the communication between the siblings, since two of the families, the Demir and Şimşek families had one child, the data for the siblings' talk came from the five of families. Apart from the Ekinci and the Tunç families, the remaining heritage-language parents (Berrin, Derya, Yılmaz, and Çiğdem) reported that their children mainly used the heritage language in their conversation with one another, considering that they employed consistent pro-Kurdish language strategies. In the Tunç family,

Vedat, for example, stated that he lost the battle in the siblings' language choice of communication due to factors such as school and socialization into the majority language with peers. Hence, the siblings mostly started using Turkish in their communication with each other. Research also showed that siblings could use societal language in their communication with each other due to several reasons such as school, friends, or mainstream society (Gharibi & Mirvahedi, 2021; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018; King & Mackay, 2007).

For example, Kheirkhah & Cekaite studied Iranian families living in Sweden and siblings as socialization agents. The findings of the study showed that the siblings mostly used the majority language, Swedish, in their social interactions and hence contributed to the language shift from the heritage language Farsi to the societal language, Swedish. The older siblings acted as "literacy mediators in school languages" (p. 270) and brought the societal language to the home domain in different forms of literacy practices (2018). Similarly, in the Tunç family, the language choice of the siblings became Turkish dominant due to the socialization outside the home context and state school. In Gharibi and Mirhavedi's study as well, for example, the mothers reported that although in a few cases the good proficiency of the older sibling in their heritage language, Persian positively impacted the younger one's heritage language practice, the older children mostly engaged in English practices with their younger siblings (2021). That is, the introduction of education in the societal language or socialization into the societal language brought different outcomes for the siblings' language practices. For example, as in the Ekinci family, Ahmet reported that after the introduction of the Turkish instructed school into their lives, Meryem, his younger daughter, started to reject speaking her heritage language, while Esra did not show such reactions. Therefore, as the children started interacting with their surroundings or attending schools, they could develop their own attitudes toward languages and hence might create a different pattern of language practice from their parents (Kayam & Hirsch, 2012).

Regarding communication with the extended family or grandparents in particular, the majority of the parents (Yılmaz, Derya, Berrin, Ahmet, Mahir, Vedat) reported that the children had to use Kurdish while speaking to their grandparents due to the fact that their grandparents were monolingual Kurdish speakers and did not have any other alternative besides Kurdish. For example, Mahir stated that his mother did not know any Turkish besides the sentence "How are you?". Similarly, Derya also said that "Kurdish was the only choice" when she thought of grandparents of both sides. Therefore, according to what parents reported, the communication between the grandparents and the grandchildren was and remained Kurdish.

In other words, the results of this study showed that the parents were largely consistent in their language practices and acted as the main source of heritage language input. The children, on the other hand, showed variations based on whom they were speaking to. In this regard, the results of this study diverged from the studies revealing that the declared parental language ideologies were not congruent with the actual language practices in the family. For example, Kirsh (2012) interviewed and observed seven middle-class Luxembourgish mothers who aimed to raise bilingual children in Luxembourgish and English. The findings of the study illustrated that although the parents had strong identifications with their heritage language and were aware of their role in the transmission of the Luxembourgish, the monolingual ideology of the society, which supported the use of English, caused the parents to accommodate themselves according to their children's request to speak English. As a result, the use of Luxembourgish was reduced, and the chances for raising bilingual children were limited.

In another study, Romanowski (2021), for example, demonstrated that although Polish-speaking parents in Melbourne considered Polish as a crucial element for reasons such as cultural identity, communication with the family elders or the advantages resulting from being bilingual, their language ideologies did not manifest themselves in their language practices. Especially with the introduction of schools into

their lives, the Polish-speaking parents discontinued using Polish and invested more in the majority language, English. However, in the current study, the Kurdish-speaking parents were not influenced by the language of the education and continued using their heritage language while communicating with their children. They were consistent in their heritage language use.

Regarding the literacy practices, it was seen that all the participating parents were literate in their heritage language and transmitted or aimed to transfer this skill to their children, as well. For example, the majority of the children in this study, except Ayşe, Roni, and Arjin, who weren't at the formal school age, were able to read and write in Kurdish thanks to the education they either received from their parents or from the language support centers they attended. In fact, some of them had already started producing their own materials in their heritage language. For example, Şiyar Deniz wrote a story named the Play in Kurdish and also, Hevi wrote a story about a kitten and then animated it with the help of her parents. Therefore, it could be said that the majority of the children in this study acquired reading, and writing skills in Kurdish and they kept improving themselves in their heritage language, as well. Considering that the Kurdish language mainly had an oral status (Öpengin, 2012; Sherwani & Barlik, 2020), the results of this study provided a meaningful contribution to the vitality of the Kurdish language, offering a hopeful future for the language.

5.3. Parental Language Management Strategies

The last component of the FLP, language management, was defined as conscious or explicit interventions implemented by actors who aim to maintain or exert control over the subjects' language choices in communication (Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2009). Since parents were the language planners in the home, language management at the family level referred to the parental attempts or choices made to promote or maintain the use of a specific language among family members (King, 2016).

In this study, in all cases, the heritage-language parents implemented various what Schwartz (2010) called external and internal language management strategies to secure heritage language transmission. Using heritage language-only strategy, language support centers, Kurdish TV channels, reading Kurdish story books, and implementing discourse strategies emerged as the most prevalent strategies among the cases.

The majority of the parents used a heritage language-only strategy in their FLP, a common strategy implemented by heritage-language parents in literature as well (Hu & Ren, 2016; Kaveh, 2018; Wilson, 2019; Zheng, 2015). For example, both parents in the Akın, the Ekinci, the Çiftçi, and the Kaya families solely spoke Kurdish with their children. Kurdish was the default language of their families, and being immersed in a Kurdish monolingual environment, therefore, brought positive developments in terms of language production, as well. That is, the children in these families communicated in Kurdish not only with their parents but also with their siblings and extended family.

In this regard, it was seen that the children whose parents implemented a consistent heritage language-only strategy in the family kept speaking the heritage language even after school became a part of their life. However, the children whose families used the OPOL method were not using their heritage language as frequently as the children in the families who opted for a heritage language-only strategy. As stated by De Houwer (2007), in a case where both parents used the societal language alongside the OPOL strategy, it was unlikely that the children actively used both languages. For example, in the Tunç family, the parents were using Turkish among each other, and with their children, the father was using Kurdish while the mother was speaking Turkish. Hence, although the children kept speaking the heritage language while communicating with their father Vedat, when they started school, the siblings' talk became Turkish dominant. That is, the amount of input the children received in Turkish increased while the amount of input in Kurdish remained limited to the father. Therefore, when the children started their formal education, they were subjected to Turkish not only in the school domain but also in their surroundings, and in their socialization with their peers.

As a result, Turkish became their dominant language, and the use of their heritage language decreased. In Demir's family, the OPOL method also resulted in the Turkish language's favor. Although Mahir kept using Kurdish while talking to his son, Serdest communicated mainly in Turkish. Considering that Turkish was the language of education and also the language of socialization with his peers, Serdest formed his own attitudes toward his heritage language and either consciously or implicitly chose to speak Turkish.

Moreover, gender might also have played a role in children's preference for Turkish. That is, in the Demir and the Tunç families, the Turkish-speaking parents were the mothers and since they were seen as the primary caregivers in raising children (Fishman, 1991; Gharibi & Mirvahedi, 2021; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984), the children's increased exposure to Turkish, when combined with the society as well, was inevitable. Therefore, being exposed to the Turkish language inside the family might have also contributed to the children's Turkish competence.

Secondly, all the Kurdish parents reported using language support centers such as the Kurdish-instructed school, Kurdish playground and Kurdish music course to have their children socialize in the heritage language. Since the Kurdish language was mainly restricted to the family domain, the parents shared that the presence of such institutions was meaningful and contributed a lot to their heritage language transmission. Through such language support centers, the children had the opportunity to hear the heritage language outside the home domain, from their peers, as well. In literature, the presence of language support centers and their contributions to heritage language development was reflected in some studies (Andritsou, 2020; Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018; Hu & Ren, 2016). For example, Turkish parents in Melbourne sent their children to Turkish classes to contribute to their heritage language development (Et-Bozkurt & Yagmur, 2022). Similarly, Chinese parents in Singapore also enrolled their children in Chinese language classes to contribute to their heritage language development to compensate for the dominant language practices, English as a prestigious language (Hu & Ren, 2016). As seen, the heritage-language parents looked for support in the

heritage language outside their family domain so that they could maintain the heritage language in family conversations.

Using Kurdish TV channels such as Zarok TV for heritage language development was another strategy held by the Kurdish-speaking parents (namely Derya, Yılmaz, Vedat, Berrin, and Ahmet). Since the dominant and powerful language was Turkish, which was rich in linguistic or non-linguistic resources, Kurdish TV channels provided a limited but meaningful contribution to the families' pro-Kurdish FLP. Furthermore, some of the children and their parents worked with Non-governmental organizations and children's programs (i.e., Derya and her daughters, Vedat and his son) and produced language-related works in Kurdish. For example, Vedat's son actively attended the Kurdish music course and shot Kurdish activities, and later, they were broadcasted on Kurdish TV channels. In Derya's case, for example, her daughter wrote Kurdish stories and animated them, and later published them on Youtube. In Çağlayan's study, for example, the researcher mentioned Turkish cartoons such as Pepe and Caillou and how they contributed to Kurdish children's Turkish language development, especially to their Turkish pronunciation (2014). Therefore, mass media, whether it was in Turkish or in Kurdish, had a defining role in language development, and in case of lack of resources, Kurdish TV channels, especially Zarok TV, acted as a supplementary factor for the heritage language development.

