THE ROLE OF SCHOOLING FOR HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNERS: A CASE STUDY OF TURKISH HERITAGE SPEAKERS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative case study with a descriptive statistical analysis of heritage language learners' language skills explores how Turkish communities in the U.S. support their children's heritage language maintenance with the help of Heritage Language school. The goal of this study is to analyze Heritage Language (HL) literacy learning and identity processes within a Heritage Language school. Understanding the community's values, and ideologies are central to analyzing Heritage language learners' development. Thus, the study considers: (1) teachers' classroom practices, (2) students' motivation or resilience, (3) parents' role and identity, (4) heritage language community's support and (5) HL learners' verbal narrative language skills. Data was collected through interviews, conversations (face-to-face and virtual), videotaping students' task, fieldnotes extracted from observations.

This study illuminates how Turkish American heritage language learners keep their HL and what role parents, volunteer teachers, and the Turkish community play in learners who are 7 to 12 years old. This research is contributing to our understanding of language and culture and the challenges a unique group, Turkish immigrants, face while living in a host country where the dominant language is different than their heritage language.

Findings suggest that even the limited time the parents share for their children's heritage language literacy skills every Sunday has a meaningful and beneficial impact both on the language skills and identity construction despite the lack of appropriate resources and teachers with teaching certificate or experience to teach the heritage language. Conflicting views regarding the need for the continuous cultivation of language and identity are observed. The majority of the participants recognize the importance of nurturing language and culture but in ways that they primarily associate with certain institutionalized forms of teaching. Three out of

four teachers believe that the existence of this school contribute to the students' language identity and their attitude towards keeping their mothers' or fathers' language. The controversial idea coming from one teacher imply that students at this heritage school are too young to be expected to adapt to heritage language culture.

Analysis of the open-ended interview questions which are related to identity demonstrate that students' self-acknowledgement is based on how parents represent and interpret their own identities. Content-analysis of the open-ended interview questions with heritage language learners indicate that a large number of learners directly adhere to their heritage language through either their mothers or their fathers or through both their parents. The inconsistency between children and parents in terms of how they approach the heritage language lead children to adopt more bicultural identities because they are the product of bicultural families who live in a society where the American way of schooling and living is the culture.

Statistical analysis of HL learners' spoken data show that they are having troubles in their heritage language acquisition of inflectional morphology in Turkish. When the results are interpreted to analyze the speaking skills of heritage speakers, dominant home language of each family, frequency of visits to Turkey of heritage speakers, their age, and lastly the duration of heritage language schooling help uncover the underlying variables that influence students' skills. The study finds that the value of the school is enormous since it is the only environment for students, who attend English-only public schools during the week days while living in an English-speaking city, to get exposed to their heritage language. Future research must include a longitudinal study over the children who attend a heritage language school until they complete high school. It would not only help Less Commonly Taught Language programs at universities

or colleges by providing a background on the process but also help pre-service teachers who are in English only public schools with heritage language students.

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To My Significant Other

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Heritage language is the language of immigrants whose home language is not the dominant language of the society they live in (Cummins, 1991). In the U.S. setting, languages other than English, that is the *de facto* dominant language, have been labeled as "ethnic language, minority language, ancestral language, third language, non- official language, community language, and mother-tongue" (Cummins & Danesi, 1990, p. 8). I will adopt heritage language as a term in my dissertation to define the practices of the first- generation heritage speakers. One common feature among heritage speakers is that they are bilingual even though their level of skills in each language may be totally different from each other. These heritage speakers experience language shift and their skills could be reduced because of many reasons such as the age of speakers, their education level in their heritage language, their parents' background, the resources at home to convey the heritage language and many more (Zemskaia, 2001). These various levels of exposure to the heritage language may lead to some problems in communicating in the target language.

There are many cases where heritage language loss has been experienced in the U.S.; heritage speakers have been silenced through the hegemony of English. The question is: Which 'lenses' do we need to break the silences? Flores (2013) in her article: "Can the subaltern speak?" (p.264) and Spivak (1995) made us think about the language-minoritized populations. Flores wants to give silenced others a voice by pointing out how difficult and challenging it is to be represented in a society where the language practices of those subaltern groups are not appreciated. How and why the world is shaped with the idea of 'other' (Mignolo, 2000, p.61) is connected to the consideration of language practices of the subaltern.

Research with immigrant learners in the U.S. suggests that retaining the home/heritage language is a positive factor in immigrant children's academic achievement and well-being. Recognizing the benefits of heritage language maintenance for educators, parents, and policy makers is a first step towards addressing the needs of the rising numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse students in the U.S. in which millions of English Language Learners (ELLs) are educated in public schools. These ELLs refer to the ones that are called as heritage language learners in the field and in this study. According to National Center for Education Statistics (NCES)' 2014-15 academic year percentages, 9.4 percent of students were ELLs, which was approximately 4.6 million students. This group of students is part of the academic achievement gap between native speakers of English and ELLs; their education is different from native speakers of English because they have to attend ESL classrooms, native language classrooms, special education courses in addition to their mainstream classes (Orfield & Lee, 2004). Flores, Kleyn, and Menken (2015) also found that low academic achievement of ELLs is another factor for ELLS to drop out of school. An additional result is the loss of HL because of the language shift between generations.

There are factors influencing this language loss in heritage language learners. First of all, the schools do not have enough supportive programs for heritage speakers or bilinguals. Gandara and Rumberger (2009) think that the funding issues for the programs are problematic. Therefore, students cannot improve their heritage language in the school environment. Also, the stress level related to test results influences heritage language learners' psychology (Menken, 2013). Another issue affecting HL learners' academic achievement is that teachers and administrators do not have sufficient knowledge of how being bilingual has positive effects on students'

cognitive abilities; being bilingual is still seen as a deficit in most of the cases (DeJong & Harper, 2005).

There has been a trend or tendency in the U.S. by making sure of teaching English for every child in schools with No Child Left Behind Act (2002). This act had a sweeping effect on the education system, and the high-stake standardized tests associated with NCLB influenced students' attitudes and achievement especially bilingual and/or heritage language children. Many teachers have focused on improving their immigrant students' English rather than supporting their heritage language after NCLB was enacted. This could happen because of the pressure coming from policy makers and federal requirements for the tests. On the other hand, this may be because teachers are often unaware of the positive influence of first language fluency on second language acquisition--how students can become better bilinguals in the sense of improving their two language systems. If teachers want to get better results in English language skills of their students, the research suggests that heritage language proficiency should be developed.

Bialystok (2007) and Cummins (2005) emphasize that both languages rely on each other in order to transfer some concepts from the first language into the second language. Bialystok (2010) found that the bilingual brain has more advantages than the monolingual brain because bilingual children's working memory is stronger than in monolingual children. The more heritage speakers gain language and literacy skills, the better and faster they transfer into English. The problem of the maintenance of the heritage language stems from reduced input and use of minority language throughout the school-age period that leads to the weakening of the first language (Montrul & Perpinan, 2011). In order not to lose the heritage language, the most important factor is exposure to the language. This exposure could be through peers, family, media, and heritage language preschool/ community school or complementary schools.

Statement of the Problem

The common expectation from most immigrant families in the U.S. in the past was to make sure that they learned English well to adapt to the culture and community they were living in. After Arizona and California legislations banished the bilingual programs in the public schools, it was expected that these families would feel more American because they lost their heritage languages; this corresponds with the idea of the US as a *melting pot* (Krashen, 1996). Even though Proposition 227 was overturned by California in 2017, that legislation influenced many heritage language users at school system.

Most immigrant families see English proficiency as a crucial component of their academic and future occupational success. Often these immigrant families ignore their heritage languages and value English more in hopes of assisting their children gain a more promising future (Suàrez-Orozco, 2002). In a more recent study, Mirici, Galleano, and Torres (2013) suggest that immigrant parents find ways to handle daily life and work life communications even if they are not proficient in English, but as previous studies suggested, believe that their children's future solely depends on gaining proficiency in English. Janssen, Bakker, Bosman, Rosenberg, and Leseman (2012) claim that parents' support aims to teach moral values rather than teaching English like professional teachers.

While families encourage their children to learn English quickly, they often neglect the heritage language at home. Children are often immersed in English even in their home settings and so families are actually suppressing HL use. When children feel that their heritage language has no value in their life, they avoid using it because they think that they do not need it (Lucy, 2001).

Since immigrant families are having difficulty in maintaining their heritage languages after the third generation (Portes & Schauffler, 1994), the loss of HLs are unavoidable in most cases. There are many challenges that families have to deal with to help their children maintain their heritage language including personal motivation. For some parents, there is no need for the use of their heritage language in daily life in the U.S. Wherever they go, they use English to convey their messages or ask for help. So, the determination to keep HL is lost by parents, and children take their parents as their role models (Krashen, 1998). However, if parents see that their children might survive in the host country and maintain HL, they might change their motivation to keep HL. Kondo-Brown (2005) and Palmer (2007) have found that motivation is one of the important factors for heritage language learners' language development besides ethnic identity and attitudes.

The studies conducted on the heritage speakers so far show that parental support is the most essential factor to maintain HL (Arriagada, 2005; Suarez, 2002, 2007). Parents are the first exposure for children's language learning as documented by the studies of parents' perspectives on maintaining heritage language development and becoming bilingual (King & Fogle, 2013; Piller, 2001). The more parental support of heritage language use at home, the chance of enhancing children's heritage language maintenance increases (Park, 2013). The factors influencing the heritage language maintenance vary from heritage language schools to home language preferences, and also the resources the families bring to their children. Brown's (2011) study points out that parental involvement holds more significance than heritage schools for children to see the critical value of the heritage language. His study also indicates that the amount of English language use at home has an effect on the maintenance of the heritage language.

Most parents value keeping the heritage language (Brown, 2011; McCabe, 2014) for their children. However, they lack the resources or social and educational support to transform their ideologies into practice (Hashimoto & Lee, 2011). In addition, parents can "consciously and unconsciously, create an environment that will either nurture or impair language acquisition" (Rohani, Choi, Amjad, Burnett, & Colahan, 2006, p.3). While creating an environment where children are exposed to their heritage language, parents sometimes miss the point of using materials that are enjoyable and fun to read (Hashimoto, 2011).

Community language schools, ethnic mother tongue schools (Fishman, 1980), complementary schools (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2008), supplementary schools, and recently heritage language schools are the names used for community-based schools in different parts of the world and in research studies. They serve to maintain the heritage language of the immigrants and establish a sense of cultural identity and nationalistic views for heritage speakers. The families who have little time for practicing HL can send their children to these schools, which provide more resources for their children to be immersed in HL. However, problems for some families arise such as if the parents' economic status does not allow them to send their children to these schools. Difficulties include managing the budget of the family with extra costs for HL books and the Sunday classes. Li (2014) also mentions some other discrepancies in heritage language learners' linguistic skills and socio-cultural experience while learning their heritage language in a specific language classroom context. The research claims that even the socio-cultural changes in the community can influence the power relations at school at the expense of the students.

Turkish immigration to the US is particularly under-studied. There is not even a handful of studies about the maintenance of heritage language through Heritage language schools and

how the parents of first- and second-generation Turkish people deal with cultural identity issues and language practices. Kaya (2004) analyzes Turkish-American identity and he highlights that most of the Turkish-Americans are first generation immigrants. Although these Turks are part of the American society, they still compare what they experience in their daily lives in America with their previous lives in Turkey. Yet, the second and especially the third generation Turkish Americans are far away from being exposed to Turkish culture. They assimilate to their American school system and their English language proficiency is much better than their Turkish. In some cases, they understand oral Turkish but their writing skills do not exist.

The Institute of Turkish Studies established in 1980 and American Association of Teachers of Turkic Languages established in 1985 serve for the development of teaching Turkish in higher education. They also support Turkish language teachers in the U.S.--there are 45 universities in the U.S. offering Turkish language courses and 10 universities offering Turkish studies programs as a major of study. Matarese (2013) presents a study including all community institutions in New York City for 72 languages including Turkish. The limited number of Turkish community schools and underrepresentation of the Turkish community in the U.S. causes challenges for Turkish language maintenance compared to 71 other languages. Otcu-Grillman (2014) shares the results of New York's community languages other than English (LOTE) and shows that Turkish is the second language from the end of the spectrum of languages in community schools. The scarcity of studies on Turkish American heritage speakers and their schooling, their home practices, and their community interactions creates a research gap in understanding the language practices Turkish American parents prefer to follow. It is increasingly important to understand how Turkish American children maintain their heritage language to produce resources for their

literacy skills in Turkish language. This is a big step to help Turkish American children to be bilingual in the process.

By addressing the role of Heritage language learning for the learner, family, teachers, local and national community in addition to understanding the role of classroom practices that support or prevent heritage language learning, it is possible to see the bigger picture for this specific language minority community with this study.

I wanted to examine the dynamics of heritage language classroom interactions and how heritage speakers negotiated their identities in the school by following up on my pilot study of a school that serves Turkish heritage speakers on Sundays. I also wanted to learn to what extent classroom interactions helped build Turkish identity within Turkish heritage children. Since language is a key component in identity, it was also important to document how students' Turkish language skills improved through the practices and resources of the school.

Pilot Study

I conducted a pilot study on the research site to understand heritage language teachers' and principals' professional identity and beliefs about curriculum and instructional practices in a community based Turkish school. This school was located in one of the suburbs of Chicago. There were three classrooms at the time of data collection with a total of 40 students. Students' ages vary from 5 years old to 12 years old. I didn't interview parents of students for this pilot study in order to understand what their motivation was to send their children to this school every Sunday for almost 4 hours; however, I could say thanks to my observations that there were two main reasons behind that. First reason was that children could speak with their parents in Turkish. Second, children could communicate with their grandparents in Turkey when they

visited them. On the other hand, students at this school were there because their parents wanted them to be there.

My analysis indicated that these teachers had a weak sense of professional identity because they viewed teaching Turkish as a volunteer job. None of the teachers at the school had any experience in teaching Turkish language before. Yet, teaching Turkish as a heritage language helped the teachers reconnect to their own language and refresh their cultural background while preparing their syllabus. While these teachers believed that they had a responsibility to develop students' language proficiency, they viewed parents as the people most critical to maintaining students' lifelong learning. This study provided various suggestions for reform in an effort to foster students' learning and promote high-quality Turkish heritage language contexts.

These heritage language teachers articulated the need to rethink teaching and learning as a sociocultural process linked to teachers' self-worth, professional identity, and teaching contexts. However, the lack of financial support for heritage language teaching in the U.S. impacts funding, which in turn decreases teachers' willingness to dedicate themselves to heritage language education. According to Fishman (2001), language maintenance "depends in large part on the communities where the languages are spoken. The work of policymakers and educators will have little impact unless it is matched by the community's commitment to make the language a vital part of life" (p. 4). Thus, my findings coupled with Fishman's suggested that heritage language schools need to unify community members to preserve their languages and cultures.

In conclusion, this pilot study let me see how heritage language teachers viewed themselves and perceived the curriculum and instruction. Teachers thought that with their help

students would be able to be exposed to language as the teachers had been in their childhood, even if this was only for four hours a week. The study also revealed the restrictions that constrain heritage language teachers' professional development. None of the teachers had teaching degrees nor teaching Turkish endorsements. They also had never attended professional development workshops or seminars. While these teachers were able to describe their roles, they appeared not to be ready to articulate what kind of teachers they wanted to be. Heritage language schools have a responsibility to design an appropriate curriculum, provide teaching resources, and collaborate with community members. Incorporating these features facilitates teachers to take the next steps towards providing instruction that better meets the needs of students. However, this school in my pilot study was not providing what the teachers needed to have for better instruction. This pilot study showed that there needed to be collected more data on parents' contribution to their children's heritage language maintenance. This also indicated that there were other variables that influence heritage language learners' literacy skills in their heritage language such as resources, schooling in heritage language, learner's attitude and language choices.

Purpose of the Study

My project shifted from a focus on just the teachers to understanding the larger context of the school including the parent's views and students' identities. I wanted to examine the dynamics of heritage language classroom interactions and how heritage speakers negotiated their identities in the school and understand to what extent classroom interactions helped build Turkish identity within Turkish heritage children. It was also important to document whether and how students' Turkish language skills improved through the practices and resources of the school.

The overall research goal was to examine the practices utilized by the educators within a given school, where the goal was to facilitate students' background knowledge through language and cultural practices at school. It was also important to understand how students' identities are influenced through the heritage language instruction. With that goal in mind, the following research questions had been developed:

Within a heritage language school in the Turkish immigrant community,

1. How do bicultural identities of each participant group and their language choices influence students' attitudes at school?
2. How do teachers influence students' attitudes toward learning heritage language and their skills?
3. How do school practices and resources shape Turkish national and bicultural practices for the learners?
4. How does the complementary school practices and the parents support students' heritage language skills?

The study is significant because it explored how the existence of heritage language schools for small communities could influence first generation heritage speakers' language maintenance and identity. The remainder of this work will include a review of the literature and discussion of the methodology.

Definition of Terms

Heritage Language School: Community language schools, ethnic mother tongue schools (Fishman, 1980), complementary schools (Creese et. al., 2008), supplementary schools, and recently heritage language schools are the names used for community-based schools in the different parts of the world and in the research studies. All of them serve to maintain the heritage

language of the immigrants and establishing a sense of cultural identity and nationalistic views for heritage speakers. Throughout my study, I will adapt the term heritage language school to describe the school in which my research was conducted.

Heritage Language: In this study, a HL is acknowledged as "immigrant, indigenous, or ancestral language that a speaker has a personal relevance and desire to (re) connect with" (He, 2010).

Second Generation Speakers: For the second-generation migrants in this research, the HL is actually not their dominant language like their ancestors or parents. Their parents migrated before they were born in the U.S. They started their schooling in U.S. public schools in an English only environment.

Translanguaging: It focuses on communication not the language itself. Garcia (2009) defines translanguaging as 'the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential'. By benefiting all the language resources that are available in a classroom, classroom teachers pay more attention to the connections between bilingual students' voices and their ideas. I take this point of view while analyzing classroom interactions at complementary school as Creese and Blackledge (2010) looked at.

Code-switching: During conversational speech among bilinguals or multilinguals, code-switching could be used for interaction by alternating use of two or more codes within one conversational episode (Langman, 2001). The research states that there are multiple instances where code-switching occurs such as in classroom talk (Ikeda, 2005), institutional talk (Kasper, 2004), and bilingual talk (Gafaranga, 2000). In my research, I concentrate on classroom talk and bilingual talk in which speakers repair each other's interaction in a spoken discourse.

Outline of Chapters

This section provides a brief overview of the chapters in the dissertation. In chapter One, I present the foundational concepts for the study, including the shifting paradigm of bilingualism, heritage language learning, and heritage language education models in the U.S. I then present the problem statement, the pilot study I conducted in order to see the research site for the dissertation, the goals of the study that helped to shape the study. Chapter Two presents the review of related literature that bases this study. Chapter Three draws the qualitative case study methods approach with theoretical framework that grounds this study, along with data sources, procedures, and analysis.

There are three finding chapters: Chapter Four addresses research question one and two by presenting findings on the bicultural identities of each participant group and their language choices. This chapter also provides how the research site as a Sunday school builds a Whole school community for all the participants in the study. Chapter Five responds to research question two by describing the school activities and classroom practices by explaining each focal participant's perspective in instructional methods and materials. Chapter Six is an answer to third research question by analyzing each heritage language learner's language skills based on their acquisition of inflectional morphology in Turkish. This chapter further addresses how family and society factors are related to each HL learner's verbal language results. Chapter Seven summarizes the findings of the study and discusses them by connecting them to implications for research, pedagogical points. It further presents the limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2: A CRITICAL FRAME AND THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

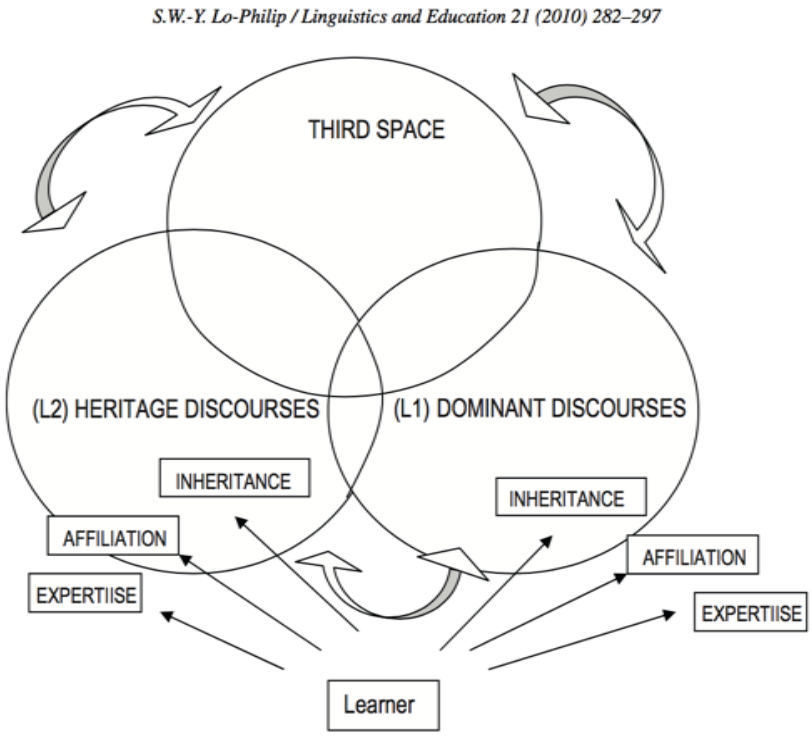
In this chapter I present the theoretical that guided this study- heritage language literacy and identity processes. I also introduce the relevance of my research with the framework I prefer to use to describe my study. Then, in the second part of this chapter I review related studies and discuss how they are connected to this project.

Theoretical Framework

In order to address the research questions, this study adopts Lo-Philip's (2010) framework for heritage language literacy and identity processes. Lo-Philip argues for a unique approach to find out heritage language literacy acquisition by looking at Gee's theorization of Discourses, Bakhtin's notions of heteroglossia and voice (Bakhtin, 1981), Gutiérrez's interpretation of the third space (Gutiérrez, 2008), and Bourdieu's (1977) concept of symbolic capital to establish a base for her framework (See Figure 1 below). What she proposes shows the dialogic relationship between dominant and heritage language discourses along with family cultural capital and community social capital (Wang, 2004). Her theory provided a comprehensive and holistic approach to understand heritage language speakers' language choices, heritage language learners' parents and their language choices, community or Sunday schools, and parents' and children's identities.

Figure 1

Theoretical Framework



Definition of Terms in the Framework

Lo-Philip's framework draws from our major concepts: First, is Gee's theorization of Discourses. Gee explores the concept of Discourse with a big "D" in his sociolinguistic work. He uses little "d" to refer to language-in-use. He combines social practices such as behavior, values, ways of thinking, food, perspectives, and clothes with language within a specific group, Discourse with big "D." In this study, this concept of *Discourses* and *discourses* were related to the practices of Turkish heritage language learners at Sunday school and their social practices were used to analyze their HL practices. Gee's idea of seeing language as contextual was the first

concept to shape the study, and the Turkish Community heritage language school was looked at as a Discourse community.

The second term which shaped the study was Bakhtin's (Bakhtin, 1981) notions of heteroglossia. According to Bakhtin, heteroglossia is a term that originated from "Discourse in the Novel" meaning all the different ways people speak to each other and how each one of them is suitable for each other's ideas, including the attempts to make it their own language. More generally, heteroglossia refers to the ideologies inherent in the various languages to which we all lay claim as social beings and by which we are constituted as individuals: the language and the inherent ideologies of our profession, the language and inherent ideologies of our age group, of the decade, of our social class, geographical region, family, circle of friends, etc. In this study, the ideologies embedded within the Turkish language were discussed while sharing the results related to the identities of parents and children.

The third term in Lo-Philip's framework was Gutierrez's interpretation of the third space. Third Space involves places where teacher and student share interaction during the process of learning that could be formal or informal, official or unofficial spaces. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda (1999) call this space transformative where the potential for an expanded form of learning can occur and the development of new knowledge is heightened. In the study, Third Space was used to interpret the hybrid activities in the Turkish heritage language school where different and hybrid Discourses came into contact and interacted with each other.

Finally, Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital was used to understand how Turkish heritage speakers saw their HL in relation to power and if they transferred specific beliefs and behaviors from their parents, guardians, or relatives. Bourdieu describes power in terms of 'symbolic capital', which comes with social position and affords prestige and attention. Through

this concept, the symbolic value of Turkish heritage language was examined through the eyes of Turkish heritage language learners and parents.

In short, this study employed Lo-Philip's theoretical framework to explain Turkish heritage speakers' dominant and heritage language discourses, and how parents' and teachers' cultural and social capital had an influence on heritage speakers' language choices at heritage language school, and lastly how teacher-designed literacy activities influenced students' motivation/ resilience to learn HL and linguistic skills in the language.

Review of the Literature

This part of the chapter situates my study in relation to a body of research on language acquisition for second language learners, bilingual learners, heritage language learners, and on ways to improve the education of heritage language learners. I also discuss what these studies have concluded about heritage language learners' identity and language choices to frame my study. The chapter continues with a review of research to explain heritage language learning by discussing the research on how a second language is learned and then how individuals become bilingual. Initially, the terms and research studies that differentiate among bilinguals, second language learners, and heritage language learners are discussed. After clarifying the ideologies and terms, a discussion on the identities of heritage language learners are presented. The research studies on the acquisition of heritage language learners are discussed in order to find and interpret the data in the analysis chapter. The research studies are supported with a discussion on verbal domain of Turkish language acquisition for heritage language learners in order to interpret the language skills of the participants of this study in the analysis parts.

Second language acquisition. The phenomenon of language and its definition is complicated because the question of what language is has many answers. These answers include

the distinctive features of the human language; the developmental processes of language learning in speaking, listening, reading, and writing; the goal of using language; the acquisition of language by humans, and lastly whether language learning is an innate ability that humans are born with or acquired through imitation and observation.

In the late twentieth century, Chomsky challenged the behaviorists and asserted the theory of transformational grammar. He (2016) theorized that language is innate and the ability of human language is programmed into our genes. He (2016) cites Chomsky (1957), "language to be a set (finite or infinite) of sentences each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements.'' These elements include sounds and utterances produced at early ages. As Chomsky (1957) said, "from birth, children are equipped with a specific language acquisition device, or black box, which wires them biologically for language" (cited in Richard-Amato & Snow, 2005, p. 25). This innate capacity of learning a language was also mentioned in Bialystok's book (2001), *Bilingualism in Development: Language, Literacy and Cognition*. She said, "children come to language learning as biological beings, with distinct human brains interacting in a social context, and receiving massive linguistic input" (p. 31). It could be inferred that human beings' ability to acquire a new language is also natural (Richard-Amato & Snow, 2005).

Yet, each individual's potential differs from one other. According to Bialystok (2001), the process of acquiring language can be faster if the conditions are improved. She also added that both individual interactions and cognitive factors are significant during the acquisition process. Active participation in acquiring a second language is also asserted as an important factor to improve the knowledge of a second language (Brooks & Brooks, 1999; Garcia, 2005).

Furthermore, learning a second language requires demanding tasks and activities. Engaging in four language skills especially with reading and writing activities helps learners to improve their literacy skills (Echevarria, Short, & Powers, 2008). As Krashen suggested in his Monitor Model (1977), comprehensible input is necessary because if input is understood and learners are immersed in a language-rich environment, their acquisition could be contextualized and they could use the second language both for academic and social purposes (Francis, Rivera, Lesaux, Kieffer, & Rivera, 2006).

Second language acquisition (SLA) involves a wide range of language learning settings, learner characteristics and circumstances. To be proficient in a second language has different meanings for scholars and learners. Some scholars assume that knowledge of grammatical rules is enough to be counted as proficient but others think that the ability to use language in cognitive tasks is essential (Doughty & Williams, 1998; Larsen-Freeman, 2003; Schmidt, 1990; Terrell, 1991). Some others consider that social and communicative aspects of language contribute significantly to proficiency (Kramsch, 1993, 1997; Shohamy, 2007; Svaberg, 2007). Bialystok and Hakuta (1994)'s study explain that second language acquisition is a complex process because it requires the definition of specific domains and how those mechanisms function together to reach healthy communication; the involvement of the first language is essential. Since the 1960s, scholars have been asking some important questions about SLA such as "What exactly does an L2 learner know?" or "How does the learner acquire this knowledge?" The approaches related to SLA are based on linguistic (Chomsky,1957,1965), psychological (Lenneberg, 1967; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008b; Williams & Burden, 1997), and social frameworks (Donato, 1994; Lantolf, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978). The sociocultural perspective on second language learning, based on the work of Vygotsky (1978) asserts that all learning,

including language learning, is based on social interaction with more proficient others, on an interpersonal and intrapersonal interaction. Through the concept of the zone of proximal development, Vygotsky highlights that language learning is developmental. The characteristic of 'prior knowledge' is very important, recognizing that new learning is built on prior learning – that is, the ideas and concepts that students bring to learning.

Bilingualism. There are many definitions of bilingualism articulated over the years but the basic definition is the ability to use more than one language. There are many terms to define bilingualism to distinguish among language users such as language competence, language ability, language skills, language performance. Valdés and Figueroa (1994) classify bilinguals under five categories such as age, ability, balance of two languages, development, and context in which each language user acquires and uses their languages. When you ask a person if s/he speaks two languages, the response could be different because the competence in both languages may not be the same. While s/he can speak well in one language, it could be more difficult to express herself/himself in the other language. For another person, writing and reading in one language could be easier than speaking and listening. Due to these distinctions, different researchers have different meanings or definitions (Stern, 1992).

Considering the types of bilinguals such as early bilinguals (simultaneous early bilinguals and successive early bilinguals), late bilinguals, additive bilinguals and subtractive bilinguals, and passive bilinguals, it is not easy to identify the first-generation immigrant parents' bilingual level. While simultaneous early bilingualism refers to a child who learns two languages at the same time from birth, successive early bilingualism refers to a child who has already partially acquired a first language and then learns a second language early in childhood. On the other hand, late bilingualism refers to bilingualism when the second language is learned after the age

of six or seven. The other groups of bilinguals are additive and subtractive: The term additive bilingualism refers to a situation where a person has acquired the two languages in a balanced manner. Subtractive bilingualism refers to a situation where a person learns a second language to the detriment of the first language, especially if the first language is a minority language. The last group of bilinguals' situations is called passive bilingualism and refers to being able to understand a second language without being able to speak it.

According to Bloomfield (1933), bilingualism is "the native-like control of two or more languages" (p. 56). Related to the concept of control, Diebold (1964) came up with another definition that is called *incipient bilingualism*, having minimal competence in a second language to be counted as bilingual. While discussions on the categorization of bilinguals continue, Fishman (1980) suggested that bilinguals could use their two languages for different purposes in different situations. For example, the preferred language for work and home could be different from each other. Grosjean (1984, 1994) identified two views on individual bilinguals. In the first view, the bilinguals were defined as 'two monolinguals in one person.' The second view suggests a more holistic view of bilinguals, a bilingual person is neither a complete or incomplete monolingual. Grosjean asserts that bilinguals should be evaluated according to their overall competence, not with some traditional tests conducted by authorities to test grammar and accuracy. Cook (1992) supported Grosjean's definition of bilinguals by suggesting that the assessment of bilinguals should look at the multi-competency of language users. However, there was much criticism of the idea of "semi-bilingualism" (MacSwan, 2000). As MacSwan shares, the criticism starts with the versions of semi bilingualism in Europe and the U.S. In Europe, semi bilinguals were defined as the ones who abandon their native language to acquire a second language (Hansegard, 1968). Cummins (1976) suggested that linguistic competence coming from

the first and the second language may influence a bilingual child's cognitive growth in other domains. However, critics claim that Cummins's framework is not enough to define language minority children in the U.S. In order to assess this language minority, the contextual usage of languages should be emphasized since the purpose of using a language could be different for different activities. For Hymes (1972b), there are eight categories to define functional bilingualism such as setting; participant identity; the purpose of the speech, act, key or tone; and the linguistic code, norm, and genre. Fishman (1965) indicates that the person they speak to, location, and time affect the choices of the languages they use. Sometimes bilinguals would rather not be exposed to the dominant language users especially if they think that they can lose their status in their community. Adolescents or sometimes even middle age children may reject using the home language within a majority language environment.

"Bilingual experience changes the way attention is directed to the environment" (Bialystok, 2015). Being bilingual can have adaptive benefits. The improvements in cognitive and sensory processing driven by bilingual experiences may help a bilingual person to better process information in the environment, leading to a clearer signal for learning (Bialystok, 2015). It may also help children to adapt rules to accommodate new information. The process of tuning in and inhibiting language in environmental situations trains the brain and allows bilingual people to access newly learned vocabulary while inhibiting other words from a competing vocabulary.

This flexibility to change rules can be seen in a study with bilingual babies as young as seven months of age. In Kovacs' study (2009), researchers taught babies growing up in monolingual or bilingual homes that when they heard a tinkling sound, a puppet appeared on one side of a screen. Babies raised with two languages from birth, had improved cognitive control

abilities compared with monolinguals. Halfway through the study, the puppet began appearing on the opposite side of the screen. In order to get a reward, the infants had to adjust the rule they had learned; only the bilingual babies were able to successfully learn the new rule.

Cognitive scientists have found that language can prompt speakers to pay attention to certain details in the environment (Athanasopoulos, Damjanovic, Krajciova, & Sasaki, 2011). For example, Russian speakers are faster to distinguish shades of blue than English speakers. And Japanese speakers tend to group objects by material rather than shape, whereas Koreans focus on how tightly objects fit together. Speaking a language does not occur in a vacuum and speakers who become fluent in another language also tend to adopt cultural mannerisms and inflections native to the new country. Children immersed in bilingual education may also learn the inflections and perceptions of native speakers and may see objects and events in the environment differently than monolingual counterparts. In other words, cognitive scientists found that the areas of the brain that grew were linked to how easily the learners found learning languages, and brain development varied according to performance. As the researchers noted, while it is not completely clear what changes after three months of intensive language study meant for the long term, the studies related to brain growth are promising.

Heritage language learners. Heritage speakers as a group of bilinguals is an important topic, particularly relevant to immigration patterns. Definitions of heritage language were suggested by studies in Canada and U.S. The first definition came from Cummins (2005) as "a language other than one of the official languages of Canada that contributes to the linguistic heritage of Canada." Since Canada hosts many immigrants who speak languages other than French, English and aboriginal languages, Cummins defines the heritage language by highlighting the languages of immigrants. Wiley (2005) expands this definition by adding

heritage speakers' personal experience with their heritage language and the desire of maintaining it to connect with their ancestors or relatives. In the U.S. setting, there are many other usages of the term such as "ethnic language, minority language, ancestral language, third language, non-official language, community language, and mother-tongue" (Cummins & Danesi, 1990, p. 8). I will adopt heritage language as a term in my dissertation to define the practices of the first-generation Turkish American heritage speakers.

Valdés (1981) suggests concepts to refer to heritage speakers such as "native speakers," "quasi-native speakers," "residual speakers", "bilingual speakers," and "home-background speakers." She defines heritage speakers as those who "are raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken;" they could be treated as bilinguals to some extent because they speak and/or understand the language (Valdes, 2001). These heritage speakers shift their language to another dominant language, although they grow up in a home where they practice their heritage language (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Montrul (2010) also contributes to the definition of heritage speakers in terms of linguistic perspective, and points out that "heritage speakers are individuals who are members of a linguistic minority who grew up exposed to their home language and the majority language" (p. 4).

If heritage speakers are the second generations of immigrant families in the country where the dominant language of the country is different from their home language, this generation lives in a bilingual setting, and sometimes in a multilingual setting where father and mother are the speakers of different heritage languages. They also become dominant speakers in the language of the country in which they were born. However, the parents, as the first-generation immigrants, are dominant in their home language (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013a).

Since the first exposure to heritage language starts at home with parental home language practices and also continues even after the children start mainstream schooling, the parents' role is highly influential for maintaining the heritage language. The studies emphasizing the influence of parents (Lindgren & Munoz, 2013) are limited, but point to the role of parents in language maintenance of the children, especially with heritage language users and bilinguals. When parents create opportunities such as community gatherings and community schools for heritage languages, and provide resources in their home settings (Garcia, Otcu, & Zakharia, 2012), the maintenance of the heritage language could be enhanced through these efforts. Another relevant point is how heritage speakers themselves see the acquisition and maintenance of their heritage language. In Pavlenko's (2007) study, the participants demonstrated some resistance to the maintenance of the heritage language and denied keeping it; their HL is related to their identity, and they experience 'delocalization of self' in a country where the dominant language is different from their parents' language (Kramsch 2009a). The recent study by Melo-Pfeifer (2015) considers the perceptions of children on HL and how they see the role of family in the acquisition of HL. The study found that the grandparents played an affective and emotional role in formation of identity of Portuguese heritage speakers who reside in Germany.

It is crucial to know the differences and commonalities among second language learners, bilinguals and heritage language learners in order to provide better curriculum and instructional methods. Bilinguals, heritage language learners, and second language learners are different from monolinguals not only because they know more than one language or can switch between languages, but also because they constantly need to juggle their languages. It has been proposed by some that both languages are active and available even when only one of them is being used (Bialystok, 2008; Dijkstra, Grainger, & Van Heuven, 1999; Kroll, Bobb, & Wodniecka, 2006).

In situations where only one language can be used, bilinguals have to select words from the language which are needed for that particular interaction, while inhibiting, or deactivating, words from other languages.

According to Bialystok (2007), the need to control attention to the target language in a context in which the other language remains active is the single feature that makes bilinguals unique. This process of attentional control is, however, not water-tight. Bilinguals sometimes need to activate one language for a few minutes or even seconds and another one in the next few moments. The linguistic consequences of this incessant juggling act are that bilinguals and L2-learners cannot keep their languages completely separate at all times, and features of the deactivated language regularly appear in the language the speaker intended to use. In the literature, these features are often referred to as interference, transfer or cross-linguistic influence, and their existence is well documented. In the past, these phenomena have often been seen in a negative light as deviations from monolingual norms, to be avoided whenever possible (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). However, recent scholars have noted this phenomenon as Translanguaging (Garcia, etc.)

Even today, according to Ortega (2009), monolingual biases continue to be built into research, *e.g.,* in the field of second language acquisition, and she therefore calls for a 'bilingual turn' in SLA (May, 2015). If we want to understand bilinguals and L2-learners as unique speaker-hearers (Grosjean, 1984), we need to abandon the monolingual view of bilinguals and L2-learners, and stop considering bilinguals or L2-learners as failed monolinguals who have only partial knowledge of two separate language systems. Under a holistic view of bilingualism, first proposed by Grosjean, monolinguals are no longer seen as the norm, and the separation of two language systems is not considered the ideal state of affairs for bilinguals. Instead, the

psychological and linguistic consequences of the coexistence of knowledge of the L1 and the L2 in the bilingual's mind – which Cook and Li (2016) refers to as multicompetence – become the focus of research which aims at discovering what it means to be bilingual. In this approach, studying transfer should be a first priority, because it provides the key evidence that bilinguals process language differently: the existence of transfer can provide crucial insight into the activation of languages and into the functioning of attention control in the bilingual mind.

In the field of SLA, the role of transfer is still controversial, even though all researchers assume transfer to play a role in L2 acquisition. Lado (1957) strongly believes the role of the L1 to be crucial. The author points out that the fundamental assumption behind his work is that:

> " ... individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings, and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture – both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and the culture as practiced by natives" (p.71).

Many assumptions behind Lado's theory, which laid the foundations for the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, are no longer valid. Most notably, Lado's assumption that learners will find those elements that are similar to their native languages to be simple, and those elements that are different to be difficult can no longer be upheld (Kramsch, 2009).

Research from many fields has demonstrated that bilinguals and L2-learners share many similarities, and so transfer is accepted as a key system for language processing models in L2-learning. MacWhinney (2008) asserts that the mechanisms of L1-learning are to be seen as a subset of the mechanisms of L2-learning according to his Unified Competition Model (p.42). His model suggests that similar concepts and structures could be transferred easily from L1 to L2 but

not everything. For White (2003b), the importance of L1 cannot be ignored in the early stages of second language acquisition because it is necessary for the development of second language acquisition. Some researchers also drew our attention to the types of transfer, finding it is not one dimensional (Cook, 2003; Grosjean & Py, 1991). Transfer can happen from L2 to L1 or from L1 to L3 or from L2 to L3 in the later stages of language proficiencies.

For monolinguals, a foreign language is learned after a child gains proficiency in his native language learned from parents. When schooling starts, the child spends a few hours a week for second language acquisition while being educated in his native language in all the other subjects. Since the second language is used less than the dominant one, the first one is stronger than the target language.

On the other hand, heritage speakers' situation shifts functionally. These speakers are the children of immigrants. Although the initial language the child learns at home is their first language to some degree, the heritage language of the child is replaced by the dominant language outside the home setting, and the heritage language user shares similar linguistic characteristics with second language characteristics. After the child is engaged with the dominant language of the society, they show a tendency to forget their first language. Their exposure is limited to basic words.

At this point the learning process of heritage language and second language learning share many similarities. However, there are many factors influencing the proficiency level of these two different language learners such as linguistic environment, experience with the language, context of acquisition, and timing of input. When we look at classrooms that include second language learners and heritage language learners, there are many challenges for teachers. First of all, these two groups have different linguistic and cultural needs. While second language

learners' exposure to the target language is mostly limited to the classroom input, heritage language learners have exposure to their parents' language. Therefore, their readiness to learn the linguistic perspectives of heritage language is better than second language learners. According to Kondo and Brown (2005) 'heritage language learners' are heritage speakers who seek to learn, re-learn, maintain or expand knowledge of their heritage language in the classroom. Heritage language learners' language learning process is complicated in terms of carrying some similar features not only with L1 learners but also with L2 learners (Montrul, 2008). Since most heritage speakers are the children of immigrants who come to the host country at early ages, their exposure to the language has some naturalistic background because the heritage language is used at home. On the other hand, heritage language learners' proficiency is limited since the input they gain through family is restricted. This leads to incomplete acquisition of the language similar to L2 learners. This means that both L2 learners and heritage speakers' target language knowledge is incomplete. Yet, their cultural and linguistic exposure to the language vary. This difference can be beneficial for heritage speakers because they will not lose their ties with heritage language through familial connections, rooted in the heritage culture. They can still gain the proficiency of the heritage language if they keep practicing and get involved in naturalistic settings with support for their linguistic background through schooling. L2 learners rarely gain native-like proficiency like heritage language learners.