Reading Kurdish storybooks as a strategy was also common in six cases, except for the Ekinci family. Various literacy practices as language management forms were also present in FLP studies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Maseko, 2016; Schwartz, 2010; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). As illustrated by De Houwer and Bornstein (2016) as well, "Regardless of which language(s) and how many languages they are learning, young children need regular and frequent input to learn a particular language" (2016, p.681). In other words, consistent literacy practices in the heritage language would contribute a lot to the children's language development in the language in question, which was Kurdish in this case. Accordingly, all the families reported using Kurdish storybooks for heritage language development. In the case of a lack of

pedagogically good books, some parents bought Turkish story books and implemented translation methods to compensate for the lack of good Kurdish materials. As shared by the participating parents as well, the literacy practices in the heritage language were among the limited resources that the Kurdish language had, but still, the presence of them lightened their burden to some extent. In Wilson 's (2019) study as well, for example, French parents living in Britain bought storybooks in French to develop their children's heritage language development in an English-dominant environment. In another study done by Maseko (2016), the Kalanga and Tonga language-speaking minority parents in Zimbabwe, for example, encouraged their children to read stories written in heritage language and tried to form a habit of literacy practices in the heritage languages to promote proficiency in the languages in question. In the current study as well; the Kurdish parents tried to support their children's comprehension and production skills in the heritage language to reinforce the use of the Kurdish language.

Lastly, Discourse Strategies (Lanza, 1997; 2007) emerged as another strategy employed by Kurdish parents. Lanza identified 5 types of discourse strategies that the parents used to socialize their children into a particular language such as Minimal Grasp, Expressed Guess, Adult Repetition, Move-on, and Code-switching. With the Minimal Grasp strategy, "the adult provides a minimal grasp to the child's mixing of languages in interaction, thereby highlighting his or her monolingual role" by using questions such as 'what did you say?' or a statement such as 'I did not understand' (Lanza, 1997, p.268). In the Expressed Guess strategy, the adult attempted to reformulate the child's utterance in the other language and asked for confirmation as well. In the Repetition strategy, the adult repeated "the child's mix in the appropriate language in a non-question form" (Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2001, p.68). In the Move-On strategy, the adult did not pay attention to the child's mixing of the languages. Rather, the focus was given to the content of the conversation. In the last strategy, Code-switching, the use of both languages became the natural practice of family conversations, and adults did not interfere in their children's use of language (Lanza, 1997; 2007; Montanari, 2005). As the adults moved from the minimal grasp strategy to the code-switching, the monolingual role of the adults gradually decreased.

In this research, for example, in four cases, the heritage-language parents (Berrin, Vedat, Ahmet, and Derya) used discourse strategies such as Minimal Grasp (Ahmet, Derya, Vedat), Move-On (Berrin) and Repetition (Derya) to promote and cultivate their children's development in the heritage language, Kurdish and remind them the FLP of the family. As Lanza (1997) and De Houwer (2015) pointed out, strategies such as Minimal Grasp and Repetition played an essential role in the active use of the heritage language since they created a monolingual environment for the language in question. Similarly, the Kurdish parents who used the minimal grasp and repetition strategies secured the use of Kurdish as the default language of communication with their children. For example, in the Ekinci, Kaya, and Tunç families, the children's language of choice with their parents remained Kurdish thanks to the consistent monolingual input they received from their parents. In the Akın family, although Berrin sometimes used the Move-On strategy, since Kurdish was the home language, the children's language practices were not influenced by the move-on strategy.

5.4. Challenges Encountered

In this research, almost all the parents considered the transmission of the heritage language as a 'struggle' and stated that they had difficulty while implementing their FLP. Given that the Kurdish language did not enjoy state support and lacked the resources necessary for the vitality of the language, the heritage language transmission primarily became the parents' job. Hence, some of them expressed that they got both mentally and physically tired and always felt alert against the majority language, Turkish. For example, Mahir expressed that 'the state should take the responsibility. They were supposed to give this language.", pointing out the fact that the state was not contributing to the development of the Kurdish language. Although Kurdish was started to be given at the secondary level and Kurdish language departments were opened in some of the state universities (Çağlayan, 2014) with the EU, the reality reflected just the opposite (Öpengin, 2015). In other words, the transmission of the Kurdish language fell solely on the parents' shoulders. In literature, the transmission

of the heritage language as a struggle was revealed in some studies, as well. Okita (2002), for example, studied the child-rearing practices of English-Japanese families living in the UK and the findings showed that the Japanese parents described their efforts in their children's heritage language development as invisible work and stated that implementing pro-heritage language practices at home was a demanding and a time-consuming task given that the parents were living in mainstream English society. In Wilson's (2019) study as well, French-speaking parents living in the UK also described their efforts in heritage language transmission as "hard" and "challenging" (p. 211). In other words, the heritage-language parents needed different kinds of support so that they could continue using their heritage language easily in societies where monolingual ideologies were held.

Moreover, most of the parents complained about their own language community and criticized them for not speaking the heritage language. In other words, the societal language in the research site turned into the majority language, Turkish, due to the reasons such as Turkish being the language of education and of economy, the past negative language experiences remained from the 90s. Hence, the Kurdish language was restricted to the home domain, which was a negative factor for heritage language transmission. Naturally, the heritage-language parents complained about the lack of resources necessary for the development of the heritage language. Çiğdem, for example, stated that "we have difficulty finding Kurdish books." In another case, for example, Derya expressed that "even the opening of Zarok TV has lightened our burden.". Therefore, support from the community members and language-supporting resources were missing in the case of the Kurdish language in the Republic of Türkiye, and this situation posed great difficulty for the heritage-language parents. In other words, the parents in this research could not rely much on the strategies external to the home domain. As expressed by Zozan, for example, "the number of places such as Kurdish playground or Kurdish music course is limited although the city is densely Kurdish dominated." As illustrated in literature as well, parents might look for strategies external to home to find support for the heritage language development such as living in a particular neighborhood, sending their children to community heritage

language schools, or being in touch with the heritage language community members (Gharibi & Mirvahedi, 2021; Gu & Han, 2021; Hollebeke et. al. , 2020; Kaveh & Sandoval, 2020; Liang & Dong-Shin, 2021). However, in the case of Kurdish-speaking parents in the Republic of Türkiye, the families lacked the necessary resources, although they lived in a densely Kurdish-populated city. Hence, the Kurdish parents had to use the resources available in the society, and this situation also caused families to develop different strategies such as translating Turkish storybooks into Kurdish or preparing Kurdish crosswords to support the heritage language development.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This final chapter provided the key findings of this study as well as its limitations, contributions, and possible recommendations for further research.

6.1. Key Findings

The current study explored the FLP of the Kurdish families living in the Republic of Türkiye with regard to the transmission of Kurdish to their children. The FLP as a field primarily had been investigated in Western immigrant contexts with a focus on European languages (Lanza, 2020; Smith-Christmas, 2017). In this regard, there was a research void in the FLP of the Kurdish families in the Republic of Türkiye regarding the transmission of the Kurdish language. Therefore, to fill the research gap and contribute to the literature, the current study asked two research questions to uncover the language ideologies-practices-management of Kurdish parents.

In conformity with the scope of the current study, the present study asked the following questions:

1. What are the family language ideologies of Kurdish parents?
    1.1. What parental motivations shape their FLP?

2. What are Kurdish parents' language practices and language management strategies regarding the transmission of their heritage language?

The first question was asked to disclose the parental language ideologies, and the second research question was asked to explore the family language practices and parental language management strategies implemented to keep Kurdish in the home

domain among family members. The data were gathered from 7 families through semi-structured face-to-face interviews, field notes, and Kurdish language materials. The data were first analyzed by the Tripartite FLP model (Spolsky, 2004; 2009; 2012) to provide a holistic picture of the FLP of each family, and secondly, thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was carried out to identify the emerging themes.

Based on the research questions, this study showed that Kurdish parents living in the Republic of Türkiye had strong motivations for heritage language transmission and made significant efforts to support their pro-Kurdish FLP. In terms of language ideologies, preserving the heritage language, perceiving heritage language as a marker for ethnic identity, communication with the extended family, especially with the grandparents, and past language experiences emerged as the language ideologies behind the parental decisions for the heritage language transmission. In this regard, the findings showed that the language ideologies of the Kurdish parents were similar to those living in different socio-linguistic communities or mainstream societies. As shown in the literature as well, the majority of the heritage language parents based their motivations mainly on communication with the grandparents, preserving the heritage language and culture, considering heritage language as a defining feature in ethnic identity formation, considering bi/multilingualism as an asset at job market (Berardi-Withshire, 2017; Brown, 2011; Kaveh, 2018; King & Fogle, 2006; Kopeliovich, 2010; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Therefore, the FLP of the Kurdish families living in the Republic of Türkiye revealed the language ideologies of an understudied group, the Kurdish families, and contributed to the literature in the sense that the FLP of the Kurdish families provided insights from a different context, the Republic of Türkiye, and an understudied language, Kurdish.

Moreover, the findings of this study also showed that Kurdish language transmission was not solely the job of the mothers. That is, when the literature was reviewed, it was seen that the heritage language transmission largely fell on mothers' shoulders, and they had to deal with this issue on their own (Kaveh, 2018; Okita, 2002; Romanovski, 2021; Wilson, 2019). However, the FLP of the Kurdish families in the

Republic of Türkiye illustrated that independently of gender, both Kurdish-speaking mothers and fathers tried to contribute to their children's heritage language development and aimed to transmit and maintain Kurdish in a Turkish mainstream society where the official ideology was in favor of monolingualism. Therefore, the Kurdish parents showed that the transmission of Kurdish was a shared responsibility, and all the Kurdish-speaking parents spoke the heritage language and contributed to the FLP of the family.

Regarding language practices, it was seen that the parental language ideologies were congruent with the reported language practices. The literature showed that there existed a gap between the declared language ideologies and language practices due to several reasons such as the language of education, child agency, or language attitudes (Canagarajah, 2008; Fogle & King, 2013; Kheirkhah, 2016). For example, heritage language parents living in mainstream societies did not continue to use their heritage language when the school domain was involved in their life. Rather, they switched to the societal language, the language of education, to help their children succeed at school and increase their social mobility (Mirhahedi & Jafari, 2021; Romanowski, 2021). However, all the Kurdish-speaking parents in the current study declared that they mainly used the heritage language in their communication with their children even after school, an external factor, was involved in their lives. That is, although the Kurdish parents sometimes used Turkish to help their children with their homework and check their comprehension, in general, they were not influenced by the language of instruction and continued to use Kurdish whenever they communicated with their children.