Heritage Language Speakers in Mainstream Schools. There are some challenges for heritage speakers in the mainstream schools in the U.S. as there are challenges for bilingual learners. Heritage speakers have always been present in language classrooms. They have sometimes been treated with indifference since they bring non-academic varieties and non-standard vocabulary and grammar into the classroom by disrupting the established routine of

foreign language teaching; these speakers' heritage language is 'first in the order of acquisition but not completely acquired because of the individual's switch to another dominant language' (Valdés, 2001, p. 369). Therefore, the lack of education in the first language may lead to problems in the acquisition of a second language as well. Furthermore, heritage speakers are considered a challenge because foreign language teachers do not have the necessary background to teach these students.

Campbell and Rosenthal (2000) claim that the educated and competent American teachers who will teach languages have historically never been educated with the necessary skills to reach heritage language speakers. They recommend that heritage language speakers need a different teaching method than second language learners. They call their work "common sense guidelines" (p.177). In these guidelines, they suggest some methods for teachers. First of all, teachers need to show students how to cope with foreign language anxiety by making the learning context less stressful. Secondly, teachers need to take into consideration the needs of heritage students in their classes. After that, teachers can use heritage students as a bridge between the new language and the new culture. As Warschauer and Meskill (2000) suggest, teachers can "create opportunities for authentic and meaningful interaction both within and outside the classroom, and providing students the tools for their own social, cultural, and linguistic exploration" (p. 308). Finally, teachers need to improve themselves with new technological tools to enhance heritage language learning and reach online platforms where their students build up cross-cultural interactions with other heritage speakers.

Another challenge for heritage speakers' education in the mainstream schooling is the lack of a specialized course for heritage speakers. Their linguistic abilities are better than non-heritage speakers but the limited resources and low numbers of HL learners in the classrooms

compared to ESL learners make publishers or researchers ignore the need for specialized courses for them. When there is a class of mixed language learners with second language learners, heritage language learners and monolinguals, it is highly possible that teachers will have problems with teaching methodologies. However, if the teacher can distinguish the differences between these language users, he/she can come up with strategies to reach all the students.
In addition to this, immigrant families have difficulty maintaining their heritage languages beyond the third generation (Portes & Schauffler, 1994). As immigrants, they want their children to adapt themselves into the dominant culture and language since they expect them to study in a college and maybe provide for the family in the future. Job candidates who possess English language skills in the USA are more likely than others to get hired than candidates with less developed English skills (Timming, 2017). Immigrants' ability to look or act-like native-born residents while expressing themselves is essential in terms of others' perceptions of them; differing contexts such as rural communities may be less receptive to immigrants. The speakers of minority languages such as African immigrants, Arabic immigrants, Turkish immigrants or even Spanish immigrants experience and /or prefer a language shift into the dominant language. In most cases, immigrant families have difficulty creating time and environments to enable their children to practice and keep the heritage language of the home. Although the cultural differences among immigrants play an important role in keeping or losing HL, most of the time familial influence has a negative effect on children's HL.

The maintenance of HLs in the neighborhoods or communities is a challenge because it requires some permanent, strategic plans in order to help immigrant families in the long run. However, the common tendency is to assimilate into the dominant culture by replacing their languages with the dominant languages. Ports and Hao (2002)'s study on thousands of different

immigrants show that those families believe that English is a universal language, so English is the only solution for communication. This is the reason why they give up on their heritage language.

In order to avoid those families giving up on their heritage language, heritage language students need similar home country contexts to be able to contextualize the language practices to keep the language alive. The immigrant families with different heritage languages should be able to use their heritage languages with their children in their local communities while they attend church services, or have their children playing in the playground, family dinner time activities, at markets, and most importantly at heritage language schools or community language schools where children can get a formal education in their heritage language. These functional uses of the heritage language lead to ways to conceptualize the language and learn it faster and better. Hornberger (2003) claims that the functional theory of language provides a better understanding of bilingual development so that heritage students' language abilities can be conceptualized by combining oral and written language abilities in both languages. The following section explains how heritage language schools serve to reach that goal for heritage speakers.

Heritage Language Schools. The problem with the maintenance of the heritage language stems from reduced input and use of minority language throughout the school-age period that leads to the weakening of the first language (Montrul & Perpinan, 2011). In order not to lose the heritage language, the most important factor is exposure to the language; yet the quality of the exposure is key (Montrul, 2016). This exposure could be through peers, family, media, and heritage language preschool/ community school or complementary schools. Many immigrant families do their best to support their children's heritage language and cultural maintenance through these schools. When there are enough community people who speak the same HL, it is

more likely to find Sunday HL schools (Shibata, 2000) in the U.S.A. These community-based heritage language schools serve to maintain the heritage language of the immigrants while establishing a sense of cultural identity and nationalistic views for heritage speakers. These schools' existence is very helpful for children because cultural maintenance (Park, 2003; Zyzik, 2016), identity construction (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997), and higher cognitive development (Bialystok, 2001) are observed within the heritage language speakers.

These schools offer rich natural language and cultural resources for heritage speakers. The children who attend community-based heritage schools often become culturally responsive students. Their exposure to different experiences, opinions or ideas that they learn from their teachers or peers at heritage schools bring many benefits to children. Their comprehension skills and literacy skills are improved due to their exposure to the heritage language (Gay, 2010; Irvine, 2001). Hale (2001) claims that culturally and linguistically diverse students become more successful through culturally responsive instruction.

The students who attend HL schools have different characteristics depending on many variables such as being in a home where home language is not English, low level of heritage language proficiency, parents' motivation to keep the language, or parents' identity. There are more than 6000 heritage language schools that are providing language instruction for 145 different languages in the States (Fishman, 2001). According to Compton (2001), Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Italian, French, Polish, Portuguese, Hebrew, Ukrainian, and Yiddish constitute the majority of these schools.

Heritage language schools generally offer instruction on weekends either on Saturdays or Sundays. There are some after school programs for heritage speakers as well if the facilities from public or private schools, or churches are rented by the community. Most of the heritage

language schools are supported by the community and all the resources such as textbooks, curriculum, and teachers are voluntary. The schools accept donations to finance the school activities. Some HL schools accept book donations from private contributors or the consulate of the spoken language. Teachers who teach different levels of heritage speakers are mostly volunteers or they are paid for gas money. However, these teachers are mostly members of the community who do not have teaching certificates or formal in-service training. They could be lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. who are the parents of heritage speakers in the community. It is possible that the teachers serve at HL schools since they are native speakers of the target language and they are ready to serve the children. Each child's motivation to attend HL schools is different from each other. The curriculum of the schools is planned by the volunteer teachers with the focus on culture and language skills (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001). Since the schools' missions are to provide culturally responsive instruction, they also pay attention to include national or religious holiday celebrations within the school activities.

Bilingual education was not endorsed as national policy until 1968. Thus, culturally and linguistically diverse communities who use a language other than English in their home settings or in their community puts a great amount of effort to support heritage languages especially for their children (Liu & Clay 2002). Korean and Chinese communities are among those who founded their own HL schools. According to American Community Survey, there are around 2,600,150 people who speak Chinese and 1, 039,021 people who speak Korean at home in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

The Assembly of Turkic American Federations estimates that there are over 500 Turkish Americans and 60 local organizations or association in the United States under the umbrella of them. Most of these local organizations provide Turkish classes for heritage speakers of Turkish.

The Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages program, established by the Center for Applied Linguistics, provides rich heritage language school resources. On the Web site (*www.cal.org/heritage/index.html*), teachers can find profiles of community-based heritage language programs across the United States, including the name of the school, contact information, and teaching materials. There are 21 community-based heritage language schools for children throughout the states in the U.S.A. according to the website.

However, the number of studies conducted in those schools are limited. Actually, there is only one dissertation completed in 2009 related to one of the heritage language schools in New York, which is a Saturday school for second and third generation Turkish Americans. Otcu-Grillman (2009) enables an overview of Turkish language programs in the U.S. She divides the programs into three (a) programs in higher education, (b) programs in the community organizations, and (c) programs for children. The Institute of Turkish Studies established in 1980 and American Association of Teachers of Turkic Languages established in 1985 serve for the development of teaching Turkish in higher education. They also support Turkish language teachers in the U.S.; there are 45 universities in the U.S. offering Turkish language courses and 10 universities offering Turkish studies programs as a major of study. Matarese (2013) presents a study including all community institutions in New York City for 72 languages including Turkish. The limited number of Turkish community schools and the underrepresentation of Turkish in the community in the U.S. create challenges for Turkish language maintenance compared to the other 71 languages. Otcu-Grillman (2014) reveals the existence of two all day Turkish private schools in New York as Brooklyn Amity School (BAS) and Pioneer Academy of Science (PAS). These schools are known as Cemaat schools that are the schools of Fethullah Gulen. According to Berlinski (2012) cited by Otcu-Grillman (2014), there are 135 charter schools in 25 different

states. These schools provide instruction in English with a few hours of Turkish classes as electives although the focus is on math and science in these schools. In terms of maintaining Turkish culture, these schools arrange the Turkish Olympiads in the U.S., organize annual Children's Day, and invite speakers from Turkey. These charter schools of 'Gulen cemaat' are ideologically different from other community schools in the U.S. in terms of curriculum design.

Below I explain why there are two different types of schools for the Turkish immigrants who live outside of Turkey.

Polarization in Turkey. Turkish society has been suffering from a deep social and political cleavage since mid-2000s. On multiple different measures of polarization, Turkey today is one of the most polarized nations in the world (Firat, Lauka, & McCoy, 2018). Reasons for this polarization are manifold. Turkish politics, which is based on continuous tension between the center and the periphery, the secular and the religious, Kurdish and Turkish may account for the polarization. These societal cleavages, however, are not new. They have existed throughout the history of the Turkish Republic. Political institutions have also intensified the political polarization by the lack of intra party democracy. The referenda and the referendum-like elections with zero sum outcomes as well are a cause of continued polarization. Meanwhile, lack of intra party democracy and autocratic rule of party leaders have prevented diversity within parties. Lastly, populist politicians from the left and the right have seen polarization as an opportunity to be exploited rather than a problem to be mitigated and systematically triggered the fear of and hate toward the other (Ercetin & Erdogan, 2018).

What is relevantly new, though, is the current dominant cleavage between secularists and Islamists. This polarization has its roots in a series of reforms intended to secularize and modernize the country after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. These reforms

inevitably triggered a deep division within Turkish society between secularists and Islamic-oriented population. Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, the secularist elite dominated key state institutions, allowing it to keep conflict over the soul of Turkey from coming into the open. Since 2002, however, the political rise of Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi; AKP) has brought the Islamist-secularist divide to the fore.

Starting from early 2010s, another political clash has emerged between Islamists. The power struggle between Erdogan and Fetullah Gulen, who has been a spiritual leader of a movement since the mid-1980s and has been in exile in the US since 1999, elevated to a coup attempt in 2016. Gulen was accused of organizing his supporters in the military to take the Erdogan government down by force. The attempt was aborted, but civil and political liberties became victims in the aftermath. Measures taken against the putschists under the state of emergency affected the whole of society, pushing Turkey to the category of "not free" countries according to Freedom House's annual report (see Freedom House, "Turkey Profile," 2018).

The recently published "Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey" (2017) survey presented a similar picture of Turkish society as it did in 2015, that political polarization is very high, indicating that the problem in Turkey is structural and not conjectural. Indications of high social distance were present in the survey, 78 percent of the respondents did not approve of their daughter marrying a supporter of the "other party," and only 29 percent said they would like to be neighbors with such a person (see the survey conducted by Istanbul Bilgi University under the name of Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey, 2017)

This deep polarization applies to Turks who live abroad. The Turkish schools either employ secularist values or are directly founded by the Gulen movement. The school I collected

my data was one of the secularist schools in Chicago where as a school they didn't have any religious practices or instructions for their students. Their curriculum was based on Ataturk principles and teaching Turkish language and cultural practices. On the other hand, there were schools that were administered through the Gulen movement principals in Chicago. Financially, Gulen's schools are very powerful, so this provides them more resources such as salaries for their teachers or bigger libraries for the students, etc. Their biggest goal is to integrate religion into their curriculum.

Maintenance of Turkish for Heritage Speakers. The parental or familial connection with the acquisition of the heritage languages highlights the importance of parents' role in the perception of the language. The studies emphasizing the influence of parents (Lindgren & Munoz, 2013) are limited. When parents create opportunities such as community gatherings and community schools for heritage languages, and provide resources in their home settings (Garcia, Zakharia, & Otcu, 2012), the maintenance of the heritage language could be enhanced through these efforts. Another part of this discussion is related to how heritage speakers by themselves see the acquisition and maintenance of their heritage language. In Pavlenko's (2007) study, the participants demonstrate some resistance against the maintenance of the heritage language and they deny keeping it. The reason is that their HL is related to their identity, and they experience 'delocalization of self' in a country where the dominant language is different from their parents' language (Kramsch, 2009). The recent study by Melo-Pfeifer (2015) is about the perceptions of children of HL and how they see the role of family in the acquisition of HL. They find that grandparents play an affective and emotional role in formation of identity of Portuguese heritage speakers who reside in Germany.

Research on Turkish immigrants living in Europe can shed light on heritage language learning for the Turkish heritage speakers living in the U.S. In Biedinger, Becker, and Klein's (2014) study in Germany, they explore community schools, parental environment contexts for the acquisition of the heritage language among Turkish immigrant children. They look at family exposure, preschool exposure, media exposure, social contact exposure within 1,281 Turkish immigrant participants in Germany. The results show that the most important factor to improve the heritage language is through Turkish language ability of immigrant parents. Another impact on the maintenance of heritage language is pre-schooling. The attendance time of pre-schooling for Turkish heritage speakers has a negative effect on their heritage language. This can only change if there are other Turkish heritage speakers at the school who can have a positive influence on their Turkish. This shows that those Turkish heritage speakers do not get first language education at mainstream schools in Germany. The focus is on German language in German preschools. The children who attend this study improve their heritage language through their families, media exposure or peers.

A recent study done by Sevinc (2016) also supports the idea of how the Turkish language ability of first-generation parents influence the second-generation Turkish children's heritage language. In Netherlands, since the schools are in Dutch and students are exposed to Dutch in their regular class days, especially the second-generation children prefer to speak Dutch rather than their heritage language. If there is at least one first generation parent at home, third generation Turkish Dutch immigrants are exposed to Turkish only at home. The results support the idea that the less exposed children are to the heritage language the more they decrease in their Turkish language proficiency. In each generation that follows, the gap between the generations grow if HL education is not supported through language policies, teacher training

programs, and valid resources. Davila (2017) informs us through her research on HL education in Sweden and how HL education has been valued compared to other European countries. Sweden provides elective courses for HL learners after school because the Swedish government wants to improve the status of its immigrants (Skolverket, 2014); however, HL education has not been getting enough attention by the authorities

Australia is different than Germany and Netherlands in terms of supporting heritage language learning. Students who are immigrants and have a different first language than English learn their own heritage language at their mainstream schools with the support of The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). The program's name is Languages Other Than English (LOTE). With this program starting from 1st grade, heritage speakers of 14 different languages learn their language with 150 min weekly classes in their schools. Turkish is one of the languages offered under this program in Australia. Parlak (2013) collected her data from 10th graders in Australia who were heritage speakers of Turkish. The results of this study show that although Turkish heritage children are supported with Turkish classes in their schools both on weekdays and at weekend language courses, the level of using Turkish at schools is around 18%. The 10th graders sometimes prefer to use English if there are situations that they can't express in Turkish in these schools during classes. In some neighborhoods of Australia where Turkish immigrants are highly populated, schools also involve more Turkish heritage speakers but this does not change the level of using Turkish. Saturday Turkish language courses are offered for three hours for 10th and 11th graders. Having Turkish classes from the first grade until the end of high school is a beneficial tool to let second and third generation Turkish immigrants keep their heritage language. Sixty eight percent of Turkish heritage speakers in Australia have no difficulty in their Turkish reading skills, while 73% of those children have

speaking skills in Turkish. So, this study supports the existence of heritage language learning at school by providing the benefits of language courses at schools.

Even though there are a handful of studies for Turkish communities who live in Europe such as in Germany and Sweden in terms of the acquisition issues of Turkish language (Bayram, 2013; Babaoglan, 2010; Dirim, 2019; Kleen, Bonefeld, Glock & Dickhäuser, 2019; Persembe, 2010; Sarikaya, 2014; Sen, 2016; Smith, Wohlstetter, Kuzin, & De Pedro, 2011; Schroeder, 2014;Ural, 2012; Yagmurlu & Sanson 2009; Yilmaz, 2014), the studies on the language maintenance of Turkish heritage speakers who have been living in the U.S since the 1920s fall on the weaker side of the literature. Turkish was treated as a heritage language by Otcu (2009) in her dissertation for the first time in which she analyzed the data collected in a Turkish Saturday school in New York. Her study provides a description of how Turkish heritage speakers' community schooling facilitates HL learning. The schooling of Turkish-American children in the U.S setting and their identities have also been observed in the ethnographic study of Isik-Ercan (2012) which provides some basic insight about Turkish heritage speakers in the U.S. However, these studies fall short of explaining the maintaining process of the language.

Table 1

The Status of Turkish in both the United States and New York City (2000)

2000 Census: Language Use in English –Proficient Households of Turkish Ancestry			
	Total Population	English-Only	Turkish
United States	164.945 100%	33.526 31%	59.407 55%
New York	21.927 100%	5304 24%	12.409 57%

This table indicates that the number of people who use Turkish at home is dramatically larger than English usage at home for Turkish-English households (Otcu-Grillman, 2009). The resources they use at home to keep the Turkish heritage language include many options. Turks in America share some similarities with the Turks in Europe in terms of having newspapers printed in Turkish in the U.S. such as *Hurriyet* for secular Turkish groups and *Zaman* for religiously oriented Turkish groups. According to a website called www.turkishconnection.com there are 11 radio stations and 5 TV programs in local and national channels for Turkish immigrants in the U.S. such as Turkish Voice radio, Turkish hour broadcast, Voice of Anatolia TV and radio, Rutgers University radio around New York and New Jersey. The scarcity of the studies done on Turkish heritage speakers and Turkish immigrant population's schooling, home practices, and their community interactions makes the comparison of European Turkish immigrants and Turkish Americans in the U.S. quite challenging.

Identity of immigrant children and HL learning. Identity of one's self depends on many factors such as education, family values, religious orientation, culture, and community influences (Myhill, 2003). Individuals react to events differently from each other because of the variety among their senses of identities. According to Phinney (2003), ethnic identity is "a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group." The correlation between one's ethnic identity and the level of heritage language proficiency is strong (McCarthey, 2001; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Tse, 1997). The heritage language speakers with better language proficiencies have a better sense of who they are and their ethnic identity than non-HL speakers (Cho, 2000; Soto, 2002).

Heritage language schools or community schools contribute to children's ethnic identity by improving heritage language learners' proficiency at school (Chinen & Tucker, 2006;

Oketani, 1997; You, 2005). If heritage language by itself is a symbol of ethnic identity (Baker, 2001), the children who speak the same HL share the same cultural heritage (Takamori, 2010). While recognizing that identity is complex, compound, and even contradictory, it may be concluded that the ability to speak the heritage language can help ethnic minorities develop a better sense of who they are as ethnic individuals in general. It is also highly likely that those with high levels of heritage language competence make meaningful connections to their own group of people. What is not certain is whether heritage language proficiency is sufficient to provide a path to ensuring positive ethnic identity formation for youths of all ethnic backgrounds.

Acquiring heritage language for Turkish heritage speakers. Children of immigrants are exposed to at least two languages while growing up. One is the language they hear at least from one of their parents which is their family's heritage language and the other one is the language of the majority of the country where they live. Heritage language is often the minority language in the new country. Their bilingualism falls under the category of early bilinguals and the research shows that the proficiency of heritage language speakers is not at the same level as the language of the majority (Montrul, 2016; Polinsky, 2018). Recent studies describe how these children's languages are developing. According to some trajectories of language growth, even if these children are exposed to two languages at early ages, this does not guarantee a native like proficiency in both languages (Hoff, 2018). On the other hand, other studies claim that the quality and quantity of the exposure make a difference in bilingual children's skills (Hoff et al., 2012; Oller, Pearson, & Cobo-Lewis, 2007).

In order to evaluate the linguistic competence of heritage speakers, it is necessary to use enough measures to look at children's skills, providing a better idea of how their comprehension

and production skills develop for both their spoken and written language. Looking at the oral production skills of heritage speakers will be the focus of chapter 6 to understand if children of immigrants are using the correct morphological markers in the verbal domain.