To manage the heritage language use inside the family domain among family members, the Kurdish parents employed various external and internal strategies such as using heritage language-only, discourse strategies, language support centers such as Kurdish playground or Kurdish music course, Kurdish TV channels like Zarok TV and reading Kurdish story books. All the language management strategies were reported to be effective and essential for heritage language development and contributed greatly

to heritage language practices. Of all the strategies, it was seen that the heritage language-only and language support centers emerged as the most effective strategies. For example, in families where both parents were speaking the heritage language, Kurdish was the default language of the family, and it remained so even after the school domain was involved in their lives. In other words, the monolingual environment of the home domain supported the use of the heritage language, and it helped to maintain Kurdish in the family domain. Using language support centers was another strategy that revealed productive results in terms of language practices. All the Kurdish parents reported that the Kurdish playground or the Kurdish music course helped their FLP in the sense that they created an environment where the children socialized into the heritage language outside the family domain. The children had the opportunity to speak Kurdish to their peers and their teachers. The language support centers gave them the idea that the Kurdish language was not limited to their parents only. It was also the language of education, music, and games. It was a valuable language that could be cultivated and used in each domain.

Moreover, as illustrated in the discussion chapter as well, the Kurdish parents described the heritage language transmission as a struggle. As illustrated in the works of Wilson (2019) and Okita (2002), heritage language transmission was a demanding and time consuming-task, more importantly, the parents' efforts went unnoticed. Similarly, considering that Kurdish families were living in Turkish mainstream society and Kurdish did not enjoy state support, the resources necessary for the promotion and cultivation of the language were not present, and sometimes it became the Kurdish parents' responsibility to create their own materials in the heritage language to compensate for the lack of Kurdish materials or use every opportunity such as language support centers, Kurdish TV channels or discourse strategies to support and reinforce the use of the heritage language among family members. Therefore, the FLP of the Kurdish families revealed that heritage language speakers needed a diverse range of materials to contribute to their FLP and preserve the heritage language among family members.

6.2. Limitations of the Study

With regard to the limitations of the study, firstly, the data on language practices were based on parental-reported language practices. Although, in some cases, the researcher managed to observe the interaction between the children and the parents, the majority of the data came from the parents' reported language practices. Therefore, the Kurdish parents might have been biased in their reported language practices. However, considering that the data were collected during the Covid-19 pandemic and also, working with children and observing their language practices was a sensitive issue and would require a different ethics approval form, the conditions were limited, and the researcher had to narrow the scope of the research.

Secondly, the perspectives of the children were not the focus of this study. However, as illustrated in literature, children played active roles in shaping their parents' FLP. Therefore, including their voices in the study could have revealed different perspectives related to heritage language development and transmission.

Thirdly, this study focused on Kurdish parents who aimed to transmit their heritage language, Kurdish, to their children and made commitments to maintain it in the family domain. However, studying the Kurdish parents who did not transmit the heritage language and supported the use of the majority language, Turkish, could also reveal different perspectives regarding the understanding of the Kurdish families and enable a cross-case analysis of the issue.

Fourthly, the case studies described in this research were based on a limited sample, and hence, the FLP of the Kurdish parents in this study did not represent all the Kurdish parents living in the Republic of Türkiye. Besides, the details regarding the demographic information and life stories of the participants were provided so that the readers could make a judgment on the transferability of the findings.

6.3. Contributions and Recommendations for further Research

As stated in the introduction of this study as well, there was a research void in FLP of Kurdish families regarding the transmission of Kurdish as a heritage language. Therefore, this study contributed to the FLP studies in general and Kurdish language studies in particular. In other words, this study brought the understudied contexts and language to the forefront and provided valuable insights for the development of the field and the Kurdish language. The current study uncovered the language and child-rearing practices of families in non-Western contexts, illustrated the status of the Kurdish language in a private context and gave voices to the Kurdish parents whose practices and efforts were unnoticed and missing in the literature.

Based on the findings of this research, three main suggestions can be made for further research. Firstly, this study lacked the observed language practices among family members. However, it is important to see whether the reported language beliefs are congruent with the actual language practices or not. Additionally, the time spent data collection was limited. Therefore, a new study with a prolonged engagement in the fieldwork and observation of the family language practices can produce valuable insights and develop the FLP studies.

Secondly, the Kurdish children's perspectives were missing in the current study. Therefore, a study based on children's perspectives or their roles in heritage language development and transmission can also be another suggestion for future research.

Thirdly, exploring the language practices of the Kurdish families who decided not to transmit the Kurdish language along with the families who decided to transmit the Kurdish language can be another suggestion for further research. Exploring the language ideologies of two different groups can reveal different perspectives and contribute to the understanding of the issue going on in Kurdish families.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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15 ŞUBAT 2022

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç.Dr. Betil ERÖZ-TUĞA

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Leyla EROĞLU'nun "Kürt Ailelerin, Aile-Dil Politikalarının Araştırılması" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve [redacted] protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

[redacted]
Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

B. CONSENT FORM

THE VOLUNTEER CONSENT FORM

This research is carried out by Leyla EROĞLU, who is writing her master's thesis, under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Betil ERÖZ-TUĞA, at the Department of English Language Teaching (ELT) at Middle East Technical University. This form has been prepared to inform you about the research, your rights and explain what is expected of you as the participant of the study.

This research is carried out to explore the Family Language Policy (FLP) of the Kurdish families living in Turkey with regard to the transmission of the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish language to their children. The aim is to understand and provide a holistic picture of the Kurdish families' language ideologies, practices and management strategies. The methods planned to be used to achieve the aims of the research are as the following;

- Face-to-face interviews (audio recording or hand notes)
- If needed, follow-up questions might be asked during the data collection process.

As a participant, you are expected to participate in interview questions that will reveal your FLP and share your experiences with the researcher. While the interviews are being conducted, the interviews can be made by recording or by just taking notes by hand. Audio recordings will only be used by the researcher for the purpose of the study. In the data collection process, recording interviews allows the researcher to collect the data in a more natural context and take notes by including the observation skills in the process. It is entirely up to you as a participant to allow audio recordings. If permission is not granted, the researcher will conduct the interview by taking notes with the classical pencil-notebook method.

Your answers will be kept completely confidential. The data collected from you will be used for the master's thesis and will be read by the thesis advisor and jury members. The data you provide will not be matched with the identity information collected in the consent form and will be evaluated under anonymous names.

Interview questions generally do not contain questions that will cause personal discomfort. However, if you feel uncomfortable during participation because of the questions or any other reasons, you can stop participating and withdraw from the research. In such a case, it will suffice to raise the issue.

Thank you in advance for your participation in this study. If you would like to receive more information about the study, you can contact the researcher at .

I have read the above information and participated in this study completely voluntarily.
(After completing and signing the form, return it to the practitioner).

Name Surname Date Signature

-/----/--

C. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND LIFE STORY

Demographic Information

1. Age of Participant:
2. Educational Status:
3. Ethnic identity and languages spoken:
4. How well do you know Kurmanji?
5. Ethnic identity and languages spoken by the spouse?
6. Age and gender of their children:
7. Do they go to school? (Private/State)
8. What languages do children speak?
9. Place of birth and, if any, places of residence?

Life Story:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself? What kind of childhood did you have? What languages did you grow up speaking? What languages were spoken around you?

2. Can you share your own experiences with education? Did you know Turkish, the language of instruction, when you started school? Was your heritage language allowed to be spoken in school settings?

D. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERWIEWS ON FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY

Introduction to Family Language Policy

Questions Regarding the Language and Family Language Planning

1. Let's start with a general question. What does language mean to you? When we talk about the concept of language, what kinds of meanings do we attribute to the term language? (For example, the general opinion is that it is a communication tool. What do you think?)

2. Speaking in the context of Kurmanji, what would you like to say about your Heritage language? Do you think that this language is valued? (you can also comment on your language community or in general in the Republic of Türkiye?)

3. How and why did you decide to transmit Kurmanji to your children? Why is it important for you to speak this language? Can you talk about the reasons/aims that led you to take such a/an action/decision? What are the (dis) advantages of speaking this language for your child?

4. How did you plan it? Did you make this decision alone, or did your husband/wife support you? When did you start speaking this language with your children? Did you follow a flexible method or solely use a heritage language-only strategy? Did you make different plans with your children from different age groups?

5. How did the process go after you had decided to transmit Kurmanji to your children? Did you have conflicts with your child? Like rejecting to speak the heritage language or being willing to speak it with family members? Did you encounter such situations? What can you say about this?

6. If you have school-age children, how did the school factor affect your language policy/planning? Did your child know Turkish while starting school? Did you need to review and adjust your language planning? What did you do? Did the school factor/ socialization with peers influence your language planning? How?

7. After making language planning, have you ever felt hopeless while implementing your FLP? How do you evaluate yourself?

Language Practices

1. Can we talk about your language practices at home among family members? What is the language of the house? In which language or languages does communication take place? Possible questions to ask:

    - Which language(s) is/are used while communicating with family members?
    - Mother-father?
    - Mother-child?
    - Father-Child?
    - If there is more than one child, what language is spoken between siblings?
    - Extended family members (great-grandparents, cousins, etc.)

2. What is the language of the city, streets, and parks? In which language(s) do your children communicate with their peers? What is the situation regarding the language of the city and of the family?

3. Do different environments or situations affect your communication with your children?

4. (If any) After having the school factor, were your language practices at home among family members divided into as preschool and after-school? Did the school factor exert an influence on your language practices? Did you try a different plan because of this situation?

5. If you had children of different age groups or more than one, did you communicate in different languages?

6. Do you and your partner still communicate in the same language, or has this changed? If yes, what prompted you to make this change?

Language Management Strategies

1. What did you do/are you doing to transmit/develop the heritage language? (School preference, language groups, coming together with Kurmanji-speaking families, etc.).

- Did you get help from anyone?
- Did you implement a specific strategy? (Like a parent a language)

2. Did you/do you impose a sanction when your child does not comply with the strategy you set during communication? If your answer is yes, what kind of sanctions do you apply?

3. How do you approach your child's use of Kurmanji and Turkish? Did you/do you allow him/her to mix them?

4. If you received help from a caregiver while raising your child, did you have a priority in choosing a caregiver, such as the Kurmanji-speaking babysitter?