First generation children of Turkish American families were evaluated to understand their use of functions of the Turkish language. Turkish, which is one of the agglutinative languages, is quite rich in inflectional morphology, which demonstrates the relations among constituents in a given sentence (Coskun-Kunduz & Gurel, 2018). Simple Tense aspect modality markers (TAM) (Erguvanli-Taylan, 1992; Ketrez, 2012) and the case markers of Turkish show the language development of heritage speakers from the age of 6 to 12.

Understanding heritage speakers' oral language development requires consideration of the quality and the quantity of exposure to the heritage language. Many factors influence heritage speakers' proficiency in the heritage and the target language including the age of children, parental education, the amount of schooling in the language, dominant home language, frequency of vacation in the heritage country, years spent in the U.S., etc. Many more factors could be added to this list in order to comprehend better how the proficiency is shaped. For example, socioeconomic status (SES) of families is another factor for immigrant families' children (Hernández, 2004; Scheele, Leseman, & Mayo, 2010). Resources and opportunities the families offer to their children can influence heritage language speakers' exposure to the language. With enough financial resources, families can visit their heritage country overseas, they can hire a private tutor for their children's literacy skills in the family language, or parents can send their children to Sunday or weekend schools by enrolling them in these school and purchasing the school materials.

Acquisition of case markers in a Heritage Language. There are many studies that focused on the acquisition of case markers for monolinguals, bilinguals and in Turkish as a foreign language. According to the studies on case morphology for monolinguals, Turkish monolingual children begin using case markers to indicate grammatical roles of nominals in obligatory contexts before the age of 2 (Antonova-Unlu & Sagin, 2015). The rich inflectional system helps them identify the functions of noun phrases in the sentence, which is different for monolingual English children because they depend on the word order to identify the function of noun phrases in the sentence. Even though children start using case markers before age 2, their acquisition takes time. Ketrez (2004) indicates that only fifty percent of monolingual Turkish children use the markers correctly before the age of 2. Interestingly, the accusative case marker is the last one that is acquired and used correctly even though it is productively used after its first appearance. It could take children up to or after the age of five to acquire this marker (Ketrez, 2004).

When it comes to bilingual children, the use of Turkish cases demonstrates that children make many errors at the initial stages. This process changes once the children are exposed to more Turkish and their mistakes disappear depending on the level of exposure. The research studies show that bilingual children can follow the same pattern to acquire the language that monolingual children follow. Some suffixes such as the evidential marker *–mIş* and the accusative marker *–(y)I* are acquired in the later ages (age 6) by monolingual speakers (Miller, 1990; Ozturk & Papafragou, 2008). These are also challenging for second language learners of Turkish. Bennamoun et al., (2013) support this idea with their study on heritage language speakers and first -generation immigrants by indicating the similarities between the two groups. The mistakes bilingual children make are similar to the ones that monolingual children make.

For example, possessive markers and genitive markers can be problematic for monolingual children on some lexical items for bilingual children as it is challenging for monolingual children.

The use of cases in Turkish as L2 fell within the scope of studies examining the use of Turkish grammatical morphemes based on the spontaneous production and experimental data of L2 Turkish learners (Akdoğan, 1993; Altunkol & Balcı, 2013; Gürel, 2000; Güven, 2007; Haznedar, 2006; Papadopoulou, Varlokosta, Spyropoulos, Kaili, Prokou, & Revithiadou, 2011). The researchers focused on difficulties foreign learners of various L1 backgrounds and levels of proficiency (from elementary to advanced) encounter with Turkish cases, and demonstrated that L2 learners of Turkish experience a lot of problems with the Turkish cases system, which may persist even at the very advanced level of proficiency in L2 Turkish. The learners tend to omit case morphemes rather than substitute them. The studies were consistent in their findings that the accusative and dative are very problematic cases even for intermediate and very advanced learners of Turkish; however, concerning the locative and ablative cases, their findings varied. While some of the studies (Altunkol & Balcı, 2013) reported that the participants are able to acquire these cases successfully, Haznedar (2006) reported 96% and 58% of errors for the ablative and locative cases respectively in the data of the advanced user of Turkish.

In this chapter, initially the terms and research studies that differentiate among bilinguals, second language learners, and heritage language learners were discussed. After clarifying the ideologies and terms, a discussion on the identities of heritage language learners were presented to support the research questions of this study. The research studies on the acquisition of Heritage language learners were discussed in order to find and interpret the data in the analysis

chapter. In the following chapter, the methodology of the current study on the Heritage language learners' experiences and practices at a complementary Sunday school will be presented.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The goal of this study was to analyze Heritage Language (HL) literacy learning and identity processes within a Heritage Language school. Understanding the community's values, and ideologies were central to analyzing Heritage language learners' development. Thus, the study considered: (1) teachers' classroom practices, (2) students' motivation or resilience, (3) parents' role and identity, (4) heritage language community's support, and (5) HL learners' verbal narrative language skills.

The study examined teachers, parents, and students to gain their perspectives on language learning; classroom interactions played a major role in understanding the opportunities for learning. First, the practices of four teachers with various experiences who volunteered at the heritage language school to work with mostly first generation Turkish American heritage language learners were analyzed. Second, the elementary age children who attended HL school was the focus of the second part of the study. Their views of their identities, their language proficiency skills, especially their ability to use narratives, and their motivation or resistance towards keeping their heritage language were analyzed. In addition, the study examined parents' role in the language practices of their children and how supportive they were as a community. Finally, language skills of each HL leaner were analyzed.

Overall, this research illuminated how Turkish American heritage language learners kept their HL and what role parents, volunteer teachers, and the Turkish community played in elementary school age learners lived. This research is contributing to our understanding of language and culture and the challenges a unique group, Turkish immigrants, face while living in a host country where the dominant language is different than their heritage language.

Research Method

As is suitable to the nature of this study and the subject matter to be reviewed, a qualitative research approach was implemented. The setting for the research, the goals of the study, and the nature of the subject matter were factors that influenced the selection of methodology.

This study examined the perspectives and experiences of volunteer teachers, students, parents, and the principal at one heritage language school site. The experiences of all the members of the site were examined by looking at their interactions in and out of the classroom. The analysis started with the morning routines before the classes started until all the classes at school were dismissed including parent-teacher interactions in the morning, during the recess times, and at the end of the school day, teacher-student interactions in the classroom and during recess times, and student-parent interactions during recess times. The resources they used at the site to provide heritage language proficiency and cultural reinforcement via extracurricular activities were also part of the analysis.

Data was collected from within the teachers' working environment, a natural setting where events occur (Creswell, 1998). This qualitative methodology was appropriate for an examination of the connections between teachers and students, students and students, teachers and parents at a specific institution which implemented a comprehensive literacy program. The choice of a qualitative study was based on the ability of the researcher to generate a description of a certain event or an understanding of a definite setting or environment (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). This research sought to understand the factors that went into developing a particular group of participants who were members of a heritage language community—(a) volunteer teachers, (b) parents who sent their child/ren to the heritage language school, and (c)

the students who were mostly first-generation heritage language learners. The study provided an understanding of the story behind each participant as well as the role of the heritage language school for a group of immigrants. Qualitative methods were appropriate for research that attempts to recognize and make meaning of specific experiences (Patton, 2003). Therefore, this methodology was utilized with the participants of this study.

Little has been known about the heritage language schools and their programs in Turkish communities in the U.S. The strategies and activities that were implemented in the school site by teachers could be used as a rationale or justification for a specific reform or change (Creswell, 2003) in a qualitative study like this. As a result, the findings of this study may be of interest to both the participants and other heritage language schools. This research sought to understand the dynamics of heritage language classroom interactions and how heritage speakers negotiate their identities within the walls of the school site. Information obtained in this setting may be useful to heritage language schools in discussions about the methods and strategies they use to improve heritage language use.

The subject matter selected for examination also determined the selection of a qualitative approach. This research sought to study the learning environment built by the immigrant community for their heritage language learners in one of the large cities in the USA. It would be complicated to identify all the possible variables that might be identified by teachers or parents because of the vast number of possibilities such as teachers' and parents' role, their identity, students' motivation/ resilience to learn HL, parents' educational background, parents' SES, parents' values and customs they bring into the site through their children.

Case Study Approach

Qualitative methods can be used with any of five specific traditions: biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, or case study (Creswell, 1998). The case study approach was chosen because of the purpose and goals of the research to understand the impact of heritage language schools on the HL maintenance and identity construction of heritage language speakers. Within the case study approach, however, descriptive statistics were used to analyze and interpret students' language skills. By triangulating the research methods, this study benefitted both from qualitative methods and quantitative methods in particular descriptive statistics.

The case study tradition has been used in many similar settings, including education (Taber, 2014). As a result, it is suitable for a study dealing with the experiences of heritage language speakers in a Sunday school. Additionally, this methodology permitted studying a group of individuals who were part of a specific community-- how a Turkish community school for heritage language speakers functioned and produced a curriculum and a system for heritage speakers to maintain their language and identity (Creswell, 1998). To understand the challenges for the participants of this study, and the factors influencing their process of learning case study was appropriate (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). I sought to comprehend what transpired that might enable these children to connect to their heritage language and identity. I tried to determine what factors the parents and teachers themselves thought were influential in learning Turkish as a heritage language and how children saw these factors.

The case study approach was also appropriate given the goals of this study. Case studies value in-depth interviews with study participants (Creswell, 1989). These interviews give the researcher the ability to gain more depth about the details of the leadership practices and

classroom instruction. The opportunity to follow up with participants in the midst of the study allowed the researcher to examine both the *what* and the how of the experience. The study could determine how the teachers and parents connected to the heritage speakers in Sunday school. The data analysis process within the case study tradition also upheld the goals of the study allowing the researcher to recognize themes or clusters of factors that went into the connections among teachers, parents, and students during the data-analysis phase allowed for a further understanding of the experience of these participants.

Data Collection

Suitable data collection and analysis was ensured through the attention given to this particular school. All participants were part of the same school, required for this method of study to be considered suitable (Creswell, 1998). In addition, every effort was made to collect data from members of the research site to help gain a fuller understanding of the case being considered (Creswell, 2003). Careful attention was given to the process of choosing the setting for this research and the method of data collection and analysis.

Selection of Participants

Collection of data began by contacting one of the board members to obtain their assistance in the process of participant selection. Through the pilot study, the teachers and some of the board members were known. They were contacted again to reach parents. Potential parents were invited to participate in the study. An email was delivered to each family member with an explanation of the goals of the study and an invitation to take part in a personal interview lasting between 30 and 40 minutes. Interested parents were invited to review the goals of the study and the consent form.

A follow-up email was sent to all parents who had shown a desire to participate in the study and had signed the consent form. This email confirmed the date, time and location of the interview. Additionally, the email included the interview questions. The questions asked participants to examine and record their experiences and their attitudes towards the maintenance of the Turkish language for their children. Their responses were reviewed prior to the interview. The objective of this process was to provide participants with an additional opportunity for reflection outside of the interview process and provide the opportunity to enlarge upon these issues during the 30-40-minute time frame spent with each family member.

There were also consent forms for children for the interviews and two tasks that were conducted with them. The consent of family members or guardians was taken after the interviews with parents.

Attention was given to fulfilling all the requirements of University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS). Written consent was obtained before a family member participated in the study, and steps were taken to protect each subject's identity. This involved the use of pseudonyms such as "Parent 1," "Parent 2," and "Child 1," "Child 2," and so on. Each participant was told that he or she was free to depart from the study at any point, and an explanation of the data collection and storage process was provided.

Research Context

Data collection for this study had been initiated in September 2017 (Fall semester for Turkish Language School) and was completed in summer 2018. Initial data had been conducted with the teachers at the Turkish Language School in a Midwestern city. Additional observational

data were collected inside the classroom and outside the class (recess time), and interviews with parents and students were conducted; a story retelling task with students followed.

Turkish Language School. The Turkish Heritage Language school in the north side of Chicago served 35 students from preschool to sixth grade during the 2017-2018 academic year. This school was founded in May 1965 with a handful of Turkish immigrants to the Chicago area under the Turkish American Cultural Alliance organization. This school was a non-profit organization operated by parents and volunteers from the Turkish community. There were eight board members who were elected by the Turkish community every two years. The teachers were all volunteers. Most of the time school management tried to assign roles to volunteer parents who had prior teaching experience either in Turkey or in the U.S; however, the school had some parents who were engineers, doctors, or researchers in the past. There were four teachers who were serving three different levels of classes at the school. It was a community-based school; students, teachers, and parents met for only 3 hours every Sunday from 10.00 am to 01.00. Parents waited in the waiting area all three hours while their children had classes in the same building. Students had a chance to see their parents during 10 to 15 minutes of recess. Students were taught Turkish language through Turkish course books that were donated by the Turkish Consulate located in Chicago. Those books were also free for students in Turkish public schools. The students who attended classes were mostly first generation and some of them were second generation Turkish American. When placing students into a particular class, the teachers paid attention to heritage language proficiency of the children but not their grade levels in their regular schools

1st classroom. The first classroom had students from 1st grade to 4th grade. There was a total of 11 students. In this class students either attended the school in the previous years or had

higher levels of heritage language proficiency compared to students in the 2nd class. The teacher used a textbook which was provided by the Turkish government through the Turkish consulate in the area. The teacher was also flexible with using authentic materials depending on the needs of the class. The tentative curriculum was used during the semester and the pace of the instruction was determined according to the students.

2nd classroom. The teacher in the second classroom had also agreed to be interviewed but not observed for the study. Her classroom included students who had a lower level of heritage language proficiency. There were 8 currently enrolled students in this class. During both recess times, students in the first and second class met at the playground together.

Participants

Students. Nineteen students were currently enrolled in class 1 and 2 at the school. Eleven students were enrolled in the first class; six females and four males. Eight students were enrolled in the second class; five females and three males. There were two sets of siblings in the first class. All the students attended American schools on weekdays.

Parents. All the parents (either mother or father) who brought their children to school participated in the study at least one parent per family. Every family had one first-generation Turkish immigrant either father or mother. Apart from one family who included a first-generation Turkish immigrant father and mother, most of the other partners were Latino/a or white. The age range of the parents varied: The youngest parents were in their thirties and the oldest parents were in their sixties.

Teachers. All the teachers at the school including first classroom teacher, second classroom teacher, and two kindergarten teachers attended the study. They all participated in the structured interviews but I only observed the first classroom teacher for my study. The teacher in

the first class was a female native Turkish speaker. She had been living in the U.S. for fifteen years. She taught 1st class before at the Turkish heritage language school five years ago for three years. The teacher in the second class was a native Turkish speaker as well and she came to the U.S. one year ago with her husband. She had a degree in dentistry from Turkey and had never taught Turkish before in Turkey nor in the U.S. The two kindergarten teachers were also native Turkish speakers. One of them came to the U.S. two years ago and the other one arrived in the U.S. one year ago at the time of the data collection. Both of them came because of their husband's job-related issues. They didn't have any experience in teaching Turkish.

Board Members. This school was a non-profit organization run by volunteers. There were eight board members of the school and they were not paid. They were chosen by the Turkish American community every two years so there was not one principal board member. All the board members made the decisions together regarding any school related issues. Only, one of the board members was interviewed to understand the school management's point of view about the school.

Data Collection: Sources and Procedures

Observations in the classroom. I started observing the classroom activities and recess times of the school from October 2017 to December 2017 for a pilot study (12 weeks). I continued my observations during the spring semester of the school from January 2018 to May 2018 (16 weeks). Every Sunday from 10:00 am to 01:00 pm, all the classroom interactions were observed and field notes were taken. The photos of the classroom products/artifacts were taken as well.

Observations during the recess times and school activities. Recess times and school's activities were examined; most of the students were using English with their peers instead of

Turkish. I observed during recess at school for 28 weeks to learn about their language choices and proficiencies. I took field notes while observing students during recess. There were eleven students in the first class; I focused on two to three different students every week. In my field notes, I divided my notes into Turkish and English usage for each student. The school organized three school wide activities during the 2017-2018 academic year. The first one was October 29 Republican Day, the second one was the anniversary of the death of the founder of Turkey, and the last one was the end of the school day celebrations and certificate ceremony with a barbecue for parents. Field notes were taken during the activities by observing the family interactions, students' interactions, board members' and teachers' interactions.

Interview with teachers. There were four teachers at the school and all the teachers were interviewed during the first two weeks of the school in October. First and second-class teachers were interviewed in the first week after the school ended. The kindergarten teachers were interviewed in the second week of the school after the classes were over as well. The interviews took 30-40 minutes depending on the teachers. All the interviews were completed before the students' levels were all finalized. During the interviews, I started with demographic questions such as age, family, residency and educational background; these were followed up with professional questions about the curriculum they were planning to use and their teaching styles. The interviews with the teachers guided me in advance during the 28 weeks of data collection to gain an overview of the school and the materials/activities they were planning to use.

Interview with students. Eleven students participated in one semi-structured, open ended interview with me individually. The interview questions were both in English and in Turkish. I encouraged the students to use Turkish but depending on the students' preferences, I let them use whatever language they were comfortable with. The interviews were about 20-25

minutes in length. The interviews that were conducted in Turkish were transcribed in Turkish and translated to English and analyzed later. Two students were interviewed in the thirteenth week of the second semester. The interviews with the rest of the students were conducted during the summer time after arranging times with their parents at the school premises or at a Public library under their parents' approval and guidance. The interview protocol was included in Appendix D.

Video-taping of students' story retelling task. The second task with children was to conduct an oral narrative task on a well-known children's story. Their individual responses were video-taped. The videos were analyzed by focusing on the use of evidentiality in Turkish while retelling the story. A Power-point with colored photos of scenes from "Little Red Riding Hood" was used to prompt students to retell the story orally. Students sat in front of a laptop and retold the story by looking at the photos one by one. This task was conducted with them right after the student interviews, which occurred during the summer of 2018.

Interview with board member. There were seven board members who were responsible for the school's issues. All the members were contacted through email and were asked if they agreed to be interviewed. Three of the members wanted to see the questions before they made their decision. I sent the questions to all of them. After they read them, they said only one of the board members would join the interview. They said that their answers would be the same so there was no need for every board member to participate in the interview. One interview was conducted with one member in the third week of the school. He was a native Turkish speaker who had been living in the U.S for thirty years. The interview was in English and audio-recorded.

Interview with parents. The parents of eleven students participated in one semi structured, open ended interview. There were seven parts to the interview questions based on the following themes: immigration story, parents' education and labor background, family language and literacy practices, customs/traditions, and plans for children's future education. The interviews with each parent/guardian took 50-60 minutes depending on the parents' preference and availability. The interviews were audio-recorded. The language of the interviews was decided by the parents either in Turkish or English. Turkish interviews were initially transcribed and then were translated into English (see Appendix C). One interview was conducted with one of the parents in the fourteenth week of the second semester and took 55 minutes. The rest of the interviews were conducted during summer 2018. Interviews were scheduled at a time that was convenient for the parents. The interviews took place in an office within the school building, with each session being audio taped to guarantee accuracy of records, permitting me to focus on the parent and his or her responses.

Ethical Considerations

Attention was given to follow all guidelines put forth by the OPRS at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC). With that in mind, there were several steps taken to make certain that the privacy of study participants was protected (Locke, Spriduso, & Silverman, 2000). A protocol of informed consent was followed to make sure that participants were protected. This included getting permission from the OPRS prior to beginning any process of collecting data. Parents and children who were invited to take part were notified orally and in writing about the goals of the study as well as the data collection, analysis, and storage methods that were used in the study. Prior to conducting an interview, every participant was asked to sign a consent form signifying his or her desire to be included in the study (see Appendix B).

Additionally, each participant was informed of his or her right to withdraw from the study at any time. Participants were also notified that they could review the written transcript from their interview and at that point make any helpful statements they felt were reasonable. Consideration was taken to inform participants about the process of data collection, security, and storage. In this case, the recordings from the interviews and transcriptions were stored in a locked filing cabinet in the office of the researcher. Recordings from video tapes for the oral narrative activity with children were kept in the same cabinet with interview data. During this period of time, the records were available for inspection and copying by individuals who had been authorized by the institution sponsoring the research.

Role of the Researcher

In terms of having a reliable case study, it is crucial to express the researcher's positionality (Merriam, 1998). Takacs (2002) points out that "understanding positionality means understanding where you stand with respect to power, an essential skill for social change agents" (p. 169). The concept of this dissertation come from my own experiences and my exposure to Turkish Heritage language speakers within the communities I have been in. As a six-year resident of the United States at the time of research, I could understand the desire of the parents to maintain HL and to preserve the cultural identity of their children through language learning. I became specifically interested in this topic through my own experience in teaching Turkish in the Linguistics department through Less Commonly Taught Languages Program (LCTL) from August 2014 to August 2015 at UIUC. This was the academic year I had the chance to meet adult heritage speakers of Turkish in my classes at the college level. I wondered about the reasons students in my classrooms waited for so long to learn their heritage language, and thought about the ways these students could be exposed to HL more in the early ages of their

life. This inquiry took me to the point where I conducted several small case studies with parents and their first-generation Turkish American children. I also searched for Heritage language schools nearby in the Midwest and contacted some teachers to observe the practices of HL school.

In the recent research site for my dissertation, the interviews with parents, students, teachers, and even with board members were challenging to talk about myself and my presuppositions, choices, experiences, and actions during the data collection at the research site.

The topic that I was working on was related to personal experience and the community that I was studying was my own community to which I belonged as an immigrant like my parent participants. I was raised with Atatürk principles starting from early kindergarten years. The ideologies of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk shaped me in terms of my own perspectives and how I looked at the world. Nationalism was one of the principles I adopted through the poems on Ataturk, national anthem that we sang every morning in school as a child, national holidays and how and why we should embrace the principles and values Ataturk wanted us to fulfill. Heritage language school where I conducted my research also adopted Ataturk principles and I felt my voice was heard in a weekend school in an English-speaking city and I was sharing similar concerns for the future of children at school with teachers and parents. There were three different realities in the research site. First of all, parents' existence at the school from the first class until the end of school every Sunday was very different from the structure of the regular weekly schools of the children. While parents left their children early in the morning and picked them up after the classes were over in mainstream schools, parents stayed and waited at HL school from early morning till the end. Secondly, students' interaction with each other during the class time and recess time were an 'existing reality' - the school was standing in a city where the dominant

language was different than the home language. I drew an overall picture of the HL school by looking at these realities of the research site.

Data Verification and Analysis

An important factor in the data-analysis portion of a qualitative study is that the researcher is the primary source for data collection. As a result, I made every attempt to limit the impact of any bias that may exist. The direct involvement of the researcher in the data collection and analysis is one of the key challenges of qualitative research (Creswell, 2003), so steps must be taken to limit the impact. This was accomplished through a process wherein the study participants were allowed to review and clarify transcripts from the interviews and statements made during data collection.

In an attempt to limit any bias in this study, each participant was given the opportunity to review the record from his or her interview and made any statements or clarifications deemed appropriate. Additionally, attempts were made to confirm data by triangulating through multiple sources, rather than relying only on parent and student interviews. Particularly, this involved several sources: inviting participants to include any records or artifacts that they felt spoke to their experience, reviewing academic records or scores with teachers, and/or exploring journals in conjunction with the study participants.

The process of analyzing data in qualitative research is to divide information into as many categories as appropriate (Jacob, 1987). The objective of this process is to identify themes from the frame of reference of the study participants and then to attempt to explain these patterns (Creswell, 2003) or understand the essence of their experience (Creswell, 1998). In order to accomplish these goals, the method of data analysis implemented in this research involved the use of coding.

Moustakeas (1994) states that data should initially be divided into statements in a process known as horizontalization. This allows for categories of data to be developed where responses are clustered together to create themes within the data. From these clusters, I sought to develop two distinct categories of data; one textural, dealing with the *what*, and the other structural, dealing with the *how* of the experience.

The process of analyzing quantitative data includes independent variables and case markers in Turkish. While coding the data, each case marker and TAM markers were coded according to the number of morphemes, omission and presence of the morphemes, accuracy of the morphemes in the sentence. I also looked at code switching or code mixing (CS/CM) for each sentence the participants spoke. However, I only coded CS/CM depending on whether only Turkish, only English or Turkish and English were used. I applied the same coding method for complete sentences or fragments. The last part was coded according to whether the sentences each participant spoke was a full sentence with subject-verb-object complement or just fragments including only verbs or subjects or sometimes only adjectives. For coding criteria. each case marker and TAM marker were evaluated by including control variables. Heritage speakers' age, heritage speakers' Turkish schooling duration, dominant home language, and lastly frequency of heritage speakers' vacation time in Turkey were used.

In this case, this involved distinguishing between the actual experiences of what happened to the parents and students and how they thought that they were experiencing their heritage language learning. Since the case study approach to qualitative research was being utilized in this study with the help of using descriptive statistics, I sought to develop codes for the data through a process of reading and rereading the participants' transcripts. A post-hoc approach to the data analysis process was used to gain an understanding of the occurrence.

Through several readings of the data, I reflected on and reviewed the responses of the individual participants in an attempt to create codes for similar experiences and to determine if they were textural or structural in nature, with the goal of dividing the codes into various categories such as teaching Turkish when they were taught, parental pressure influencing instruction. The overall purpose of the coding process utilized was to gain an understanding of the essence of the experience of the study participants (Creswell, 1998). The data analysis was directly connected to the research questions, with coding occurring in relationship to each research question, identifying patterns found within the data.

CHAPTER 4: BICULTURAL IDENTITIES OF PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR LANGUAGE CHOICES: WHOLE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

This chapter shares the findings regarding the participants' language choices, how they interpret their identity as a Turkish American community, and lastly discusses how the participants build a school community. This chapter is crucial since these participants' views on which language they prefer to use and how their identities are shaped enlighten the analysis in the next chapter. The findings in this chapter are discussed under two main topics: Bicultural identities and language choices. First, I will give a brief description of the whole school community and the physical place. Second, I will talk about the bicultural identities of all participants starting with teachers, parents, students, and administration. Third, my discussion will be focused on the language choices of the same participants at school and also in their daily lives. This chapter answers two of the research questions of the overall study:

1. How do parents' ideas and values influence students' attitudes at school?
2. How do teachers play a role in influencing students' attitudes toward learning heritage language and their skills?

Whole School Community

This special Turkish Heritage Language school was at the north side of Chicago with 35 students from preschool to sixth grade and 4 teachers. Sunday complementary school was founded in May 1965 with a handful of Turkish immigrants in Chicago area under Turkish American Cultural Alliance organization. This school was established by a non-profit organization operated with the support of parents. There were 7 board members who were elected by the Turkish community every two years. Teachers who worked there are all volunteers. There were recently 4 teachers who were serving for 3 three different levels of

classes at school. It was a community-based school; students, teachers, and parents met for only 3 hours every Sunday from 10.00 to 01.00 . Parents waited in the waiting area all three hours while their children have classes in the same building. Students had a chance to see their parents during 10 to 15 minutes recess times. Students were taught Turkish language through Turkish course books that were donated by Turkish consulate located in Chicago. Those books were also free for Turkish students in Turkey public schools.

To meet students' needs and parents' expectations, teachers used different instructional strategies in classes. For the schools' mission, cultural transmission was also very essential besides learning Turkish language. Therefore, school board members and teachers tried to develop students' appreciation for and knowledge of Turkish traditions and culture. To make that happen, they held ceremonies and celebrations at the school on Turkish national and religious holidays.

Physically the school looks like a little different from regular schools because there was no garden and playing area outside the building. In addition, there was one library but it was only to borrow books for students not to spend time and study in it. There were three regular classrooms with white boards, desks and chairs for students. The kindergarten classroom was actually a prayer room where community members visited and prayed on special days. That room was used for preschool students on Sundays because it was fully covered with carpets and it was more spacey for students to play around with guided activities by teachers.

It was a rich research site in terms of seeing all the community members under one roof at the same time. While parents were spending some time with other Turkish parents in the waiting area, teachers and students were engaged in classrooms to learn Turkish language and culture. When you entered the building, the waiting area for parents was on the right side of the

entrance. There was one flat screen TV which was always broadcasting with some Turkish satellite channels or Turkish music channels. There was one big coffee machine for coffee lovers and a Turkish tea for the fans and a refrigerator near TV. In the center of the room there was one large dinner table for parents to sit around. That table was always full with various kinds of Turkish dishes brought by parents every week. On the left side of the entrance door, there was library which was full of course books, novels, readers for students with one computer and chair for the librarian. There was one long corridor separating the parents' waiting area and extracurricular area from 3 classes and kitchen on the left. The prayer room that was used for preschoolers on Sundays was at the end of the corridor. The following table was shared to visualize the school.

Figure 2

School's Bird-View Map

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Kindergarten class (prayer room)
Mrs. Emel and Mrs. Lale</td><td rowspan="2">Extracurricular Activity Area</td></tr>
<tr><td>Class 3</td><td rowspan="5">Corridor

Entrance</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kitchen</td><td rowspan="2">Extracurricular Activity Area</td></tr>
<tr><td>Class 1

Mrs. Gamze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Class

Mrs. Melek</td><td rowspan="2">Coffee Machine Refrigerator TV

Sofa Big table Sofa

Sofa

Parents' Waiting Area</td></tr>
<tr><td>Library</td></tr>
</table>

The teachers believed that a joyful learning environment motivated student to learn. Teachers emphasized that they were responsible for encouraging students; however, they also mentioned how parental involvement was essential for heritage language students' language abilities in the long run.

The school's learning environment also supported and shaped parental involvement. As Figure 2 showed, there was a large waiting room for parents at school. Parents all stayed and waited for three hours in that room. They also benefitted from two fifteen minutes recess times to talk to teachers about their children. Not only did parents come to the classrooms during the breaks and talked to teachers, but also teachers went and saw some families if there was an emergent issue to resolve with parents.

Teachers: Immigrating to an English-Speaking Country and Teaching their Native Language

A total of four Turkish immigrant teachers (4 females between 26 and 35 years old) participated in the research. Their pseudonyms are Sibel (Level 2), Leyla (Level 1), Arzu (Kindergarten), and Cigdem (Kindergarten). Teacher participants were all born in Turkey and immigrated after they completed either their bachelors' degrees or their masters' degrees. Teachers' identities were well-developed way before they started their new lives in the U.S.

The desire to use and teach Turkish came naturally to these teachers because of their backgrounds. Even though there were some different ideological notions among these teachers in terms of the amount of exposure to Turkish they provided in their individual classrooms, most of them expressed that Turkish identity should be a priority at this Turkish complementary school in Chicago. The level 1 teacher shared her feelings on Turkish identity in the following quote during her interview:

> Personally, I prefer my students to embrace Turkish identity as much as they do for American identity. They should know that their ancestors, grandparents are from Anatolia where the richness of culture is way older than American culture. There are a lot of things to teach to my students. (10.31.17)
>
> Kisisel olarak, ogrencilerimin Amerikan kulturunu benimsedikleri kadar Turk kulturunu de benimsemelerini tercih ederim. Atalarinin ve büyükbaba ve büyükannelerinin Anadolu adinda kültürel zenginlik acisindan cok daha zengin olan bir bölgeden geldiklerini bilmeliler. Onlara öğretecek o kadar cok sey var ki. (10.31.17)

Accepting and adopting Turkish identity while being born and raised in the U.S., the teacher emphasized the importance of being Turkish. The urge to compare Turkish and American culture did not convey a mixed-identity. Instead, three out of four teachers identified as Turkish. Only one teacher who had been living in the U.S. for 15 years said she was Turkish American. This tendency was shown in the response of one of the Kindergarten teachers:

> Interviewer: If I were to ask you to identify yourself culturally, how would you finish this sentence? I am_____.
>
> Leyla: Kesinlikle tam bir Turkum. I am Turkish for sure. [Author's translation] (10.31.17)

On the other hand, a teacher who identified herself as Turkish American reported a mixed-identity in which she thought she carried the identity of her own land of origin and the United States. In the following response of Sibel we see that she had adopted an American identity as well:

Interviewer: If I were to ask you to identify yourself culturally, how would you finish this sentence? I am_____.

Sibel teacher: I still listen to Turkish music; I often cook Turkish food for family. I also love my accessories or outfits from Turkey. However, the way I communicate and interact with other people and the way how I appreciate the concept of personal space make me American as well. (10.31.17)

In general, recently immigrated teachers were less concerned with Turkish cultural transmission to Turkish American children than Sibel who had been living in the U.S. for thirteen years. They thought that keeping Turkish culture could be difficult since the children were all born in the U.S. and they attended English speaking elementary schools. According to them, having students in this complementary Sunday community school would be enough for children to embrace Turkish culture since they participated in cultural activities of the school throughout the year and were exposed to traditions or customs of the parents who waited at school during instruction. However, Sibel expressed her feelings wholeheartedly:

As a mother of two Turkish heritage speakers and as a teacher of full of Turkish heritage students at school, I make sure that children around me raise awareness on how Turkish culture is essential for them to keep. I know that we may not speak it all the time but the culture itself is part of who we are so we should do our best as Turkish community and me myself as a teacher to make Turkish culture visible for the children. (10.31.17)

It was clear that there was a divide amongst the teachers of the community at Sunday language and culture school according to the time spent in the States. Sibel, who had been living

in the United States for 13 years, identified more closely with both Turkish and American culture than the recently immigrated ones who have been living in the United States for only 2 years. Kindergarten teachers' case were slightly different from level teachers because the student population they had were under the age of seven and were the students who couldn't write in Turkish except for few basic words. Not only were students very young but also their exposure to the Turkish in school was less than their older sisters and brothers. Teachers used more hands-on activities, class projects, games or songs to convey Turkish culture. However, teachers were aware of the fact that the resources to teach Turkish culture were limited. The following quote pinpoints how kindergarten teachers interpreted the situation:

> Our children need to like Turkish language first. If we integrate activities related to Turkish culture into our program, they can get lost or they can easily get bored because of their age. We do our best to teach the ways we as Turkish people greet our elder people or the ways how call each other. I think our school does a good job with ceremonies or celebrations they arrange during the year. So, students can get involved and are exposed to Turkish culture. (10.31.17)

Both kindergarten teachers relied on school activities rather than their classroom activities to teach Turkish culture. These teachers' students were more vulnerable and more emotional than the other level class students. During the year, they often missed their parents and got distracted from the classroom activities even though their parents were in the waiting room in the same building.

A major way of being exposed to Turkish culture in the form of the dominant religion, for the kindergarten students was a special classroom used as a mosque during the week days. People in the Turkish community sometimes prayed in that room apart from Sundays during the

academic year. The design of the room resembled a mosque and the color of the walls and the carpets carried some cultural patterns belonging to Turkey. Even though the children were not using the room for religious purposes, they saw how it looked whenever they had a class there. Mrs. Leyla in the Kindergarten classroom shared the reason why they used that classroom during her interview:

> First of all, in the school there is no other classroom that will fit 25 students into it. Other than that, this room is the only room with carpets in it. These children go to day care during the day and they get used to playing on carpets. We need to make them as comfortable as possible to make them like Turkish. (10.31.17)

Teachers wanted to make students feel attached to the Sunday complementary school activities. They thought that if students felt a kind of belonging to school, their Turkish identity could be influenced in a positive way. Arzu, another kindergarten teacher, offered a different view on students' identities. She believed it was too early for them to have an established sense of identity. She shared the following views:

> I can't say that these children are either Turkish or American. They could be Turkish American as well. However, the attitude of parents towards keeping Turkish culture, their exposure to the culture in the following years will determine in which direction they will go into. (10.31.17)

It is obvious that this kindergarten teacher believed that families were the ones who shaped their children's identities. This specific teacher emphasized the possibility of being caught between both cultures in the future.

To sum up, the majority of teachers in Sunday complementary school believed that Turkish culture should be a priority. With the activities, ceremonies at school and most

importantly, with the help of parents this goal could be achieved. Three out of four teachers identified themselves as Turkish. Only one teacher called herself Turkish-American.

Parents: Bicultural Identities

To understand how the parents of first-generation Turkish heritage children saw themselves in terms of their own identity, 11 parents of students who were in level 2 were interviewed. The average time for the parents who had been living in the U.S was 20 years. The amount of time spent as an immigrant ranged from 10 years to 64 years. From the parents' identity accounts as elicited by the interview, four types of identity emerged:

1. Turkish only
2. TA: Turkish American
3. TX: Turkish and X (father's or mother's ethnicity other than American)
4. American only

These identity representations showed us how they interpreted their identities. When the question of "how do you identify yourself ethnically and racially?" was asked, some mothers or fathers said they were Turkish even though they had been living in the States for fifteen years and had American citizenship as well. On the other hand, some of them called themselves Turkish American. Interestingly, 8 parents out of 11 identified themselves as Turkish even though they had been living in the U.S for more than 10 years and they all had American citizenship. One of the mothers whose name was Zeynep stated the following while responding to the question of how she identified herself:

> I came here 19 years ago. I was 18 years old at the time and I arrived here after I got married to an American guy. I was an intern at an American base in Adana,

Turkey. I was exposed American culture before coming here. I like living in the U.S.; however, I am originally Turkish and this will never change. (02.14.18)

There were five couples who were both Turkish and they were all born in Turkey. There was one Guatemalan father and one Mexican American mother. These parents had American citizenship and they are American but they were born in a country other than U.S. before they immigrated. There were three American mothers and one American father among the parents. These numbers show us the potential and the possibility of using both languages and ultimately being exposed to both cultures through the identity of parents.

Bilingual Families

The parents who had two different language backgrounds will be discussed under this category. There were 6 families that fit into this definition. These families created opportunities for their children to be exposed to two or sometimes three languages. The following chart demonstrates the diversity among families' languages and the number of languages spoken among family members:

Table 2

Parents' Diversity

	Husband & Wife Original Nationality		Languages spoken among family members
Couple 1	Mother: Turkish	Father: Guatemalan	Turkish, Spanish, English
Couple 2	Mother: American	Father: Turkish	Turkish and English
Couple 3	Mother: Turkish	Father: American	Turkish and English
Couple 4	Mother: American Turkish	Father: Bulgarian	Turkish and English
Couple 5	Mother: Mexican	Father: Turkish	Turkish, English, and Spanish
Couple 6	Mother: American	Father: Turkish	Turkish and English

Turkish American Moms:

Zeynep (Age, 37 Turkish): Leman's mother

Zeynep was married to a Guatemalan husband and the languages spoken at home were Spanish, Turkish and English. Although she had been in the states for 19 years, she identified herself initially as Turkish. She mostly spoke Turkish to her children and her husband spoke Spanish to their children. Their children learned and used English during their weekly mainstream English at school. Leman had attended Community school since the age of 4. When the research was conducted, Leman was 8 years old and she stated the following to express how she identified herself:

> I think I am Turkish. Maybe not. At school I mean in my other school (mainstream elementary school) I am American but I am Turkish when I come here or go to parties with my mom. (02.21.18)

Leman's younger brother hadn't started attending the school because he was only two years old. Zeynep's following comments showed her notion that Turkish language proficiency was necessary if one wanted to become a part of Turkish community ultimately. She also showed evidence of her sense of obligation about passing Turkish heritage on to her children:

> Besides being American and Guatemalan, my children have Turkish blood after all. I mean if they are part of my Turkish heritage, they should feel, learn Turkish language very well. I do not want them to speak only English or Spanish. (02.21.18)

Zeynep's strong belief in the connection between Turkish language and embracing Turkish identity pointed out that language was key to claim yourself as Turkish.

It appeared that the more value she put on Turkish the more responsibility she felt to pass her HL to the next generation--her own daughter and son. She also acknowledged the social status of Turkish in the States as high as American English, which might mirror the status of the people in Sunday complementary school.

Turkish American Fathers

Vedat (Age 63, Turkish-American): Twin's father

Vedat had been married to Melissa for twenty years and they speak mostly in Turkish at home even though the twin's mother was white and born in the US. The reason why children spoke Turkish most of the time was the presence of their monolingual Turkish grandmother. During the interview, Vedat indicated that his own mother arrived at their house in Chicago once the twins were born and she never left except for three months every year. Vedat identified himself as Turkish American and wanted his children to adopt Turkish culture. The twin boys had been using English during their weekly elementary school and with their mothers. Their mother Melissa did not know Turkish so the children did not try and speak in Turkish with her. Vedat shared his ideology during the interview:

> Well, I am proud of my heritage in my own way, you know. I was born and raised in Turkey. I came to the U.S. for educational purposes and stayed here. I have been missing my country the day I started living here since 1976. I also want my children to see Turkey as I see myself. That's why, I brought my mother right by me to make sure that they listen Turkish culture from her as well and embrace it. (04.15.18)

This admiration for Turkish culture created more environments for the twins to see cultural practices in this family. One of the interview questions for parents was asking whether

families attended the ceremonies the Turkish community arranged during the year or they celebrated Turkish Religious holidays in their home setting etc. Vedat said:

> We never miss any ceremony. Melissa also supports the children to be involved in Turkish events or ceremonies. Most of the time I do not have enough time to drive them but Melissa does. She even started attending Turkish classes for adults this semester. (04.15.18)

Each parent invested time for their children's biliteracy and biculturalism. One example was their commitment to attend the four different National Day ceremonies and two religious day celebrations in a year. Vedat and Melissa said that they took their twins to activities such as poetry nights, and speakers from Turkey nights arranged by the school collaboration with Turkish American Cultural Alliance of Chicago. They took them to as many as possible to help them meet more Turkish speaking people and learn from them about Turkish culture.