5. What is your child's level in reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills in Kurmanji?

6. How do you evaluate yourself in the language transmission process? Would you say that you had a family language policy? Do you think you are successful at transmitting Kurmanji to your child(ren)?

External Factors Affecting the Process

1. Let's speak about your language community. For example, is Kurmanji alive or a living language here in the research site? Can we say that the language of the street is Kurmanji? Why is that? Is there any change?

2. How do you evaluate the general situation among the Kurds? If you had the chance to observe, could we mention that the Kurds invested in their heritage language and had a goal of transferring it to the next generations? For example, what is the state of language among the elderly? As we move from the first generation to the third generation, what kind of a picture do we encounter for Kurmanji?

3. What factors do you think play a role in transferring a language to the next generation? What opportunities in the country or in your own language community would contribute to the language transmission?

    - Does the government make a contribution?
    - Education in your heritage language?

Interview questions may not be limited to the above questions. Depending on the flow of the conversation, the order of the questions may change. Depending on the participant's answers, the researcher may revise the follow-up questions, ask additional questions, or remove some questions based on the participant's answers.

E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

KÜRT AİLELERİN AİLE-DİL POLİTİKASININ İNCELENMESİ

Bu çalışma Türkiye'de yaşayan Kürt ailelerin, aile-dil politikasını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, ailelerin dil politikalarını açık (Shohamy, 2006) ya da gizil bir şekilde (Schiffman, 2006) nasıl planladıklarını ve Kürt ebeveynlerin Kürtçe'nin transferi noktasında dil planlamalarını, dil pratiklerini ve dil yönetimini nasıl yaptıklarını araştırmaktadır.

Çalışmanın Sunumu

Bu çalışma, aile ortamının, çocukların dilsel çevrelerini oluşturmada oynadığı kritik rol nedeniyle dillerin öğrenilmesi, sürdürülmesi ve sonraki nesillere aktarılması için önemli bir ortam olduğu düşüncesinden hareket etmektedir (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2004; 2012). Örneğin, ailelerin dil ile ilgili ideolojileri ve dil pratikleri, dili sürdürmede "dayanak noktası" olarak kabul edilmektedir (Fishman, 2001, p.467) ve bu nedenle ailelerden, özellikle de ebeveynlerden dillerin aktarımı ve sürdürümü için tutarlı çabalar göstermeleri beklenmektedir (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Bir başka deyişle, ebeveynlerin dilsel ideolojileri ve evde ebeveynler ile çocukları arasında gerçekleşen dil pratikleri, miras dillerin sonraki nesiller boyunca korunup korunmayacağını belirleyen temel itici güçlerden biri olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır (Fishman, 1991; Schwartz, 2008; Spolsky, 2004; 2012). Bu bilgiler ışığında, bu çalışma aile ortamının ve ebeveynlerin dilin sürdürümü ve transferinde oynadığı role katılmakta ve Kürt ailelerin, Kürtçeyi miras dil olarak çocuklarına aktarmasını araştırmak amacıyla Aile-Dil Politikasını teorik çerçeve olarak kullanmaktadır.

Aile-Dil politikası, aile ortamında, aile üyeleri arasında belirli bir dilin kullanımının açık ya da örtük bir şekilde nasıl planlandığını ifade eder ve dil ideolojileri, dil

pratikleri ve dil yönetimi gibi birbirleriyle ilişkili fakat aynı zamanda bağımsız üç temel öğeden oluşur (Spolsky, 2004; 2009; 2012). Bunlardan ilki olan dil ideolojileri genel olarak dile atfedilen değerler, dil planlamasının arkasındaki sebepler veya dil ile ilişkilendirilen inançlara atıfta bulunur (Spolsky, 2004; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002). İkinci öğe olan dil pratikleri ise aile üyeleri arasında hangi dilin iletişim dili olarak kullanıldığına işaret ederken (Lanza, 2007), üçüncü unsur olan dil yönetimi bahsi geçen dilin sürdürümü ve transfer edilmesi noktasında ne tür stratejilerin uygulandığına gönderme yapar (King, 2016; Spolsky, 2009). Aile ortamında ebeveynler dil planlamacıları olarak ortaya çıktıklarından (Schwartz, 2010), ebeveynlerin dil ideolojileri, aile dil pratiklerini etkiler ve aile üyelerini bahsi geçen dilin kullanımını destekleyici ortamlar hazırlamaları konusunda teşvik eder.

Bu bağlamda farklı dil topluluklarında yapılmış çalışmalar incelendiğinde, ailelerin, Aile-Dil Politikalarını planlarken dil ideolojileri olarak belirli bir dili aile ortamında aile üyeleri arasında korumak (Kopeliovich, 2010) , dili etnik kimliğin bir parçası olarak görmek (Park & Sarkar, 2007), çok dilliliği bir avantaj olarak görmek (Berardi-Withshire, 2017; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014; Hua & Wei, 2016), çocuklarının büyükanne-babaları ile konuşabilmelerini sağlamak (Kopeliovich, 2010; Park& Sarkar, 2007), kültürü korumak (Kirsch, 2012) gibi sebeplerden etkilendikleri görülmüştür. Buna ek olarak, dil pratikleri, ebeveynlerin dil ideolojilerinin sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmakta ve dil ideolojileri ile uyumlu olabilecekleri gibi, tersi bir durumun görülmesi de olasılık dahilinde olduğu saptanmıştır. Bir başka deyişle, literatür aynı zamanda ailelerin dil pratiklerinin her zaman dil ideolojileri ile uyuşmadığını göstermiştir. Yapılmış olan çalışmalar, ailelerin dil planlamalarının eğitim dili, ekonomi, çocukların ebeveynlerinin onlarla kullandığı dili reddetme, akranlarla sosyalleşme gibi sebeplerden kaynaklı olarak güçlüklerle karşılaştığını göstermiştir (Luykx, 2005; Spolsky, 2004).

Örneğin, Avustralya Melbourne'da Polonyalı ailelerle yapılmış olan bir çalışma şunu göstermiştir (Romanovski, 2021); Polonyalı ebeveynler dilleri Lehçe'yi etnik kimliklerinin bir parçası olarak görmelerine ve Lehçe kullanımın aile için önemli

olduğunu dile getirmelerine rağmen, İngilizcenin okul dili olarak hayatlarına girmesi, ebeveynlerin Lehçe dil pratiklerinde azalmaya yol açmış ve bir süre sonra İngilizce 'ye daha fazla yatırım yapmaları ile sonuçlanmıştır. Benzer şekilde, İran'da yaşayan Azerbaycanlı ailelerin dil ideolojileri ve dil pratikleri arasında da uyuşmazlıkların olduğu saptanmıştır. Azerbaycanlı aileler Farsça'nın ülkenin hem eğitim hem de ekonomi dili olması sebebiyle, çocuklarının toplumdaki konumlarını yükseltmek ve başarılı bir geleceğe sahip olmalarını sağlamak için resmi dile, Farsça'ya daha çok yatırım yapmışlardır (Mirvahedi & Jafari, 2021).

Dil ideolojileri ve dil pratiklerine ek olarak, çalışmalar, ailelerin belirli bir dili aile ortamında aile üyeleri arasında, özellikle çocuklar ile konuşabilmek ve konuşmalarını sağlamak için, ebeveynlerin pek çok strateji uyguladığını göstermiştir. Bu bağlamda Schwarzt (2010) uygulanan dil yönetimi stratejilerini iç ve dış kontroller olarak ikiye ayırmıştır. Bunlardan ilki, dil yönetimini aile içi, ebeveynlerin kendi uyguladıkları hedef dilde kitap okuma, etkinlik hazırlama, sadece miras dili konuşma, bir dil bir ebeveyn gibi yöntemleri içerirken, dış kontroller aile dışında kalan dil destekleme merkezleri, miras dili konuşan topluluk üyeleri ile bir araya gelme gibi stratejileri içermektedir. Örneğin Schwarzt vd. 'in (2011) İsrail'de yaşayan göçmen Rus ebeveynler ile yaptıkları çalışma, Rus ebeveynlerin çocukları ile iletişime geçerken iç ve dış kontroller kullandıklarını göstermiştir. Aileler, çocukları ile iletişime geçerken kullandıkları dile dikkat ettiklerini, baskın dil olarak Rusça kullandıklarını ve okul seçimi olarak İsrail'de bulunan tek-dilli ya da iki-dilli eğitim veren kurumlara yöneldiklerini dile getirmişlerdir. Bir başka çalışmada Kaveh (2018) Amerika'da yaşayan İranlı ailelerin aile-dil politikasını incelemiş ve ebeveynlerin strateji olarak sadece Farsça, bir dil bir ebeveyn, yani anne ve babanın farklı iki dil kullanarak aile-dil politikasına katkı sundukları sonucuna ulaşmıştır.

Bu bilgiler ışığında, Aile-Dil Politikası, Türkiye bağlamına nasıl bir katkı sunmaktadır? Genel olarak Aile-Dil Politikası alanyazını incelendiğinde, bu alanda yapılmış çalışmaların birçoğunun Batılı, sanayileşmiş ülkelerde veya ağırlıklı olarak göçmen bağlamlarında yürütüldükleri görülmüştür (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Lanza

& Gomes, 2020; Lomeu, 2018). Fakat, Smith-Christmas'ın da dile getirdiği üzere, Afrika ya da Orta Doğu'da bulunan ülkeler gibi tipik Batılı devletler dışında kalan yerlerde yapılacak olan çalışmalara da ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır (2017). Bu bağlamda, Aile-Dil Politikası, Türkiye'de çok az çalışılmış bir alan olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır ve Seloni ve Sarfati'nin (2013) Türkiye'de yaşayan Sefarad Yahudiler arasında Ladino dilinin kullanımın azalmasına ilişkin çalışması dışında, Türkiye'de Aile-Dil Politikası çalışmalarını ele alan bir yayın tespit edilememiştir. Buna ek olarak, Lanza ve Gomes'in (2018) de belirtmiş olduğu üzere Aile-Dil Politikası çoğunlukla İngilizce, Fransızca gibi Avrupa dilleri üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır ve Türkiye'de yaşayan Kürtler ve Kürtçe'ye dair yapılmış çalışmalar bulunmamaktadır. Bir başka deyişle, Kürt dilinin ve Kürt dilini konuşanların devlet politikaları tarafından nasıl ele alındığına dair değerli bilgiler sağlayan saygın bir literatür olmasına rağmen (Uçarlar, 2009; Zeydanlıoğlu, 2008, 2012; Coşkun vd., 2010; Jugel, 2014; Öpengin & Haig, 2014), Kürt ailelerin, Kürt dilini çocuklarına aktarmak için aile düzeyinde işleyen dil politikalarının araştırılmasına yönelik yapılmış çok fazla araştırma bulgusu yoktur. Kürtçe'nin aile ortamında, aile üyeleri arasındaki durumunu inceleyen, Kürt ebeveynlerin dilin aktarımı için göstermiş oldukları çabaları açığa çıkaran bir alan boşluğu bulunmaktadır.

Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, Aile-Dil Politikasını teorik çerçeve olarak kullanarak hem Aile-Dil Politikası literatürüne hem de Kürtçe çalışmalarına katkı sunacaktır. Türkiye'de yaşayan Kürt ailelerin Aile-Dil Politikasını incelemek, Kürt ebeveynlerin Kürtçe'ye dair dil ideolojilerini, dil pratiklerini ve Kürtçeyi sürdürme ve transfer etme noktasında kullandıkları stratejileri açığa çıkarmak, literatüre Türkiye'den katkı sunacaktır. Çalışmanın çıkış noktasını alanyazındaki bu araştırma boşlukları oluşturmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Kürt ailelerin Kürtçeyi transfer etmekteki dilsel ideolojilerini, dil pratiklerini ve dil yönetim stratejilerini açığa çıkarmak amacıyla iki araştırma sorusu sorulmuştur.

Araştırma Soruları

1. Kürt ailelerinin dilsel ideolojileri nelerdir?

   1.1. Ebeveynlerin, Aile-Dil politikalarını şekillendiren motivasyonlar nelerdir?

2. Kürt ebeveynlerin dil pratikleri ve miras dilin aktarımına ilişkin uyguladıkları dil yönetimi stratejileri nelerdir?

Yöntem

Çalışmanın kapsamına uygun olarak, Kürt ailelerin, Aile-Dil Politikasını araştırmak ve Kürtçe'yi miras dil olarak aktarırken ne tür deneyimler kazandıklarını açığa çıkarmak amacıyla nitel araştırma ve Çoklu Vaka çalışması yöntem olarak kullanılmıştır. Denzin ve Lincoln'un (1994) belirttiği gibi, nitel araştırma yöntemi, katılımcılar için önem arz eden doğal bir ortamda veri toplar ve katılımcıların araştırılan konuyla ilgili neler söylediklerine odaklanır. Başka bir deyişle, veri katılımcıların kişisel deneyimlerden toplanır, sorular araştırmacı tarafından konuya ve bağlama uygun olarak hazırlanır, veri yüz yüze yapılan görüşmeler, tutulan saha notları ve kullanılan materyal gibi pek çok farklı veri toplama yöntemiyle elde edilir ve araştırmanın gidişatı yeni bilgiler ışığında yeniden düzenlenir (Creswell, 2013). Vaka çalışması ise, gerçek dünyada meydana gelen güncel bir konuyu araştırır (Yin, 2014) ve vakayı, zaman ve yer (Creswell, 2013); zaman ve araştırılan durum (Stake, 1995) ya da vakanın tanımlanması ve gerçekleştiği bağlam (Miles & Huberman, 1994) olarak tanımlayıp sınırlandırır. Benzer şekilde, bu çalışmada vaka "Kürt ailelerin Aile Dil Politikası" ve vakanın gerçekleştiği ortam ise "Türkiye'de Kürt nüfus ağırlıklı bir şehir" olarak belirlenip sınırlandırılmıştır. Araştırılan konuya dair veri, 10 Aralık 2021 ile 2 Şubat 2022 tarihleri arasında toplanmıştır.

Araştırma yöntemlerine karar verdikten sonra, ne tür bir vaka çalışması yapılacağı sorusu önem kazanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, her ailenin aile-dil politikası kendilerine özgü olduğundan ve her ailenin araştırılan vakaya katkı sunacağı düşünüldüğünden, Çoklu Vaka çalışması kullanılmıştır. Çoklu vaka çalışması araştırmacıya, konuyu

detaylı bir şekilde çalışmasına (Creswell, 2013), görüşme esnasında dile getirilmemiş fakat vaka için önem arz eden nüansları yakalamasına (Wilson, 2019) ve katılımcılar arasında karşılaştırma yapmasına fırsat tanıyarak konuyu daha detaylı bir şekilde aktarmasına olanak sağlamasından ötürü seçilmiştir (Yin, 2014).

Mevcut çalışmanın güncel ve gerçek hayattan bir konuyu, Kürt ailelerin Aile-Dil Politikası, araştırdığını, verileri vaka için önem arz eden doğal bir ortamda, yoğun Kürt nüfuslu illerden birinde; yüz yüze yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler, saha notları, dil transferinde kullanılan materyaller gibi farklı pek çok veri toplama aracı ile farklı Kürt aileleri ile görüşmeler yaparak toplandığı düşünüldüğünde, nitel araştırma ve çoklu vaka çalışmalarının, araştırmanın amacına en uygun iki yöntem olarak öne çıktıkları görülmektedir. Creswell'in (2013) de belirttiği üzere, eğer bir grup hakkındaki veriler eksik ya da gerçeği yansıtmıyorsa, insanların hikayelerini dile getirip, seslerini yükselterek onları görünür kılmak istiyorsak nitel araştırma yöntemlerini kullanırız. Buradan hareketle, bu çalışma literatürde pratikleri, deneyimleri ve çabaları göz ardı edilmiş ya da yeterince çalışılmamış Kürt ailelerin aile dil politikalarını çalışarak dilsel ideolojilerini, Kürtçe dil pratiklerini ve Kürtçe dilinin sürdürümü için uyguladıkları dil stratejilerini açığa çıkarmak ve Kürt ebeveynlerin seslerinin duyulmasına yardımcı olmak amacıyla nitel araştırma yöntemi ve çoklu vaka çalışmasını kullanmıştır.

Araştırma Türkiye'nin Kürt nüfus yoğunluklu illerinden birinde yapılmıştır. Bahsi geçen şehir hem çok dilli hem de çokkültürlü olması bakımından oldukça önemli bir merkez olmakla birlikte, şehirde Kürtçe 'ye dair müzik festivalleri, Kürtçe etkinlik yaptıran oyun merkezleri, Kürtçe müzik kursları ve Kürtçe tiyatro yapan merkezler olması dolayısıyla oldukça canlı bir araştırma alanıdır. Şehirde her yıl mayıs ayının 5'inde Kürtçe Dil Bayramı kutlanmakta ve film festivalleri, sağlık ve eğitim alanındaki sendikal çalışmalar gibi etkinlikler Türkçe ve Kürtçe dillerinde hazırlanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, çalışılan vaka için oldukça önemli bir merkezidir.

Çalışmanın katılımcılarını ise Kürtçe-Türkçe çift dilli, Türkiye'de yaşayan Kürt ebeveynler oluşturmuştur. Katılımcılara ulaşmak amacıyla üç adet araştırma kriteri belirlenmiştir:

1. Anadili Kürtçenin Kurmanji lehçesi olması ve Türkiye'de yaşıyor olması
2. Çocuğunun olması (Okul çağında olması zorunlu değil)
3. Çocuğuna Kurmanji aktarmayı amaçlamış olması.

Araştırma kriterlerine uyan katılımcılara ulaşmak için, araştırmacı ilk önce kartopu örnekleme (Frey, 2018; Parker et. al., 2019) tekniğini kullanmıştır. Araştırmacı arkadaş çevresine, Kürtçeyi transfer etmeyi amaç haline getirmiş Kürt ailelerin, Aile-Dil Politikasını araştırdığını ifade etmiş ve katılımcılara bu yol ile ulaşmaya çalışmıştır. Katılımcılara kartopu örnekleme tekniği ile tanıdıklar aracılığıyla ulaşmak iki taraf arasında güven duygusu oluşmasına zemin hazırlamış ve katılımcılara ulaşmayı kolaylaştırmıştır. Nitekim araştırmacının bu yöntem ile çalışmanın kapsamına uyan iş arkadaşının kuzeni ile görüşmesi olumlu sonuçlar doğurmuş ve ilk katılımcı araştırmacıyı, araştırma profiline uyan katılımcılar bulabileceği iki farklı kuruma yönlendirmiştir: Bu kurumlardan ilki Kürtçe etkinlik yapan bir oyun merkezi, diğeri ise Kürt kültür ve müziği üzerine çalışmalar yapıp, eğitimler veren Kürtçe müzik kursudur. Bu andan itibaren, katılımcılara ulaşma amaçlı örnekleme yöntemi (Lewis-Beck vd., 2008) ile gerçekleşmiştir.