American Father or Mothers

Jacob (Age 48, American) Little twin's father. Jacob had been married to Selen for ten years and they had two daughters at the age of 7. They were lab specialists working for a non-profit organization in the Chicago area. Selen had been living in the States for 16 years. She came here for her post-doctoral position and then decided to stay. They used both English and Turkish with their children. Jacob and Selen worked collaboratively to improve their children's language skills. They were aware of the fact that being bilingual had many benefits for the learner. Selen provided their perspective during the interview:

> I made my research. I learnt that working memory of bilinguals are better than monolinguals. I also read that critical thinking skills of them will be improved as long as they are learning two languages simultaneously. I find this very exciting. I

> also learnt that learning a second language will diminish the risk of Alzheimer for adults. I know this is something beneficial for me (laugh). We also read research on Turkish American children to get some ideas or methods to use. (03.15.18)

This statement indicated that this family relied on research to provide more resources for their children. As parents, they also tried to find a bridge between two cultures to have their children embrace both cultures. Jacob mentioned that Selen was organizing some events for their children's American and Turkish friends. Those events could be either only for Turkish friends or only for American friends. They also mentioned that when they kept these events separate their children were exposed to the language of the event more. Jacob said that he also started hosting events for both cultures in their home. He pointed out the following during his interview:

> At the beginning before I knew nothing about the benefits of being bilingual, I wanted my children to learn Turkish for the sake of their mother, to make her happy and to show my appreciation. However, I learned a lot during those events we organized on Turkish culture. For example, I love how rich and diverse the Turkish kitchen is. Every food could be related to some music as well. (03.15.18)

It was obvious from what Jacob shared that both cultural identification and the perceived image of self by his family had influenced how he thought about his identity. Jacob and Selen frequently brought their children to cultural activities at this Sunday complementary school. In one of the events for April 23rd Children's Day, Selen and Jacob's children were dancing in the folklore team for the show. There were hundreds of Turkish American guests and 12 children performed one of folklore dances from Black Sea region in Turkey. After the show, I asked the parents how they felt and Jacob said.

We are proud of our children. Look how happy they are. This was amazing. We should let them take some private folklore dancing lessons or something. What do you think Selen? (03.15.18)

In addition to supporting their children's speaking skills in both languages, this family adopted the idea that language and culture were developed together and influenced each other as they evolved. The homologous relationship of culture and language was appreciated in this family.

Americanization in Turkish Heritage Speakers

Each family described their children's identity in different ways. Five out of eleven parents have both Turkish mothers and fathers. These families were all born in Turkey and moved to U.S. when they were adults; they had their children after they started a new life in the States. The rest of the families had either American mothers or fathers. The demographics and the number of languages spoken at home differed for the two groups. Two out of eleven families spoke only Turkish at home. The rest of them used English, Turkish, and Spanish with their children. The following chart shows the demographics of the parents:

Table 3

Nationality Rates

Turkish Mother	Turkish Father	American Mother	American Father	Other Nationalities	Both Turkish couples	Mixed Nationality Couples
7	9	3	1	2	5	6

Parents at Sunday complementary school shared some common concerns in terms of not being able to interact with their Turkish relatives in Turkey. They said that their children needed

to learn how to talk to their elders, and how to behave during some Turkish national or religious days. Some of them had also developed some fear for the cultural future of their generation. One of the Turkish American fathers whose wife was Mexican American shared the following:

> Last summer I took my two sons to see my mother and father in Turkey. They are very old you know. They can't travel for long hours. They don't know English either. My mom asked my youngest son if he wanted to taste one of my mom's signature Black sea region pastry. But my son didn't eat it and that made my mom very sad. (03.27.18)

In this one instance, there was a clash between two generations in which they did not know their languages. The children did not understand why refusing someone's, especially grandmother's food, was rude in Turkish culture. The father felt guilty when his mother got upset because he thought that it was his mistake. This father associated Turkishness with ethnic identity. He wanted his sons to comprehend and hopefully embrace the cultural norms represented in his old daily life, and his ancestral background or heritage. However, his children were born in the States and were not used to the norms of Turkish culture as their father was. Another family couple whose children attended Sunday complementary school shared some concerns regarding their children's identity. Ethem and his wife Guler expressed some examples of why they thought that their children acted like Americans in some cases or situations. They had two daughters, one of them was 5 and the other one was 8 years old. They said that their daughters were requesting many changes in their bedrooms recently. For example:

> Last Friday I arranged the dinner table and wanted my daughters to help with that. I rushed into their room but both of them, especially my older daughter, were

reacting interestingly. Omer said that "Why didn't you knock the door? Didn't you see the sign on the door? (03.18.18)

This was a good example of how the children in this family embraced one of the known traits of Americans--personal space. These children were attending English only elementary schools and they had lots of American friends. The idea of privacy was being seen and accepted by these little girls and it was causing a miscommunication among family members.

Ilayda's mother also shared a similar instance regarding her daughter. Her daughter, Ilayda, was fragile when it came to her belongings. She was the sole authority to design her room. Her parents confirmed that she was very insistent on choosing the colors for her room's wall. Once their daughter said, "Please respect my choices!" when the parents wanted purple for the wall color. The idea of *privacy* and *children's rights* were some of the American identity attributes. Furthermore, the parents mentioned that their children were raised with American values since they went to an American school with American friends. The Americanness the children had were related to the school practices, extracurricular activities according to the parents. One of the parents said that their children had gained self-esteem at very early ages because they said that they could speak up if they thought that there was something wrong in the classroom or at school. The same parent shared her opinion on decision making and added that this was relatively different in Turkish culture. In Turkish family traditions, it is a known fact that children's voices are heard only if when they reach the age of 18 or more in the family. Until that point, the children in the families only obey the rules or respect the decisions of their parents. The decisions were made with the parents' or the grandparents' choices. Even if some families ask children's opinions, it is just for the sake of asking not for changing the ultimate decisions.

Uzay and his wife had different concerns in terms of Turkish identity and Americanization. According to them, national identity was the key to make sure that their children may want to carry Turkish identity voluntarily. They did not want Turkishness to become a rigid concept setting the boundaries regarding who and what should be included. During the interview with Uzay, he shared why he had been sending his children to Sunday complementary school every Sunday for the last three years.

> Being Turkish means knowing Ataturk principles, Turkish National anthem, and the history of Turkish Republic. I hope this school teaches all of these to my children. I do my best to practice these with them but they memorized American national anthem already. Now whenever I say let's practice Turkish anthem, they find some excuses in order not to. (04.10.18)

This showed that these children were already immersed into American culture. Their acceptance of American values created some problems in terms of introducing Turkish values to the children. Even though they were exposed to Turkish national identity to some extent in Sunday complementary school, it seemed like it was taking time to see a simultaneous improvement in both languages.

To summarize, the parent's children all carried some bicultural identities. Children saw their parents' expectations and acted accordingly; they also felt American in some specific situations. Parents were sure that sending their children to Sunday complementary school would benefit them a lot even though their children were suspicious.

Students: American with American friends and Turkish with Turkish friends

These Turkish heritage speakers were experiencing two cultures at the same time. During the week, most of the time they spent their time with their English-speaking American friends at

school. On the other hand, they occasionally came into contact with their Turkish-speaking relatives or cousins via Skype or Facetime. They adapted to the language, values and behaviors of the mainstream culture while maintaining or improving their heritage language, values and behaviors of the heritage culture. The profiles of these students could be divided into three: bicultural ones, more American ones, and more Turkish ones. In order to reveal culture and see how these categories could be defined, I observed the children's play and classroom activities. The interviews with students gave me an idea about the personal stories of their families. In one of the interviews, one of the children, Dogan, was making a comparison between her regular school and Sunday complementary school in terms of her friends.

> In my weekday school we do more carpet activities. Here we do not have even a carpet. Here we learn history every day. Can you tell me why? (03.04.18)

The activities she mentioned here were part of the American education system. Many elementary classrooms in the U.S., especially for K-4, have an area where there is a carpet in which the teacher introduces a new topic for the whole class. On the other hand, the classroom Dogan attended in Sunday complementary school had only desks and chairs where students faced the teacher. The student saw the need to compare her two different schools, each shaping her identity in educational environments. She completed her reaction by saying the following:

> We always sit on our chairs here but in my weekday school our classroom teacher lets us move for different activities all the time. I like it there, not here. (04.05.2018)

She felt closer to American school culture where she found more attractive activities in an English-speaking environment.

Leman was another student who shared her experiences with two cultures. When I asked her if she felt comfortable with her Turkish friends in Turkey, she mentioned some instances. During one of her summer visits to Turkey, she had visited with her seven cousins, who were almost the same age as Leman, in Turkey. Her 8-10 years old cousins were waiting for her visits every summer to be able to talk in English. However, her cousins tried to talk with her with their limited English, but then they started using Turkish among themselves. She shared her feelings by saying this:

> I feel like an outsider when they start talking in Turkish. I understand some of them but not all of it. Also, the way they talk to each other makes me uncomfortable because I don't understand their jokes. (04.15.18)

The jokes made in different languages could convey different messages. Turkish language has numerous ironies, satire examples. There are nonverbal ironies and conversational ironies. Considering all of these, what this student experienced was naturally challenging for Leman. Her cousins' use of language was not limited to vocabulary and grammatical skills, in contrast to Turkish language classes in the Sunday school. Since they were living in the culture, their perceptions and world views affected what they saw or heard as an irony, and differed from Leman's experience. The following example illustrates figurative language in Turkish.

> My elderly cousin and I were swimming in a pool. At some point I was tired and wanted to get rest. I also made a comment on the facility we were in. My cousin told me "Burnundan yanina varilmiyor." I thought he said that my nose was too big. I stopped talking to him and left him alone. However, I learned that he meant I was very conceited. (04.15.18)

Here we saw an example of the cultural differences playing a big role in relationships. Leman's mother and father were Turkish. They sent their daughter to Sunday complementary school every Sunday for the last three years. Leman visited her relatives in Turkey every summer but she still had lots of difficulty when it came to cultural cues.

Another student in Sunday complementary school shared his experience with his friends. Ahmet was a baseball player in the U.S. He loved spending his time with his team at school and his neighborhood team. When I asked the same question to him if he felt comfortable with his American or Turkish friends, he said the following:

> Let me tell you the truth. I can't feel as if I am American with my Turkish friends in Turkey. I want to play baseball with them but they refuse my offer whenever I ask them. We play soccer all the time. However, I can play baseball with my American friends here. I feel American with my American friends and Turkish with my Turkish friends. (03.27.18)

Here Ahmet showed an awareness of cultural differences. He thought that he couldn't play baseball with his Turkish friends because their interests were not the same.

Administration: Are they only Turkish children?

One of the volunteer board members of the school stated that the Turkish American community in Chicago followed consistent policies in terms of fostering "good American citizens." Most Turkish teachers had recognized that Turkish American children should be able to behave first and foremost as American citizens. Teaching Turkish culture was considered practical and useful to support students' identity and self-confidence as American citizens of Turkish background. This school also played an important role as a community center in which the community members made connections with their heritage culture. Through this school,

parents found opportunities to socialize through some seminars, or some lectures that mattered for the community. In addition to this, the physical space the school provided was used for entertainment or for some community events. This board member emphasized the importance of meaningful communication among parents, children and teachers. The more students observed their parents' involvement in school events the better participation rates the school administration would see.

The board member thought that it was highly important to make parents and especially children attracted to Turkish culture. In the interview, I asked why the management thought integrating Turkish culture into curriculum was important while teaching the Turkish language. The board member mentioned during his interview that they had taught history in Turkish Sunday school but their priority was to make students enjoy learning Turkish.

The board member thought that when a student lost his/her interest in learning Turkish, this was because they lost interest in the culture. As a part of management, this board member encouraged teachers to integrate some Turkish pop culture into their teaching. The board mentioned that the understanding of Turkish culture would strengthen their Turkish identities as well as learning the Turkish language. He stated that the ethnic diversity of America should be acknowledged as a reinforcement to value their heritage. He explained "having a Turkish mother is really different than having an American mother. The food preferences and the meal would be also Turkish." He also pointed out the fact that he witnessed some children suffering because of their differences; thus, they tried to suppress their identities in the mainstream society. He shared his own ideas as a father of two Turkish heritage children:

> I always wish for my children be proud of their heritage and accept it as a part of their identity. For some people, it could be something controversial to accept it is

> favorable but embracing their diversity will make my children benefit from it. I definitely know that they will contribute to American society better. (10.31.17)

Also, the volunteer board member explained by emphasizing the time limit of teachers in the classrooms. He stated that they did their best to provide many opportunities for students to be exposed to Turkish culture and language through school events and activities. Through these events, children could experience some Turkish customs and culture. Every Sunday parents brought their children to school and waited in the special waiting room until the end of the school day for three hours. The board member said that they spared that room for the parents just to wait before their children's classes end. However, in time the room was transformed into a room in which Turkish tea was served for free and Turkish TV channels were broadcasted. The board member was proud of their recent event in this room:

> Every weekend the parents bring some Turkish meal as if it is a potluck party to share with other parents in the waiting room. The only rule is to bring or cook Turkish food to the school. Children during the recess times come and eat some snacks and they can develop more of a sense of belonging to Turkish culture and ultimately to their Turkish identity. (10.31.17)

To arrange the school's space to reflect schools in Turkey, teachers of the Turkish language school guided students to follow certain rules at the school. The board member I interviewed said that the first goal they were trying to follow was "to speak Turkish at the school." At the beginning of each semester, board members sent emails or messages to the parents to remind them of the policy. He also stated that using Turkish especially during the recess time while children were visiting the waiting room was essential for both parents and students.

Another rule that board members tried to impose on parents at school was to encourage them to use Turkish greeting norms. They also encouraged children to respect elderly people. These manners were taught in the classrooms and were part of the curriculum. The relationship between student and teacher in this school also relied on the principles found in schools in Turkey. Overall, the board member and the management at this Sunday language school paid attention to students' interactive learning of Turkish language and culture. The methods they used have the goals of motivating students to like the Turkish culture and kept learning the language.

However, what was desired by the students was not always determined by their being Turkish. Instead, the students' individual cultural awareness and favorable acceptance of differences between their own culture and cultures of others were regarded as more central concerns in the school policy and the volunteer board member's comments.

Language Choices

Teachers: Only Turkish or codeswitching. The teachers spent two weekends figuring out students' language proficiency through some short writing activities and speaking exercises at the beginning of the academic year. They also took into consideration the students' previous years' records. They did not have a specific proficiency test that they conducted with each student. Their way of figuring out students' levels depended on observations of the teachers. They were also flexible in changing students' classes if they thought that one specific student needed to be lowered or elevated to another class. There were three levels at school. The first one was preschoolers who had had a little exposure to Turkish. Two kindergarten teachers said that about 70-80% of their students could not speak or understand Turkish well. The other two levels had students grouped by age (7 to 12 years old) but their proficiency levels were different from

each other. There were four criteria for teachers to decide on students' levels. Firstly, they talked to administration to figure out if the student had attended the school in previous years. If they did, it was highly likely that student would attend Level 2 class in which there were students with some written and speaking Turkish skills. Secondly, teachers gave a writing task to students to see their literacy skills. Then they spent two minutes with each student asking basic questions to figure out their speaking and comprehension skills. The next step was to talk to the parents. Parents spent a few minutes describing how their children used Turkish with them. After gathering all this information, two teachers came together to discuss their information, and made the final decision about each student.

Even though teachers followed these steps and tried to put the same level students in the right classrooms, the levels of the students differed from each other. At that moment, teachers tailored their pace during the lessons accordingly. If the children's level of Turkish was lower, the teachers made sure to slow down and focused on the students' needs. All the teachers observed their students carefully and learned their strengths and weaknesses.

In terms of the use of Turkish in classrooms, each classroom had different rules. During the teachers' meeting at the beginning of the academic year, the administration made clear that using Turkish should be a priority in the classrooms. Teachers should use English only when they had to in order to facilitate communication. However, each classroom interpreted this rule differently using different techniques.

Kindergarten teachers believed that the most important thing for their students was to enjoy coming to school every Sunday. The teachers in pre-school whose children's ages varied from 4 to 5 years old did not prohibit using English in the classroom. However, teachers made sure that each student participated in the activities they designed in Turkish. They insisted that

students used Turkish every time they sang a Turkish song together. When they played a game to practice some specific Turkish words, each teacher had students express at least two words loudly in the class. They had a reward system for using Turkish in class. Whenever students used a Turkish word to describe something, one of the teachers went to a clipboard and attached a sticker for individual students. At the end of the instructional day every Sunday, the first three students got some rewards such as bigger stickers or some candies alongside a one-page paper signed by both teachers. That special paper included five stars and a crown picture on it.

The Level 1 teacher, Leyla on the other hand, used more Turkish than kindergarten teachers in her class because students comprehended better and knew more Turkish words than their younger peers. This teacher used lots of visuals in her classroom. She prepared flash cards every week to teach the target vocabulary. She had students draw their own version of each vocabulary on big cardboard poster. Sometimes students drew individually, sometimes they drew in pairs. Another method that Level 1 teacher was using to encourage her students to use Turkish was for them to present something to the whole class. At the end of each instructional day, the teacher used her last hour to listen to her students' short presentations. Students stood in front of the white board and talked for about 30 seconds or 1 minute to describe something. They could do this by themselves or with their partner. The Level 1 teacher, Leyla, shared her reasoning about why presentations were helping her students to use Turkish better:

> These children are all self-confident while speaking in English. They like sharing their opinions with others. This is something they learn in their mainstream school during the week. I want them to have the same self-confidence while using Turkish as well. When they present something in my class- the topic is not

important- they feel like they accomplished something in their heritage language. (10.15.18)

This teacher gave priority to Turkish as the administration requested at the beginning of the semester. The adjective 'self-confident' was worth mentioning to understand the teacher's expectation from her students. She wanted her students to express themselves freely and without fear. She tried to break her students' introverted personality and to express whatever they felt in Turkish. If students were afraid of making mistakes in Turkish, they would be silent and wait for the right moment to convey their ideas. However, language learning is a process and this process should not put some barriers in the minds of students before producing new sentences. Level 1 teacher was aware of this fact and did her best not to lose any children during the school year. This teacher also agreed with the kindergarten teachers in terms of motivation. She thought that her students' eagerness to learn Turkish should always be her priority. Becoming bilingual in a context where English was dominant necessarily meant that a child continually negotiated her place in the minority linguistic community.

It was evident that some children struggled with contradictions of language use throughout the day, depending on students' goals and interlocutors. Based on this fact, the Level 1 teacher pointed out that her students were exposed to schooling in Turkish only for three hours a week and their language was a minority language in the Chicago area. All the students attended an English only school and there was little chance for them to use Turkish with others outside of Sunday complementary school. To look at an example, two students and one teacher's short conversation illustrated that struggle. In this conversation, the teacher tried to explain the weekly assignment in Turkish to her two students but students wanted to hear everything in English as well.

Teacher: *Ne demek istediğimi anladınız mi?* (Did you understand what I mean?)

Child 1: *Evet.* (Yes)

Child 2: *Evet* (Yes)

Teacher: *Güzel. Peki şimdi bana kim tekrar edecek ödevin ne olduğunu?*

(Well, who will repeat to me what the assignment is?)

Child 1: *Ben! Ben! Please ben! Haftaya, we are going to draw a family tree on a cardboard and next week we will introduce our family to arkadaşlarımıza.*

(Me! Me! Please me! Next week we are going to draw a family tree on a cardboard next week we will introduce our family to our friends)

Teacher: *Peki sen anladın mı?* (Well, did you get it?)

Child 2: *Evet anladım. Teşekkürler.* (Yes, I got it. Thank you) (03.15.18)

Initially, the Level 1 teacher allowed translanguaging in her class. She did not warn her students when they used both English and Turkish to convey their ideas. She knew that making long sentences would be challenging for her students. If she focused on their grammar or vocabulary choice in Turkish, students could feel challenged and might think that they did not have the capacity to complete that assignment by themselves. She wanted them to leave the school with positive feelings and come back again with enthusiasm.

Kindergarten teachers and Level 1 teacher used code-switching in their instruction for two main reasons: students' limited proficiency in Turkish and their limited exposure to Turkish throughout their weeks. In Level 1 teacher 's classroom, I observed both code-switching and translanguaging. Depending on the purpose of the conversation and environment, strategies changed. Code-switching occurred in direct communication or as a pedagogic strategy mostly in two cases: when giving instructions and when talking about some grammatical points. In giving

instructions, it was used for efficiency purposes in the form of translation. In the following example, Level 1 teacher was giving instruction by using translation as shown in italics:

Teacher: Şimdi herkes kitaplarının 30.cu sayfasını açsın

Everybody! open your books on page 30

As for the use of Turkish with numbers, code-switching occurred because math was not taught in the school, and students were considered not to know Turkish numbers very well. When the teachers needed to mention numbers such as page numbers, they used both Turkish and English so that all students could understand.

The Level 2 teacher who had the most proficient group had similar approaches to use Turkish in her instruction. In her classroom there were eleven students and each of them had attended Sunday complementary school at least once before this academic year started. Their ages varied from 7 to 12 years old. Level 2 teacher introduced her class rules on the very first day. While setting the rules, she said, "I will always talk in Turkish with you even though you speak in English to me." Students in her classroom obeyed the rules that their teacher set, but there were some changes to that rule over time. Students started to speak in English, especially during recess times. There were two sets of twins in her class. These two couples had the tendency to speak in English when they were together. When the teacher realized this situation, she made them sit separately in the classroom. She warned them whenever she heard some English among them. While giving instructions, level 2 teacher was open to students using English if she thought that students did not understand what she was trying to say in Turkish. Other than that, she always used Turkish.