Araştırmanın amaçlarına ulaşmak ve araştırılan vakayı derinlemesine çalışabilmek için 5-10 aile ile görüşmeye karar verilmiştir. Araştırma kriterlerine uyan katılımcılarla ilk önce bahsi geçen kurumlar iletişime geçmiş ve gönüllü olarak çalışmaya katılım sağlayacaklarını dile getiren aileler ile sonrasında araştırmacı görüşmüştür. İlk önce telefonda yapılan görüşme ile araştırmacı kendini tanıtmış ve araştırmanın amacını aileler ile paylaşmıştır. Sonrasında veri toplamak için her iki tarafa da uyan tarih belirlenmiştir. Veriler, Demir ailesi, Ekinci ailesi, Şimşek Ailesi, Tunç ailesi, Kaya ailesi, Akın ailesi ve Çiftçi ailesi olmak üzere 7 Kürt aileden, yüz yüze yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler, saha notları ve çocuklarının Kürtçe dil bilgisini

geliştirmek için kullandıkları materyaller aracılığıyla toplanmıştır. Bir başka deyişle, 7 Aile ile yapılan görüşmelerde, veriler demografik bilgilerden, katılımcıların dilsel geçmişlerini aydınlatacak ve dil planlamalarının daha iyi anlaşılmasına olanak verecek hayat hikayelerinden ve Aile-Dil Politikasının üç unsurunu (dil ideolojileri, dil pratikleri ve dil yönetim stratejileri) açığa çıkaracak sorulardan oluşan mülakatlardan toplanmıştır. Ek olarak ebeveynlerin çocuklarının Kürtçe dilindeki gelişimleri desteklemek amacıyla kullandıkları materyaller de saha notlarına eklenerek topluca incelenmiştir. Şehir merkezi dışında yaşayan iki ailenin haricinde (Tunç ve Kaya ailesi), geriye kalan tüm aileler ile görüşmeler katılımcıların evlerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşmeler, Kürtçe Aile-Dil Politikasını uygulayan ve veri toplama esnasında uygun olan ebeveynler ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda sadece Çiftçi ailesinde, her iki ebeveyn çalışmaya birlikte katılabilmişlerdir. Diğer aileler, yoğun çalışma tempoları, Covid-19 gibi sebeplerden kaynaklı olarak birlikte katılım sağlayamamışlardır. Görüşmeler Türkçe gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Saha çalışmasından sonra demografik bilgiler, görüşmelerin ses kayıtları, saha notları ve dili geliştirmek için kullanılan materyaller aynen yazıya dökülmüş ve word belgesi olarak düzenlenmiştir. Transkripsiyon süreci, araştırmacının verilere aşina olmasını ve ortaya çıkan temalar hakkında düşünmeye başlamasını sağlamıştır (Gibson & Brown, 2009; Riesmann, 1993). Toplam 309 sayfa deşifre edilmiş veri oluşturulmuş ve nitel analiz yazılım programı olan MAXQDA'ya aktarılmıştır. Tüm görüşmeler ve veriler, anlam nüanslarını korumak için Türkçe olarak analiz edilmiştir. Farklı kategoriler için seçilen alıntılar, veri analizi aşamasında İngilizce ‘ye çevrilmiştir. Ek olarak, bu çalışmada Kürtçe ve Kurmanji kavramları birbirlerinin yerine kullanılmışlardır.

Veriler ilkin Spolsky’nin Aile-Dil Politikası (2004) modeline göre incelenmiştir. Çoklu vaka çalışmalarında, her vaka, konunun anlaşılmasına olanak sağlayacağından, her bir ailenin aile-dil politikası ailelerin dilsel ideolojileri, dil pratikleri ve dil yönetim stratejilerini açığa çıkaracak şekilde tek tek incelenmiştir. İkinci olarak da sıklıkla bahsi geçen temaları bulmak ve vakaların karşılaştırmasını yapıp konuyu derinlemesine çalışmak amacıyla tematik analiz yapılmıştır. Tematik analiz Braun ve

Clarke'ın (2006) 6 adımdan oluşan tematik analiz modeli dikkate alınarak yapılmış ve bulgular kısmında rapor edilmişlerdir. Elde edilen veriler ışığında varılan sonuçlara geçmeden önce araştırmacının rolüne ve etik konusuna değinilecektir.

Bilindiği üzere nitel araştırma yöntemlerinde veriyi araştırmacının kendisi toplar ve verinin incelenmesi, işlenmesi ve bildirilmesinden sorumlu olur (Creswell, 2013; Mackey & Gass, 2015). Bu yüzden araştırmacının çalışmayı yürütürken, veriyi objektif bir şekilde işlediğine ve bildirdiğine emin olmak adına, sahip olduğu rolü belirtmesi gerekir. Bu çalışmada araştırmacı miras dilin transferine kendi ailesi içinde tanık olduğundan ve sürece hâkim olduğundan çalışmanın bir parçası, fakat aynı zamanda aile-dil politikasını uygulayan ebeveynlerden deneyimleri farklı olduğu için de çalışmanın dışında, nesnel bir role sahiptir. Bir başka deyişle araştırmanın katılımcıları ikinci nesil olduklarından ve kendi aile-dil politikalarını uyguladıklarından, deneyimleri araştırmacının kendisinden farklıdır. Bu sebeple araştırmacı, katılımcılara sorulara rahatlıkla cevap verecekleri bir alan sağladığı gibi, medeni durumu, üçüncü jenerasyon olması gibi sebeplerden dolayı veriye objektif bir şekilde yaklaşmayı mümkün kılacak alanı da açmıştır. Ek olarak, katılımcılara baskı altında hissetmemeleri için çalışmanın amacının sadece onların deneyimlerini dinlemek ve anlamak olduğu bildirilmiştir. Ebeveynleri rahatsız etmemek adına, araştırmacı, ailelerin aile-dil politikasına yönelik olumlu-olumsuz beyanda bulunmaktan kaçınmıştır.

Etik hususlar noktasında, araştırmacı iki temel önlem almıştır. Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Etik Kurulundan alınmış etik onayı ile hem katılımcıların hem de araştırmanın gerçekleştiği şehrin adı gizli tutulmuş ve aslı yerine takma isimler kullanılmıştır. İkinci olarak da her bir ebeveyne onam formu imzalatılmıştır ve istedikleri her an çalışmadan gizlilikleri korunarak vazgeçebilecekleri ifade edilmiştir. Orijinalliği korumak adına, Türkçe isme sahip katılımcılara Türkçe, Kürtçe isme sahip katılımcılara ise Kürtçe takma isimler verilmiştir.

Bulgular

Her bir ailenin Aile-Dil Politikası incelendiğinde her vakanın kendine has olduğu, farklılıklar olduğu gibi benzerliklerin de bulunduğu görülmüştür. Katılımcıların ilki olan Demir ailesi, Mahir (38), Nurdan (37) ve oğulları Serdest (9) olmak üzere 3 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Görüşme dil politikasını uygulayan Mahir ile yapılmıştır. Mahir psikolog olarak çalışmaktadır, eşi ise bir MEB okulunda öğretmen olarak çalışmaktadır. Ailenin bildiği dillere bakıldığında, Mahir Kurmanji, Türkçe, Nurdan'ın ise Zazaki ve Türkçe bildiği fakat Zazaki dilindeki seviyesinin zayıf olduğu öğrenilmiştir. Bu sebeple aile çocuklarına sadece Kürtçenin Kurmanji lehçesini aktarmayı hedef haline getirmiştir. Buna ek olarak Serdest'in Kurmanji, Türkçe, İngilizce ve çok temel seviyede Zazaki bildiği, babası Mahir tarafından ifade edilmiştir. Ailenin aile-dil politikası incelendiğinde, baba Mahir Demir'in dilsel ideolojiler olarak çok dilli bir çocuk yetiştirme, miras dili muhafaza etme, Kürtçe tek dilli olan büyükanne-baba ile konuşmalarını sağlamak gibi motivasyonlarla Kürtçe öncüllü bir dil planlamasına gittiği görülmüştür. Söz konusu dil ideolojilerinin Kürtçe dil pratiklerine transfer edildiği bulgusuna varılmakla birlikte, Serdest'in babası ile konuşurken okul ya da annenin dilinin Türkçe olması gibi sebeplerle çoğunlukla Türkçe iletişime geçtiği görülmüştür. Ek olarak Kürtçe tek dilli büyükanne-baba ile Serdest Kürtçe iletişime geçmeye devam etmiştir. Bu bağlamda uygulanan stratejilere bakıldığında, Mahir'in hem iç hem de dış kontroller kullandığı görülmüştür. Örneğin, baba Mahir Demir sadece Kurmanji konuşurken, anne Nurdan Demir sadece Türkçe kullanmıştır. Bir başka deyişle Demir ailesinde ebeveynler *Bir Ebeveyn Bir Dil* stratejisini kullanmışlardır. Buna ek olarak Kürtçe hikâye kitapları ile Kürtçe dil becerileri desteklenmiştir. Dış kontrol olarak Demir ailesi çocuklarını, Kürtçe dilini destekleyici Kürtçe kreş, Kürtçe etkinlik yapan oyun merkezi ve Kürtçe müzik kursu veren kurumlara göndermişlerdir.

Katılımcıların ikincisi olan Ekinci ailesi, Ahmet (40), Zelal (40) ve kızları Esra (12) ve Meryem (10) olmak üzere 4 kişiden oluşmaktadır ve tüm aile üyeleri Kürtçe-Türkçe çift dilli bireylerdir. Aile üyelerinden Ahmet'in örgün eğitime dahil olmadığı,

Türkçeyi sivil toplum kuruluşlarından birinde öğrendiği, Ahmet tarafından ifade edilmiştir. Öte yandan anne Zelal Ekinci ise lise mezunudur. Ekinci ailesinin, aile-dil politikasına bakıldığında, miras dil Kürtçeyi aile içinde muhafaza etme, Kürtçe tek dilli büyükanne-baba ve akrabalar ile iletişim kurabilmelerini sağlama ve Kürtçe dilini etnik kimliğinin bir göstergesi olarak kabul etme gibi motivasyonlardan hareketle dil planlamasına gidildiği görülmüştür. Elde edilen bulgulara göre, dil ideolojileri, Kürtçe dil pratiklerine transfer edilmiştir. Fakat çocuklar okul çağına geldiklerinde, örgün eğitime başlamaları Türkçe kullanımında artışa da yol açmıştır. Ahmet Ekinci'nin dile getirdiğine göre, kızları her ne kadar anne-babaları ile Kürtçe iletişime geçiyor olsalar da eğitim dilinin ve arkadaş çevrelerinin Türkçe olmasından ötürü kardeşler arasındaki dilin Türkçe ağırlıklı olduğu da elde edilen bulgular arasındadır. Fakat Kürtçe tek dilli büyükbaba-anne ve akrabalar ile iletişim dilleri Kürtçe olmaya devam etmiştir. Dil yönetimi stratejileri noktasında ise, aile hem iç kontroller hem de dış kontrollerden yardım almıştır. Örneğin her iki ebeveyn de çocukları ile sadece Kürtçe konuşmuşlardır. Baba Ahmet Ekinci, Kürtçe televizyon kanallarını açarak çocuklarını farklı kaynaklardan Kürtçe 'ye maruz bırakmıştır. Dış kontrol olarak da daha önce yaşamış olduğu Batıdaki X şehrinden memleketine dönerek, Kürtçenin günlük dil olarak topluluk üyeleri tarafından yoğun bir şekilde konuşulduğu memleketine taşınmıştır.

Üçüncü aile olan Şimşek ailesi Zozan (32), eşi Nedim (34) ve kızları Ayşe (4) olmak üzere 3 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Nedim doktor, Zozan ise İngilizce öğretmenidir. Her iki ebeveyn Kürtçe ve Türkçe bilmektedir. Ek olarak Zozan üçüncü dil olarak İngilizce'ye hakimdir. Kızları Ayşe Kürtçe, Türkçe ve İngilizce bilmektedir. Ailenin aile- dil politikası incelendiğinde, çok dilli bir çocuk yetiştirme ve Kürtçe dilini aile ortamında muhafaza etme motivasyonlarının ailenin dilsel ideolojilerini oluşturduğu görülmüştür. Dilsel ideolojileri, Kürtçe dil pratiklerine aktarmak için anne ve baba kızları ile 2 yaşlarına kadar Kürtçe konuşmuştur. Fakat sonrasında baba Nedim'in kendini Kürtçe'de eksik hissetmesi ve Ayşe'nin arkadaşları ile sosyalleşirken Kürtçe'den ötürü anlaşılmaması durumu Türkçenin lehine çevrilmiştir. Bir başka

deyişle Ayşe daha çok Türkçe konuşmaya başlamıştır. Öte yandan bu dil pratiklerine ek olarak, anne Zozan, oyun aktiviteleri ile kızına İngilizce'yi aktarmıştır. Kürtçe'yi günlük dil olarak kullanırken, İngilizce'yi oyun dili olarak pratik etmişlerdir. Anne Zozan kızı ile Türkçe iletişime geçmemiştir. Dil stratejileri için, Ayşe 2 yaşında Kürtçe konuşmayı reddedinceye kadar, aile iç kontrollerle, aile içinde miras dili kullanmaya çalışmıştır. Aile bireylerinden Ayşe ile sadece Kürtçe konuşmalarını isteyerek, Kürtçe hikâye kitapları okuyarak ve Kürtçe müzikler dinleyerek, miras dilde girdi miktarını arttırmaya çalışmışlardır. Kızları Ayşe'nin Kürtçe'yi konuşmayı reddetmesi üzerine, aile dış kontrol olarak kızlarını Kürtçe etkinlik yapan oyun merkezine göndermiştir. Anne Zozan'ın ifade ettiğine göre, Kürtçe etkinlik yapan oyun merkezi aile-dil politikasını olumlu etkilemiş ve Ayşe yeniden Kürtçe iletişime geçmeye başlamıştır. Fakat hangi dilde iletişime geçeceğine kendisi karar vermiştir ve bazen her üç dili de kullandığı gözlemlenmiştir.

Dördüncü aile olan Tunç ailesi, Vedat (46), eşi Evin (45), oğlu Şiyar Umut (9) ve kızları Şilan Deniz (7) olmak üzere 4 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Ebeveynlerden Vedat çok iyi derecede Kürtçe bilmektedir. Anne Evin'in miras dildeki seviyesi oldukça zayıftır. Bu sebeple çocuklar ile baba Kürtçe konuşurken, anne Türkçe iletişime geçmiştir. Çocukların her ikisi de Kürtçe-Türkçe çift dillidirler ve miras dildeki seviyeleri çok iyidir. Dolayısıyla ailenin, aile-dil politikası incelendiğinde Kürtçe'yi etnik dilin bir göstergesi olarak görmek tek itici güç olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bir başka deyişle, aile, Kürt olduklarından ötürü Kürtçe konuşmalarının norm olduğunu ve birbirini tamamladığını ifade etmiştir. Dil pratikleri olarak, babanın istikrarlı bir şekilde Kürtçe konuşması, çocuklar ve babaları arasındaki iletişimin Kürtçe kalmasını sağlamıştır. Öte yandan anne ile olan iletişim ise Türkçe devam etmiştir. Fakat, eğitim dilinin Türkçe olması ve sosyal çevreleri ile Türkçe iletişime geçmeleri, kardeşler arasındaki iletişim dilini Türkçeye döndürmüştür ve Türkçedeki dil seviyeleri daha hızlı ilerlemiştir. Öte yandan, Kürtçe tek dilli büyükanne-babaları ile olan iletişimleri ise Kürtçe kalmaya devam etmiştir. Bu bağlamda, çocuklarını miras dilde sosyalleştirmek için, Tunç ailesi iç ve dış kontroller ile dilin yönetimini sağlamaya çalışmışlardır. Örneğin ailecek Türkçe konuşan arkadaşlarına misafirliğe gitmemişlerdir. Türkçe

yayın yapan kanalları silip, yerlerine Kürtçe yayın yapan Zarok TV gibi kanalları açmışlardır. Söylem stratejileri denilen, çocuklarının Türkçe iletişime geçtiği durumlarda, onları anlamamazlıktan gelme gibi yöntemler uygulamışlardır. Ek olarak, çocuklarını Kürtçe müzik kursuna yollayarak, miras dilde akranları ile beraber sosyalleşip, eğitim almalarını sağlamışlardır.

Beşinci aile olan Akın ailesi, Berrin (38), eşi Levent (40), çocukları Caner (14), Nesrin (12) ve Roza (7) olmak üzere beş kişiden oluşmaktadır. Her iki ebeveyn bir Kürtçe TV kanalında yapımcı olarak çalışmakta ve Kürtçe içerik üretmektedirler. Her iki ebeveyn de Kürtçe-Türkçe çift dillidirler ve Kürtçe evin dilidir. Bir başka deyişle tüm aile Kürtçe'yi iletişim dili olarak kullanmaktadır. Ödevler haricinde, Türkçe ailenin iletişim dilinde varlık göstermemiştir. Ailenin, aile-dil politikası incelendiğinde, miras dili etnik kimliğin göstergesi olarak görmek ve anne Berrin'in kendi okul yıllarından kalma geçmiş dil deneyimlerinin Kürtçe'nin aktarımında rol oynadığı görülmüştür. Dilsel ideolojilerin, Kürtçe dil pratikleri ile uyumlu olduğu görülmüştür. Çocuklar, Kürtçe'yi sadece kendi çekirdek aileleri içinde değil, Kürtçe tek-dilli akrabaları ile de konuşmaya devam etmişlerdir. Dil yönetimi stratejileri olarak, her iki ebeveynin Kürtçe konuşması aile dilinin Kürtçe kalmasına katkı sunmuştur. Kürtçe kitaplar okumak, Kürtçe müzik dinlemek ve çocukları Kürtçe müzik kursuna göndermek ve söylem stratejilerine başvurmak yaygın olarak kullanılan stratejiler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadırlar.

Altıncı aile olan Kaya ailesi Derya (40), eşi Ferhat (40) ve kızları Hevi (9) ve Heja (6.5) olmak üzere 4 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Ailenin dili Kürtçedir. Tüm aile bireyleri birbirleri ile Kürtçe iletişime geçmektedirler. Türkçe aile konuşmalarında yer edinmemiştir. Ailenin dil politikasına bakıldığında; miras dili etnik kimliğin bir göstergesi olarak görmek, Kürtçe tek dilli büyükanne-baba ile iletişimi sağlamak, miras dili aile ortamında muhafaza etmek, ve örtülü bir şekilde dile getirilen, anne Derya'nın geçmiş okul deneyimlerinden kaynaklanan kötü anıları dilsel ideolojiler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadırlar. Ebeveynlerin ikisinin de iletişimde Kürtçe dilini kullanmaları aile bireylerinin iletişim dilinin Kürtçe olmasını ve öyle de kalmasını

sağlamıştır. Böylelikle, çocuklar büyükanne-babaları yahut diğer Kürtçe konuşan aile bireyleri ile de Kürtçe konuşmaya devam etmişlerdir. Dil yönetimi stratejileri olarak Kaya ailesi, akrabalar arasında bir araya gelerek çocuklarını miras dilde sosyalleştirmişlerdir. Bunlara ek olarak anne Derya okuldan dolayı kızları Türkçe bir şey sorduğunda anlamamazlıktan gelme ya da Türkçe sarf edilen cümleyi Kürtçe tekrar ettirme gibi söylem stratejileri kullanarak, çocuklarını miras dilde iletişime geçmek durumunda bırakmıştır. Ek olarak, kızlarını Kürtçe müzik kursuna göndererek hem miras dilde eğitim almalarını hem de akranları ile sosyalleşmelerini sağlamışlardır.

Son olarak Çiftçi ailesi, Yılmaz (38), eşi Çiğdem (37), oğulları Roni (3.5) ve kızları Arjin (2) olmak üzere 4 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Ailenin dili Kürtçedir ve çocuklar, sadece anne-babaları ile değil, Kürtçe konuşan büyükanne-babaları ya da amca, halaları ile de Kürtçe iletişime geçmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda ailenin dil politikası incelendiğinde, Kürtçeyi etnik kimliğin bir göstergesi olarak görmek ve miras dili aile ortamında muhafaza etmek ailenin dil ideolojileri olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Miras dili aile ortamında, aile bireyleri arasında sürdürmek için de çeşitli dil yönetimi stratejileri uygulanmıştır. Örneğin, çocukların Türkçe dilinde sosyalleşmelerini engellemek, sadece Kürtçe TV kanallarını açmak, Kürtçe bilen dadı tutmak, aile bireylerinden çocuklar ile sadece miras dilde iletişime geçmelerini istemek ve Kürtçe hikâye kitapları okumak gibi iç kontroller uygulamışlardır. Dahası, çocuklarını Kürtçe etkinlik yapan oyun merkezine ve Kürtçe müzik kursuna göndererek, miras dilde girdiye maruz kalmalarını arttırmaya çalışmışlardır.

Tartışma ve Sonuç

7 aileden elde edilmiş bulgular göz önüne alındığında, miras dili aile ortamında muhafaza etmek, Kürtçe'yi etnik kimliğin bir göstergesi olarak görmek, geçmiş dil deneyimleri ve Kürtçe tek dilli akrabalar ile iletişim kurabilmek öne çıkan dilsel ideolojiler arasındadır. Bu bağlamda, Kürt ailelerin, dilsel ideolojilerinin diğer farklı toplumsal dil gruplarında yürütülmüş olan aile-dil politikası çalışmalarına benzer

olduğu görülmüştür ((Bezcioglu-Göktolga, 2019; Hua & Wei, 2016; Kaveh & Sandoval, 2020; Kirsch 2012; Kopeliovich 2013; Savikj, 2018; Wilson, 2019).