Another activity she did every Sunday was to have students sing the Turkish National Anthem before starting her instruction. The lengthy National Anthem has twelve stanzas and

requires a challenging level of proficiency. Teacher spent three weekends to make sure that her students pronounced the words in the anthem correctly. Initially, the teacher talked briefly about the history of the anthem and the author of it. Then, she prepared a reading comprehension activity on it. Beginning with some warm-up activities, she asked some questions in Turkish. Then students read the stanzas and answered the comprehension questions. Since the level of national anthem was very difficult for students, she paired students according to their proficiency levels. She believed that being Turkish started with knowing the National Anthem, and expressed these views:

> The Republic of Turkey was established by Ataturk with many challenges, hardships you know. This anthem of ours includes a very short story of our own past and gives many recommendations for the young generations. We memorized this when we were young. I do not make my students memorize each word but I want them to understand what it is saying. (01.15.18)

Here it was clear that this teacher gave importance to Turkish nationalism. She wanted her students to know the anthem well. During my observation in the first three weeks of the academic year, she was a little bit nervous when some students ignored the practices or they did not sing it with the whole class. One time she stopped the tape and warned some students to accompany the singing.

Overall, children were encouraged to use Turkish by administrators and teachers at all grade levels. While lower grade teachers sometimes needed to use English for pedagogic purposes, they frequently warned students not to speak English. Students using Turkish were praised. The following excerpt was from Level 1 teacher when the teacher reviewed the newly learned terms to describe relatives:

T: Türkçe' de annenizin kardeşlerine ne deniyordu? (How do you call your mother's siblings?)

S: Uncle and aunt

T: Türkçe söyler misiniz? (Can you please say them in Turkish?)

S: Dayı ve teyze

T: Aferin çocuklar (Well done children) (01.27.18)

As can be seen above, the teacher directed the students in the way she wanted to hear the answers. She did not praise the students' answer unless it was provided in Turkish.

Parents: "Turkish is the key to our roots"

Although all the parents in this study thought that keeping heritage language was essential for their children, it seemed they were having difficulty in fulfilling their expectations. Firstly, it appears that all the families in this case study had conflicting schedules with school. They were all working parents who spent most of their weekly time in their working environments until they got back home for dinner. When they came home, they tried to speak in Turkish but when it came to help their children with their homework, they switched to English. Secondly, all the children in this study attended English dominant mainstream schools where these children had no chance to practice their heritage language. Lastly, another dilemma the parents experienced was related to adaptation concerns for their children. Some of the parents thought that adaptation into U.S culture was essential for their children. It was evident that all families had positive attitude towards Turkish as a heritage language. However, their concerns signaled a discrepancy between their objectives and what they actually did.

Zeynep and her husband were the ones who believed that learning English as soon as possible was essential for the adaptation into U.S. culture and the future of their daughter.

Zeynep pointed out their responsibility as parents to provide their children with the necessary sources and time. The following script from Zeynep's interview exemplified her point of view towards keeping both languages:

Interviewer: The questions in this part are about family language and literacy practices that you may do with your child as a mother? Do you want your child to be able to speak, read, and write in your heritage language, in Turkish? Why or why not? Why is this important?

Zeynep: I definitely want that. We always think about this issue with my husband. I think it is very important to keep both languages. We try to find ways to preserve the heritage language of our children. Unfortunately, we do not have time to send our children to Turkish language school every year. We will continue speaking in Turkish and make our children read in Turkish besides English. We bought Turkish story books and are planning to buy more resources for them. Their education is here all in English and we have to support their Turkish education as parents. They should not mix two languages into each other. They have to understand both sides. I mean one side is Turkish speaking family members or people and the other side is English speaking community. This is our responsibility to observe our children and take care of the points they need to improve their languages. I do not want them to speak the languages in the wrong way. She has to be perfect because I

myself suffered a lot when I first came to U.S. 9 years ago.

(English Interview, 10/5/18)

Zeynep emphasized how two languages should not be mixed. It seemed clear that she did not want her children to experience the struggle she had when she first arrived in the U.S. As an adult immigrant to the U.S., she shared one of her experiences in Macy's where she worked as a costumer sales representative. She told about one of her experiences where she was about to lose her job because she had misunderstood her customer's needs and the customer wrote a complaint letter about her.

During my recess time observation for Pinar's parents before I conducted the interview, I saw consistency between parents' ideas and attitudes in terms of language choices. Parents spoke in Turkish during recess time. Whenever we started our conversation, Selda, the mother, turned on some Turkish music to accompany us. She said that there were pictures from Istanbul on the walls of their dinner room at home. She also mentioned that she loved the smell of Turkish tea that was always present in their house setting. I felt like I was in Turkey with this family when I was interviewing Pinar's mother. Even Papatya, the daughter, never attempted to use English. The only time I heard either code-switching or English was the time when Pinar and started having conversation with her peers. She also used English while she was talking about her school day activities or her friends at school.

Likewise, the Ethem family had some similarities with the Riza family. The following was a response of Ozlem, the mother of Pinar. She talked about the practices she had for her children to keep Turkish. As Lara and Leman were attending mainstream school, Ozlem said she was not anxious about the maintenance of English for her children. Ozlem hired her son a private Turkish tutor but not her daughter.

Interviewer: Which language do you mostly use at home?

Mother: Turkish.

I: All the time?

M: 95% of the time I tell whatever I am saying I say in Turkish. And but most of the time, they especially my daughter she speaks in English but she understands she understands me in Turkish

I: Ok

M: but she prefers to respond in English.

I: Ok, what are your methods to help your child learn English and Turkish? Do you spend time to improve their English or Turkish?

M: Not really, I mean I think since they go. they are learning English at school; they do everything in English at school. So, I don't help them with their English but Turkish. Leman now is studying Turkish with one of our friends, Nurhayat. So, last weekend it has just started but she asks him to read a Turkish book and she said he did really well. She wasn't expecting her so well and I asked my daughter how she did it because I never spend time with her reading Turkish

I: Yeah, hihi (laughter)

M: And, she says sometimes my father emails me in Turkish and I leave some notes for my daughters in Turkish so I think they first struggled to read but later on they got them. They still don't know certain characters like soft 'g' in Turkish. Yeah,they can read them but we don't spend so much time. (English Interview, 09/25/18)

Twin's father, Vedat provided every opportunity for his children to be exposed to Turkish. Twins had been attending Sunday complementary school since they were 5 years old. They were 10 years old when I collected my data. Melissa also confirmed that the number of Turkish and English books in their home library was equal. She also made sure that twins were reading enough English books, stories, magazines with her. Since they attended an English-only school during the week, their English literacy skills were improved there. In this family's case, something unusual was happening between the children because they communicated in Turkish most of the time. This suggested that the role models at home such as grandmother and the father increased the likelihood to be better Turkish language speakers

The Fatih family had also strong desire for their son to learn Turkish. Fatih mentioned some reasons why he thought like that:

> All my family lives in Turkey, my mother, my father, my sister, my uncles and aunts. I have two brothers and they have their daughters and sons. When they come together, I want them see sharing their experiences and life together. They shouldn't be strangers one another because of the language barrier. Another reason is that they should learn Turkish culture and history as we did when were children. Turkish is key to our roots. Last reason is that our son should be close to other Turkish people in the United States. (Turkish Interview, 11/15/18)

In addition to Fatih's ideas, Meral said that learning two languages was helpful for children's academic success. He thought that if their son was good at their own heritage language, he could convert what he learnt in Turkish into English more easily.

In short, all the parents had positive attitude towards learning and speaking Turkish as their heritage language at home. The parents emphasized that encouraging their children's

heritage language maintenance was their own responsibility. Other parents put an emphasis on the necessity of having Turkish community schools for their children. They also said that they provided Turkish resources for their children such as story books, cartoons, etc. Twin's parents shared similar positive attitude towards keeping the heritage language. Some of the parents also said that they hired a Turkish private tutor for their children. Besides having the similar views with each other, each family member also highlighted the importance of having robust connections with the relatives in Turkey.

Students: Mixing Two Languages

The most striking finding regarding the language choice of children was that they wanted to use English all the time. They changed their choice only when an adult reminded them to speak Turkish. The following excerpt indicates this behavior: During lunchtime, Mahmut was talking to his friends in English while playing. His father heard him and warned him immediately:

> Father: Türkçe konuş Türkçe! Buraya gelme sebebini unutma!
>
> *Speak Turkish! Don't forget why you come here!*
>
> Child: Arkadaşımla konuşuyorum ama
>
> *But I speak with my friend (04.17.18)*

The child openly pointed out that English was the language to talk to friends. However, he also made sure to respond in Turkish to his father's warning. Because the children had sufficient linguistic repertoire, they were able to make choices as to which language to speak with whom. For the children, speaking more than one language meant "to be involved in a continuous process of decision-making, although not necessarily a conscious one" (Duranti, 2004, p. 71). Except for the two 1st grade students with a non-Turkish parent, all the students

chose Turkish to talk to me, the researcher. Lara, the female level 1 student also had a non-Turkish parent, but she preferred speaking Turkish to me at all times. One of her recordings was stunning as she verbalized her opinion on the lesson. The teacher had just started the lesson and she was telling the students what topics they were going to learn that day. Lara spoke to the voice recorder in Turkish:

> Anlaşıldı, bu derste de hiç eğlenmeyeceğiz. Oyun oynasak keşke!
>
> *It is obvious that we will not have fun. I wish we played games.* (04.04.18)

She made this comment in Turkish, which made me think that she wanted me to hear her opinion about the class. She had always considered me as someone with whom to speak Turkish. The comment itself was also interesting, as it may signify disinterest in the lesson on Lara's part. Nevertheless, she was usually a focused and interested student in class.

The students with little or no command of Turkish, i.e. Level 1 students communicated with their teacher either just through English or code-switching. For instance, they were learning how to write new sentences in Turkish. They had learned two or three sentences, and Oner wrote a sentence on the board. He was able to write it from memory without looking at his notebook, and the teacher praised him. He then immediately asked the teacher:

> Oner: You want me to write "anne yemek yap"?
>
> [Mom cook]
>
> T: Okay, write it too

As for all the students, they often code-switched particularly in their replies to teachers' questions and when they could not think of the Turkish equivalent of a word

that they wanted to use. During the interview, Sibel reported that she found this strategy very beneficial in order to expand her Turkish vocabulary:

Teacher: Peki, öğretmeninizle Türkçe konuşuyorsunuz değil mi?

(Alright with your teacher here you speak Turkish, don't you?)

Student A: Bazen English bazen Türkçe. Eğer bilmiyorsak da English soyluyoruz ve sonra siz bize tell Türkçesini.

(Turkish and sometimes we tell in English when we don't know. Then you tell us the Turkish version)

Student B: Teacher, water almaya gidebilir miyim? (*May I go and grab water?)*

Teacher: not water SU

Student B: Su almaya gidebilir miyim? (May I go and grab water?)

Teacher: Gidebilirsin. (you may go)

Younger children's perception of code-switching seemed to be different from that of their seniors. Dogan told me his view on the teacher's codeswitching as follows:

Researcher: Özelikle bu okuldayken en çok hangi dili kullanıyorsun? Türkçe mi İngilizce mi?

(Which language do you use mostly especially when you are at this school? Is it Turkish or English?)

Student C: Ben Türkçe çok seviyorum. Evde bir suru oyunum ve kitabim var. Burada bazen bazı arkadaşlarımla İngilizce konuşuyorum çünkü onların Türkçesi yok.

(I like Turkish language a lot. I have many books and games at home in Turkish. I speak in English with some of my new friends here because they

do not know Turkish.) (03.04.18)

To Dogan, the teacher's code-switching was necessary so that the newly arrived Turkish speaking students could learn English. As the children were already Turkish, it only made sense to teach them English. That's why the teacher "had to" translate what she said in Turkish to English. However, the same student was clear on why he attended Sunday complementary school as can be observed in the interview data:

Researcher: Sence bu okula neden geliyorsun?

(Why do you think you attend this Turkish school?)

Student D: Benim Türkiye'de çok fazla kuzenim var. Her yaz onları görmeye Türkiye' ye gidiyorum ve onlar aralarında Türkçe konuştuğunda her şeyi anlamak istiyorum. Bir de annem ve babam istiyor.

(I have lots of cousins in Turkey. I go to Turkey to visit them every summer. When they speak Turkish among themselves, I want to understand everything they say in Turkish. Also, my parents want me to come here.)

Not only Dogan but all the other students were aware of the fact that they attended Sunday complementary school primarily to learn or improve their Turkish. Hence, they were also aware of the adults' expectation that they were to speak Turkish in the school. Children's interviews showed that their language choice may change in accordance with space. All of the children said that they spoke mostly in English with each other in Sunday complementary school. They indicated using a small amount of Turkish only related to the topics covered in class. This finding confirmed topic as a frequent determinant of language choice in multilingual

contexts (Saville-Troike, 2003). As the medium of instruction in this school was Turkish, children had learned their content through Turkish, and "thus only know the vocabulary to discuss a topic in" Turkish, "or feel it is more 'natural' to use" (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 42) Turkish to talk about their lessons. Cigdem indicated another strategic use of Turkish in her regular school during the week. She said that she had Turkish-speaking friends there, and they spoke Turkish to each other so that the other students would not understand what they were talking about. This pointed to the use of Turkish because of the addressee as well.

Children were aware of their proficiency in Turkish as exemplified regarding codeswitching in the earlier sections. Oner, whose father was Turkish, told in the interview how and why he had low proficiency in Turkish:

> Researcher: Your Spanish is better than your Turkish? How is this possible?
>
> Student: My mother is from Guatemala and she speaks Spanish at home all the time. My father works until it is late. So, I can't see him as much as I see my mom. We couldn't go to Turkey last two years

Despite this, Oner reported having been to Turkey many times and mentioned his relatives in Turkey. He used relative terms in Turkish such as "babaanne" and "amca" (grandmother and uncle on the father's side). In his case, the main reference for Turkish was his father. In the two other cases of mixed marriages, with Lara and Leman, their mothers were the references for Turkish. It was interesting to notice that this kind of referencing also existed with children both of whose parents were Turkish. In Mahmut's case, for example, his father constituted the authority for his language choice as Turkish.

CHAPTER 5: SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AND CLASSROOM PRACTICES

This chapter presents the results of this study that included semi-structured interviews and observations with teachers, parents, administration, and students. The major themes that resulted from these will be shared through in-depth narratives of the participants. Classroom practices and school activities are two main components of this chapter. These two components will be discussed through sub-activities such as teaching methods and materials from the point of view of all the participants. The themes will be covered under these topics regarding each participant group. Then, in the final section, the existence of this school and the practices of the school provided will be analyzed with the concept of third space holistically. The third research question in which "How does school practices and resources shape Turkish national and bicultural practices for the learners?" was answered in this chapter:

Teachers' Perspective about Instructional Methods and Materials

Three themes were identified from the observational and interview data on teaching methods: Methods for monolingual language learners versus heritage language learners, Limited professional identity versus passion to teach heritage language, Parental Pressure influencing Instructions.

Instructional method. Classroom teachers reported that the school uses various ways to welcome HLS and support their learning, such as collaborating with families, providing resources both in Turkish and English languages for students and families. Teachers follow a content-based curriculum in each classroom. They use both authentic materials from online resources or from their own resources in their house and the books that were donated by the Turkish consulate in Chicago.

Methods for Monolingual Language Learners versus Heritage Language Learners

Teachers are "active, thinking decision makers who make instructional choices by drawing on complex, practically-oriented, personalized, and context-sensitive networks of knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs" (Borg, 2003) and this is why the beliefs held by teachers about language, language teaching and learning are important concepts to discuss in this study. They included grammar-based direct method of teaching a language. Teacher talk is more than student talk in the class. Students were supposed to memorize the morphological rules of the Turkish language and copy what was written on the board to their notebooks. Then, students were expected to memorize the patterns. The assignments were basically on the repeated practices of new vocabulary on their notebooks. The authority in the class was mostly in the hands of the teachers. They were making all the decisions regarding the instructions they were giving in the class.

Second class teacher who had elementary age children in her class shared her opinions with the class regarding vocabulary comprehension:

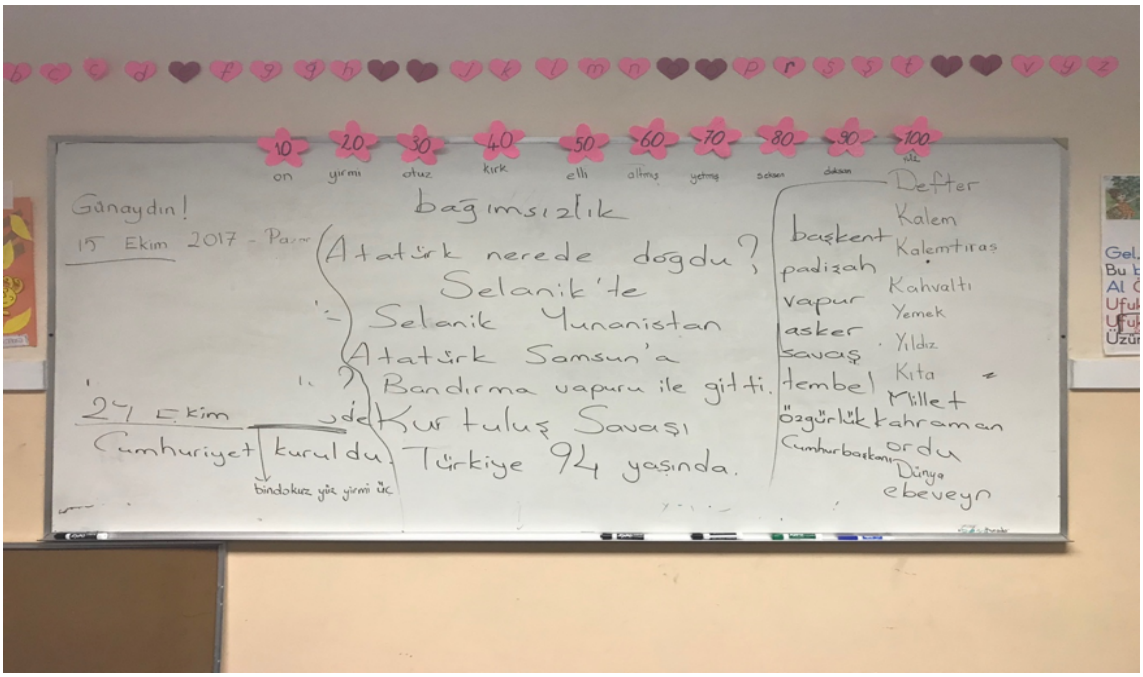
> Yeni öğrendiğimiz Turkce kelimeleri 10 kez defterinize yazacaksınız. Ben de İngilizce yi Türkiye'de boyle ogrendim.
>
> *(You will write new Turkish words ten times in your notebooks. I learnt English this way in Turkey as well.)*

The teacher in this school applies her language teacher's method to teach Turkish to heritage speakers. It is also seen that she instructs students how to use their notebooks. She expects them to memorize the new Turkish words by writing each of them multiple times. The following photo represents one of the blackboards the teacher used to teach the target words of the way. On the right side of the board, the words were written at the beginning of the class.

Then, the teacher referred to them during the reading time. She also checked each student's notebook at the end of the class whether they copied all the words on the board for themselves.

Figure 3

White Board



Both of the teachers in the First Class and Second class used the blackboard to write the subject matter in their classes. They were expecting the students to be silent. When they realized students were distracted in some way, they were interrupting and reminding students to keep the silence in class. The first-class teacher once said that:

> Eger tahtada yazılanları sessizce defterinize geçirirseniz daha iyi hatirlarsiniz
>
> *(If you copy what is on the board silently into your notebooks you remember them better)*

Using a direct method in which students just wrote what was written by the teacher on their notebooks did not create enthusiasm for students. They were silent as the teacher wanted

them to be, but students were engaging themselves with drawing cartoon characters on their pages or coloring the letters or words. They were so distracted that they did not even realize I was there to talk to them.

One day students in Level 1 wanted to draw more flags; their short, fun game turned into a competition. They put a rule among themselves: The one who completed his/her flag drawing was going to be the winner but the drawing of the crescent and coloring were supposed to be impeccable. This was an appropriate example of how nationalistic symbols of the school were interpreted by the students. They were just enjoying the race maybe not aware of the value of the flag as that was emphasized by the school administration or teachers.

Parental Pressure Influencing Instruction

The teachers believed that a joyful learning environment motivated student to learn. Teachers emphasized that they were responsible for encouraging students; however, they also mentioned how parental involvement was essential for heritage language students' language abilities in the long run.

An encouraging learning environment. Every teacher at school gave priority to create an expressive and motivating atmosphere for his/her students. The students attended this heritage school only on Sundays and all of them attend regular mainstream schools during the week with very busy schedules and full of activities in which they communicated with native speakers of English friends. In addition, there were some children who had either an American father or mother who were native speakers of English. From recess time observations, it was recognized that those families spoke in English among them. Although it was quite clear that the percentage of using Turkish was dramatically little for the children at Sunday complementary school, so it seemed like students did not have a lot of reasons to use Turkish outside of this school. Table 5

provides information about their language use. Therefore, their attendance to Turkish heritage school is mostly encouraged and sometimes forced by their highly motivated parents under these circumstances.