Örneğin, Kürtçeyi aile ortamında muhafaza etme motivasyonu, Kürtçe'nin resmî ideolojide bir yeri olmadığı, eğitim dili olmadığı ve devlet desteğinden yoksun olduğu gerçeğinden hareketle, Kürtçe'nin geleceğini ailelerin sorumluluğuna bırakmıştır. Tsui ve Tollefson (2004)'da belirttiği üzere, eğitim dili nesiller arası dil aktarımına katkı sunabileceği gibi, tamamen ortadan kaldırmaya da sebebiyet verebilir. Dolayısıyla Kürt ailelerin, miras dili korumaya yönelik uyguladıkları dil politikaları dilin sonraki nesile aktarılması açısından önemlidir. Benzer şekilde, bu çalışmada yer alan ebeveynler de miras dili aktarmanın kendi sorumlulukları olduğunu dile getirmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmadaki Kürt ebeveynler, Çağlayan'ın (2014) çalışmasındaki Kürt ebeveynlerden miras dili çocuklarına aktarımını sağlamaları ve Kürtçe 'ye yatırım yapmaları gerçeğinden hareketle ayrılmaktadırlar. Başka bir deyişle, Çağlayan'ın çalışmasındaki Kürt ebeveynler, Kürtçe dilini çocuklarına aktarmayı reddedip, eğitim dili olan Türkçe yatırım yapmayı seçmişlerdir. Türkçeyi iyi bir kariyere sahip olmak, eğitime ulaşmak ve iş sahibi olmak için ön koşul olarak görmeleri dil pratiklerini farklı şekillendirmelerine sebep olmuştur. Öte yandan, mevcut çalışmada ebeveynler bu tür motivasyonlardan kaçınmışlardır. Miras dilin yok olmasını engellemek için Kürtçe öncüllü bir aile dil politikası uygulamışlardır.

İkinci olarak, Kürtçe'yi etnik kimliğin bir parçası olarak görmüşlerdir. Dilin, kimlikten bağımsız olmadığını savunmuşlardır. Dilin yok oluşunu etnik kimliğin yok oluşu ile ilişkilendirmişlerdir (Gharibi & Seals, 2020; Lee, 2013). Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmada Kürt ebeveynler çocuklarının Kürt kimliğini tamamlamak için miras dili çocuklarına aktarmayı seçmişlerdir. Bir başka deyişle Kürt olmak, Kürtçe konuşmayı gerektirmiştir. Bu iki motivasyona ek olarak, Kürtçe konuşan aile üyeleri ile konuşmalarını sağlamak ve farklı jenerasyondan insanlarla kültürel ve dilsel aktarımı gerçekleştirmek için çocuklarına miras dili aktarmayı amaç edinmişlerdir. Gharibi ve Seals'ın (2021) İranlı ailelerle yaptığı çalışmada da görüldüğü üzere, miras dili konuşan ebeveynler, çocuklarının tek dilli büyükanne-babaları ile konuşabilmelerine

büyük önem atfetmiş ve dilsel ideolojileri bu nedenlerden etkilenmiştir. Öte yandan, Çağlayan'ın (2014) çalışmasına bakıldığında nesiller arasında Kürtçe dil aktarımının sekteye uğradığı, büyükanne-babaların Kürtçe bilmeyen torunları ile iletişime geçebilmek için Türkçe öğrenmek zorunda kaldıkları görülmüştür. Bu çalışmada, aileler benzer sonuçlarla karşılaşmaktan kaçınmak için Kürtçe'nin aktarımına büyük önem vermişlerdir ve çeşitli stratejiler uygulayarak çaba göstermişlerdir.

Son olarak geçmiş dil deneyimleri ebeveynleri, Kürtçe öncüllü bir aile-dil politikası uygulama konusunda motive eden güç olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Kürt ebeveynlerin birçoğunun, okula başlarken eğitim dili olan Türkçe'yi bilmemeleri, ilkokul yıllarında kötü tecrübeler edinmelerine yol açmıştır. Örneğin katılımcılardan Derya ve Berrin, öğretmenlerinden fiziksel şiddet gördüklerini dile getirirken, Mahir ve Vedat ise derslerde sessiz kaldıklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Salmi'nin (2000) şiddet türleri üzerine yazdığı makalesinde belirttiği üzere, Kürt ebeveynler eğitim ortamında fiziksel şiddet, yabancılaştırıcı şiddet gibi çeşitli şiddet türlerine maruz kalmışlardır ve bu deneyimler aileleri, miras dillerini aktarma noktasında motive etmiştir. Başka bir deyişle, geçmiş dil deneyimleri, ebeveynleri, etnik kimlikleri konusunda daha bilinçli yapmış ve Kürtçe'yi muhafaza etmek ve sonraki nesillere aktarma noktasında motive etmiştir. Çağlayan (2014) ve Coskun vd. (2010) çalışmalarındaki Kürt ebeveynlerin aksine, bu çalışmadaki ebeveynler çocuklarına miras dili aktarmayı seçmişlerdir. Literatüre bakıldığında, ailelerin miras dilleri aktarma sebepleri arasında çok dilliği iş sektöründe avantaj olarak görme, sosyal refahı yükseltme gibi sebeplerle aktardıkları görülürken (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King & Fogle, 2006), bu çalışmada ebeveynler Kürtçe'nin toplumdaki durumunu göz önüne alarak, motivasyonları dillerini korumaya yönelik geliştirmişlerdir.

Dil pratikleri noktasında ise literatürdeki çoğu çalışmanın aksine (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Mirvahedi & Jafari, 2021; Romanowski, 2021), Kürt ailelerin çocukları ile Kürtçe konuştukları ve okul faktörü dahil olduktan sonra bile Kürtçeyi iletişim dili olarak kullanmaya devam ettikleri görülmüştür. Bu bağlamda, her iki ebeveynin de miras dili konuştuğu ailelerde, tüm aile bireylerinin iletişim dilinin Kürtçe devam ettiği

görülmüştür. Öte yandan bir ebeveyn bir dil tekniğinin kullanıldığı ailelerde ise baskın dilin Türkçe olduğu saptanmıştır. Kardeşler arası dil seçimi incelendiğinde ise, bazı ailelerde (Ekinci ve Tunç aileleri), eğitim dilinin çocukların dil seçimini Türkçe lehine sonuçlandırdığı görülmüştür. Bu ailelerde, çocuklar Kürtçe konuşan ebeveynleri ile Kürtçe konuşmaya devam etmelerine rağmen, kardeşleri ile Türkçe konuşmuşlardır. Benzer şekilde, Kheirkhah ve Cekaite (2018)'de eğitim dilinin kardeşler arası iletişimi nasıl baskın dil yönünde etkilediğini göstermiştir. İsveç'te yaşayan İranlı ailelerin dil politikasını inceleyen araştırmacılar, okul dilini eve getiren büyük çocukların, kardeşlerinin dillerinin Farsçadan İsveççeye değişimi noktasında katkı sunduklarını göstermişlerdir. Bir başka deyişle, eğitim dili, aile-dil politikalarını farklı şekillerde etkileyerek, aile üyeleri için farklı sonuçlar doğurmuştur.

Dil yönetimi stratejileri noktasında Kürt ailelerin, Schwarzt'ın belirttiği gibi (2010) çeşitli iç ve dış kontroller kullandıkları görülmüştür. Örneğin, sadece miras dili kullanmak, çocukları miras dili destekleyici merkezlere kaydetmek, Zarok Tv gibi Kürtçe yayın yapan kanalları takip etmek ve söylem stratejileri kullanmak en yaygın şekilde kullanılan stratejiler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadırlar. Bu stratejiler arasında, sadece miras dil kullanımı ve miras dili destekleyici merkezlere başvurumu en etkili dil yönetim teknikleri olarak ortaya çıkmaktadırlar. Her iki strateji de çocukları Kürtçe tek dilli bir ortama maruz bıraktığından, miras dildeki dil gelişimini olumlu yönde etkilemiş ve çocukların miras dilde iletişime geçmelerini sağlamışlardır. Benzer şekilde, İngiltere yaşayan Fransız ebeveynlerin dil politikasını inceleyen Wilson (2019) da dil destekleyici merkezlerin kullanımının hedef dile katkı sunduğunu ve ailelerin yükünü hafiflettiğini göstermiştir. Avustralya'da yaşayan Türk aileler de çocukların Türkçe seviyelerine katkıda bulunmak amacıyla Türkçe eğitim veren kurumlardan yararlandıklarını dile getirmişlerdir (Et-Bozkurt & Yagmur, 2022).

Aile-Dil politikası modelinin üç unsuruna ek olarak, Kürt aileler, Okita (2002) ve Wilson (2019) çalışmalarındaki ebeveynlerin de dile getirdiğine benzer şekilde, miras dil aktarımının zorlayıcı bir süreç olduğunu ve sürekli baskın dil olan Türkçe 'ye karşı mücadele etmenin yorucu olduğunu dile getirmişlerdir. Bu duruma ek olarak, Kürtçe

materyal eksikliğinden ve kendi topluluk üyeleri olan Kürtlerden, Kürtçeyi şehirde konuşmadıklarından ötürü şikayetçi olduklarını da dile getirmişlerdir. Bir başka deyişle, araştırma sahasında Kürtçe çoğunlukla evde aile bireyleri ile sınırlı kalmış, bu da miras dilin gelişimi noktasında olumsuz etken olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Sonuç

Sonuç olarak, Kürt ailelerin, Kürtçe öncüllü aile dil politikası, Kürt ebeveynlerin dilsel ideolojilerini, Kürtçe dil pratiklerini ve dil yönetimi stratejilerini açığa çıkararak literatüre katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu çalışma ile, Kürt ebeveynlerin sesi görünür kılınmış ve Kürtçe dil aktarımı deneyimleri alanyazın ile paylaşılmıştır.

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