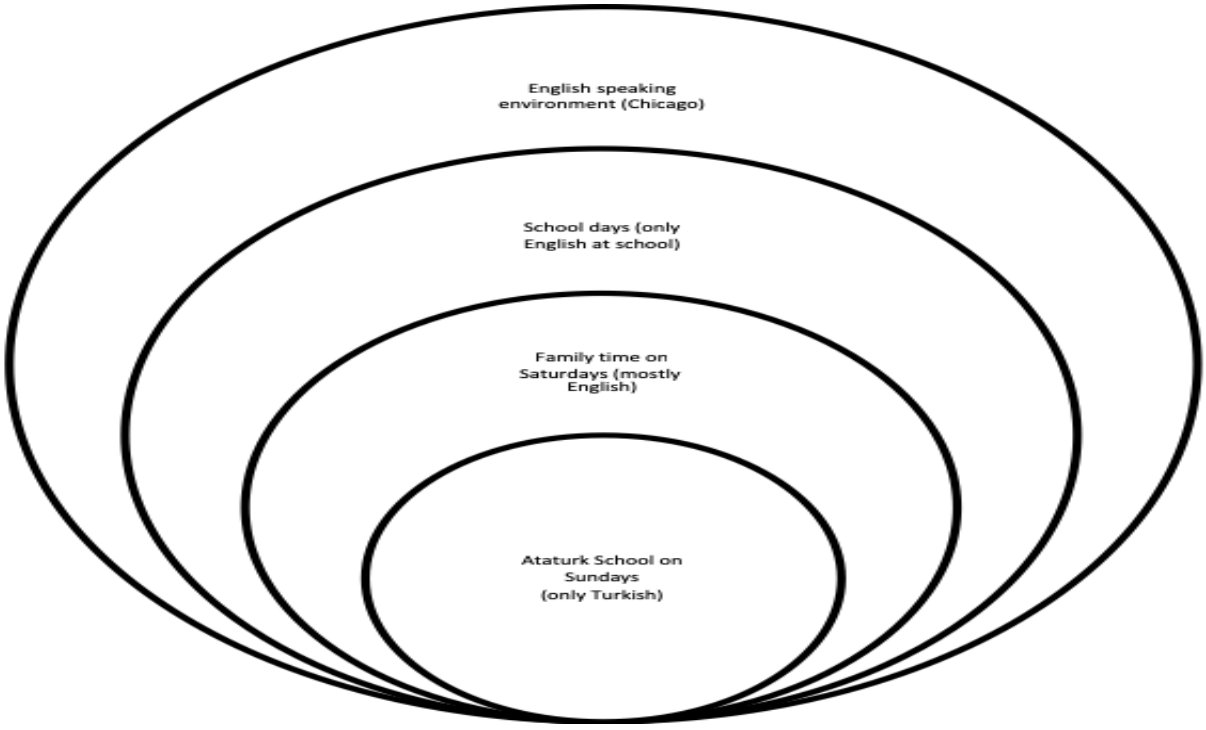
The following conversation was observed between the second-class teacher and one student:

T: Derin bir problem mi var?	Derin, is there a problem?
S: Benim simdi arkadasimin	I am supposed to be in
S: dogum gununde olmam lazim	my friend's birthday party
T: Okul bitince gidersin	You can go after the school today
T: olmaz mi?	does that work?
S: Hayir olmaz	No, that does not work
S: En yakin arkadasim	He is my best friend
S: ve annem beni zorla buraya getirdi	and my mom made me come here

This student was emotional and crying after this conversation. The teacher made him talk a little bit more. Then, the student took his seat back and participated in class activities. However, he was interrupting his classmates and was talking in English despite all the warnings coming from his teacher. During the break, the teacher talked to his mom who was waiting in the parents resting area. Student was more enthusiastic in the last session of the school after talking to his mother.

Figure 4

Level of Exposure to Languages



Teachers were aware of this reality so they did not want their students feel pressured to learn Turkish in their classrooms. They think that learning Turkish should not be stressful for students. Mrs. Sibel said in her interview, "I understand that these children's parents are more eager to bring their children to this school every Sunday than their children but this should not make my students feel obligated to sit and listen to me just because their parents want them to do so." Mrs. Leyla also stated a similar statement in her interview, "I try to make my students sure that their existence in my classroom is valuable for me. That is the reason I come up with activities that will make students have fun and learn Turkish voluntarily." All the teachers at school agreed with these ideas and they thought that learning environment should have motivational tools that make students come again the following week.

Mrs. Arzu and Mrs. Cigdem were preschool children's teachers and they applied fun activities more than Class 1 and 2 in their activities such as plays, singing songs, engaging team games because most of the children in their classroom were between the age of 3 to 5. I interviewed them at the same time on which I observed their classroom. They both thought that singing Turkish songs together, having role-play activities, drawing and using flashcards were very useful to engage students and motivate them. Mrs. Arzu stated:

> Games are great tools to reach these students. When they enjoy what they are doing in class, I am sure they will be more eager to come next Sunday. The friendships they built here and the moments they remember will help them remember Turkish is fun. We use bingo, role-playing, tongue twisters, songs, creative drama techniques with them (Mrs. Arzu, October 15, 2017)

On the other hand, Mrs. Sibel and Mrs. Leyla did not use games as much as preschool teachers did in Class 1 and 2. The student population in these classes were older than others. Furthermore, most of the students especially in Class 2 had attended Sunday complementary school in previous years. Their writing and reading skills in Turkish were developed before. Their exposure to Turkish texts, speech, activities were more developed than preschoolers and even more than some students in Class 1. Mrs. Sibel stated during one of the recess times while students were playing around, "I personally do not prefer games in my class because most of the students prefer to speak in English among them. This is not something I want to observe in my classes because the more Turkish they practice, the faster they will acquire it." What I also observed in Mrs. Sibel's class was similar to what she was saying. Her class was mostly dependent on using Turkish course book and the worksheet activities the students' study books

included. She was sometimes letting her students play hangman in the last 15 minutes of the last hour of the day if they had behaved and listened to her well.

Teachers had different beliefs about 'play to motivate learning' and 'direction to guide learning'. This stemmed from the differences between Turkish and American cultures. Turkish teachers especially who were serving for V and Y generations in Turkey were the authority in the class. Teacher talk was more dominant than student talk. Students were supposed to listen to their teacher silently and obey the rules of the classroom where there was no place for group activity or pair talk. However, in American teaching environments, teachers are facilitators who guide their students when they need help by putting them in groups and making them be active learners by taking responsibility in learning. These teacher's conflicting cross-cultural experiences were influencing their instruction (Yang, 2008).

Mrs. Sibel and Mrs. Leyla also tried to create a learning environment where students could be encouraged implicitly. Mrs. Leyla in her first two weeks shared some time before she started her daily routines by raising some awareness about why learning Turkish could be beneficial and fun for her students. In one of her motivational speeches, she told her students "Do you know how special you are? You all know two languages and this makes you unique and different from your monolingual friends. If you know Turkish very well, this can be your secret language that not most of your friends could understand what you are saying. So, think about it!

A motivating learning context meant different things to each teacher, and that showed in their beliefs and teaching methods, but all the classes encouraged self-expression and the joy of learning. However, no teachers mentioned that the actual use of the language by students could be a motivator.

Limited Professional Identity Versus Passion to Teach Heritage Language

All four teachers, even Mrs. Sibel who had taught in Sunday complementary school for five years, expressed uncertainty regarding their professional identity. They either implied and said clearly that they thought teaching Turkish on Sundays for three hours is a voluntary job that they all do. During the interviews, each one of them said they had no training on how to teach Turkish or how to teach a language. However, they all had strong determination to convey the Turkish culture and language to students.

Voluntary job. Teachers only get gas payment for their effort and working hours at Sunday complementary school. Other than that, they teach Turkish out of their passion to teach language, being with children, and for personal reasons. Teachers shared their reasons why they wanted to be heritage language teachers:

> "My husband and I settled down in Chicago five years ago. We have many friends who have children here. When we communicate with children, they mostly prefer English during their conversations. So, we do not want our future child be like them. I thought if I have an insider's view by working with heritage language learners, I may have some ideas while raising my kid as a mother." (Mrs. Arzu, October 15, 2017)
>
> "I do not work for the time being and I wanted to do something beneficial for others. This volunteering opportunity also gives me a chance to belong to a community." (Mrs. Cigdem, November 12, 2017)
>
> "I think the strong bonds with grandparents could be established through language. It has a great power to convey messages. I am saying this because the first time I had seen when my son could not tell his specific story to his

grandmother in Turkish, my mom and dad got very upset. Their grandson was so happy about something but they had no idea about what he was talking about." (Mrs. Sibel, October 22, 2017)

Personal preferences of teachers were emphasized more than professional goals in teaching Turkish. Mrs. Sibel said that she wanted to be together with her son in preschool class while she was teaching in Class 2. Mrs. Leyla indicated that she did not stay at home as if she was a housewife. She also mentioned that being a Turkish teacher is a great challenge for her to pursue her career. Mrs. Arzu stated that she knew what these children might need because she was a parent.

Is It Culturally Relevant Instruction?

The teachers believed that their teaching not only relied on previous experiences but also involved new knowledge construction. Parents played a crucial role in facilitating and constraining teachers' classroom actions. Furthermore, the teachers included culturally relevant knowledge to enrich the class.

Parental support. Parents were a key factor to either positively or negatively influence teachers' teaching. Broadly speaking, the teachers acknowledged parents' support. Mrs. Sibel explained: 'Parents have very crucial roles because they're very supportive. Every time I ask some support from families, they are always there.' Mrs. Leyla said, "When students get lost during instruction or not interested in classroom activities, the parents give me some suggestions about how to motivate their child and try their best to support me."

The school's learning environment also shaped parental involvement. As Table 4 shows, there was a large waiting room for parents at school. Parents all stayed and waited for three hours in that room. They also benefited from two fifteen minutes recess times to talk to teachers about

their children. Not only parents came to the classrooms during the breaks and talked to teachers, but also teachers went and saw some families if there was an emergent issue to resolve with parents.

Another issue that came out of observations of teacher-parent conferences during the recess times was parents' trust in teachers. In Turkish culture, teachers were the authority in the class. So, parents still thought and acted like that. Parents were more confident in what and how much to teach, but left 'how to teach' to the teachers.

Two parents were talking with Class 2 teacher on the first day of instruction before the classes start. After introducing themselves to the teacher, the following short conversation was shared:

> Cocugumun Türkçesini gelistirmesi benim icin cok onemli. O yuzden hocam 'Eti sizin kemigi benim' Bu konuda size güveniyorum.
>
> *(It is very important for me my child improves her Turkish Therefore, my teacher. Don't spare the rod. I trust you in this.)*

This kind of attitude was very common in Turkey with parents. Parents showed respect to the teacher and they thought that teachers were always right when it comes to education. So, these parents of Turkish American children still followed the same routines with this Sunday school teachers. Therefore, parents left all the responsibility to teachers to teach Turkish. They were bringing their children every Sunday to this school but other than that they were not helping their children in their assignments at home. Mrs. Leyla shared one of her experiences with two siblings in her class:

> From the very first week, I regularly send some worksheets or written assignments for students to complete during the week. I think spending only three

> hours a week is not enough Turkish American heritage students to learn Turkish so parents should also be supportive by using the language at home or helping their children's acquisition. Although I emphasize how important this is, two siblings in my class never bring their assignments to the class. They either lose their worksheets or forget about them. Interestingly, every week after school, I email parents that week's assignments but this family ignores them apparently (Mrs. Leyla, November 19, 2017).

Another teacher also shared her frustration during the interviews. In Mrs. Sibel's class, there were four students who had attendance problems. If they had been in class for one week, they would have been absent the following week. Mrs. Sibel said:

> Four students, two of them are siblings and other two's parents are close friends are getting in the way of my instruction. Even if these students attend classes, they think that learning Turkish could only be done through games. So, if I made them complete a worksheet or write some important points, they start complaining. (Mrs. Sibel, October 29, 2017)

Although teachers think that parental support is crucial, observations and interview data support the idea that there could be conflicts when the teachers and parents had different goals. For instance, the teachers believed the purpose of learning Turkish was to develop language ability, whereas some parents viewed the goal as having fun.

Turkish culture. School's mission, which was to foster and promote the Turkish culture, art, history, and heritage among community, and to organize activities to bring together the Turkish-American Communities of Illinois demonstrated similarities with teachers' attitude

towards introducing and transmitting Turkish culture. All the teachers viewed this ideology as the core values in their classes.

Classes started on October 1 for the school and the very first thing teachers started to worry about the closing national holiday of Turkey which was October 29 Republic Day. It is the day on which the Republic of Turkish was established in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Since this day is very special and celebrated every year with increasing excitement at schools with parades, events at schools, cultural programs, Sunday complementary school also wanted to celebrate this day. There were only 2 weeks to get ready and teachers got nervous. They had three short meetings on the very first day. In the previous years, students memorized some poems, sayings, songs for that day. They were also supposed to memorize the National anthem. For these preparations, teachers used cultural literacy objects such as red flags, Ataturk's photos in order to emphasize the importance of Ataturk.

Mrs. Sibel and Mrs. Leyla used course books to introduce Ataturk and his principles to children because the course books first two pages are dedicated to Turkish flag, national anthem, Ataturk's portrait. The books also included a chapter for Ataturk and his achievements and how he changed Turkey with revolutions. The school and the classrooms also carried some cultural objects mostly related to nationalistic views (see Appendix I).

In the following two weeks almost one hour was spent for the preparations of the Republic Day. The school held a ceremony on the day and all the parents were present to see their children's performance. There was another important day coming after the Republic Day. November 10 is the day when Ataturk passed away. That day all over Turkey, schools and governmental institutions hold events too. They did not have a ceremony for this but they spent one hour on the week of November 10.

Both Mrs. Sibel and Mrs. Leyla mentioned during their interviews that Ataturk and his principles should definitely be taught and integrated into curriculum. Mrs. Gamze said:

> If we want our students to learn Turkish, introducing Ataturk in our classrooms should be our priority because that is the way to have a sense of belonging to Turkish culture. (November 5, 2017)

Teaching Turkish involved both prior and continuing knowledge construction. Parents played influential roles in facilitating teachers' instruction. Yet, there were discrepancies between parents' and teachers' beliefs about how the heritage language should be taught. All the teachers valued Turkish culture and connected it to the curriculum, which helped the students understand 'who they were.' To better connect language and culture, the curriculum should include more content related to Turkish traditions.

Instructional Materials

The instructional materials used by the teachers indicated a variety depending on teachers' educational background, experience in teaching language, exposure to the heritage language learners. The less experienced teachers were depending on the course book more than the more experienced teachers. Class 2's teacher made a comment on her material selection for the topic of the day.

> Ders materyallerini Türkiye'den getirdigim TOMER kitaplarindan seciyorum. Nadiren de buranin tavsiye edilen kitaplarini kullaniyorum cunku bu kitaplar bu çocuklara uygun değil
>
> (*I select my course materials from TOMER books that I brought from Turkey. I rarely use the books that is recommended for us here because these books are not appropriate for these children*)

This excerpt shows that the teacher did not have a regular course book that was assigned to the level of the heritage speakers in her class. She compiled materials from any resource that she thinks are suitable. This comment also indicates that teacher did not prefer to use the textbook of Turkish government. The text book she mentioned here was for native speakers of Turkish. The interesting point here was the comparison of these two books. The other book she mentioned here was written for learning Turkish as a Foreign Language. Thinking that the latter was a good choice for her students means that either she ignored the needs of the students or she had some difficulty in recognizing the differences between second language learners and heritage language learners. When we looked at the research regarding the differences between HL learners and SLLs, there were certain aspects that needed to be indicated. Heritage language speakers' background knowledge and relationship with a community of speakers made their educational needs different from those of foreign language learners in terms of program goals, materials, and curriculum. One of the greatest challenges for these teachers was the variability in language skills that heritage language speakers exhibited; some were fully fluent and literate, some were fluent with no literacy skills, some had heard the language but had limited productive abilities, and still others were fluent in a non-prestige variety of the language (Kondo-Brown, 2005; Lynch, 2003; Valdés, 2001).

In terms of lesson planning, each teacher had her own way of articulating goals and how she implemented those goals throughout the year. The teacher in Class 2 was not student-centered because the student talk was limited to answering short answer or yes-no questions during the interactions. For almost all the lessons, she was printing out her worksheets, handouts in the morning of each weekend. Sometimes she was having problems with the printing machines that led to starting the first class late.

On one of the days, she shared the following with me:

Dun ders icin hazirlanirken hic istedigim gibi materyaller bulamadim O yuzden bu sabah TOMER kitabindan fotokopi çekeceğim ve geçen haftaki konuyu tekrar edecegim Zaten biraz daha pekistirmelerinde fayda var.

(*I couldn't find the appropriate materials while getting ready for the class yesterday. That's why, I will make copies from TOMER book right now I will repeat the last week's topic again It is good for them to practice more anyway*.)

The reason why she could not find the appropriate materials may stem from her insufficient resources or may be being reluctant to get ready at the beginning of the semester. Instead of preparing the worksheets and handouts before the classes started, she only prepared one night for the class she was teaching.

The materials she was using were mainly letting students work on their own. During the worksheet time, students were working alone to complete the blanks. Students tended to be silent although the expectation from students to talk more and engage better through interactive activities. The teacher seemed to miss the point that diversity existed among the students. Students were all heritage language learners but their age, language exposure, family backgrounds were all different. There were 12 students at the beginning of the Fall semester but then there were 11 students left permanently. Among these students, there were two sisters who had a Turkish mother and American father, four students whose parents were both Turkish, and the rest of the children's parents were bicultural meaning either mother or father is American. This kind of diversity required carefully and clearly organized lesson plans for a purposeful process of acquiring Turkish as a heritage language. However, the teacher had monolingual ideologies that were causing her to treat her students as "Turkish students." This teacher was the

most experienced teacher at Sunday complementary school with 15 years of teaching. She was a Math teacher when she was in Turkey for an elementary school. Now she worked in another elementary school as a sub-teacher in Chicago to teach Math. Her teaching Turkish career started five years ago when she moved to the U.S. without having a degree or endorsement on language teaching. She stated the school resources were limited so she was using the old methods to teach Turkish. It was obvious that the school's resources were so limited that teachers were left alone in the classrooms without control over the resources. However, this caused students to feel the unwillingness of teacher to teach and use the materials she brought to the class. The following conversation happened during one of the reading classes:

84	S: Ogretmenim bu alıştırmalar cok zor.	Teacher, these exercises are too difficult
85	S: Hicbirsey anlamiyorum	I don't get anything
86	T: Oglum farkindayim	I am aware of that
87	T: Bilerek seviyenizin üstünde seçtim ki	I selected this above your level on purpose
88	T: Daha iyi öğrenin diye	so that you could learn better

During my observations, I came across more students who reacted like this student towards the worksheets throughout my observations. On the other hand, kindergarten teachers paid more attention to interactive activities in their classroom. Although my focus group was Class 1, I wanted to see other classrooms and teachers' approaches to have an overall idea to compare. There were two teachers in a class of twenty-five students. They mostly divided students into small groups. They used songs, flash cards, drawings, and games to attract attention of the children. Their main aim was to make children love Turkish and their Turkish American

friends. During the interviews, both of them emphasized the importance of socializing in language classrooms. One of the kindergarten teachers also said that the strong relationships between her students and her is the most important thing to make these students want to come next week.

Overall, all the teachers have different views and methods that also reflect their ideologies for instructing Turkish language. Teachers were aware of the fact that the resources they had were not meeting the needs of their students. The textbooks were mostly donated by Turkish consulate and they were published for monolingual Turkish speakers. There were story books in the library; however, those books were not attracting students' attention because they were not updated or not colorful or fun enough for them to borrow and read. The classroom resources such as white board and desk were not providing a learning environment because of the sitting arrangement. This was influencing students' motivation to attend and learn new concepts or vocabulary negatively.

Parents' Perspective about Instructional Methods and Materials

All parents indicated that their primary aim in bringing their children to school was for them to learn or improve Turkish, followed by experiencing traditional customs and holidays in a Turkish environment. The parents mostly think that this school's presence is a good opportunity for their children to see there are other children who are like them. They can internalize the Turkish language through the bonds they build at Sunday complementary school. In a big city like Chicago, the Turkish community is scattered around in the different parts of the city. The following chart exemplifies the diversity of parents:

Table 4

Parents Background

Parents Background

	Zeynep	Vedat	Selen	Sercan	Riza	Emrah	Ethem	Fatih	Ozlem	Melissa	Uzay
Education:	In school to be a cop	Community college	PhD	Teaching endorsement from a college in Turkey	Tourist guide from a university in Turkey	High school	Bachelor's	MA	PhD	College dropout	PhD
Years in USA:	19	21	16	11	10	11	18	16	15	64	20
Husband & wife nationality:	Mother: Turkish Father: Guatemalan	Mother: American Father: Turkish	Mother: Turkish Father: American	Mother: Turkish Father: Turkish	Father: Bulgarian Turk Mother: American	Father: Turkish Mother: Mexican American	Father: Turkish Mother: Turkish	Father: Turkish Mother: Turkish	Father: Turkish Mother: Turkish	Father: Turkish Mother: American	Father: Turkish Mother: Turkish
Occupations:	Housewife	Network engineer	Lab specialist	Sales specialist	Carpenter company owner	Electrician	Aviation cargo in Qatar airways	Engineer	Professor	Oceanographer	Engineer
Language use at home:	Spanish Turkish English	Turkish English	Turkish English	Only Turkish	Turkish but mostly English	Spanish (mostly) English Turkish	Turkish English	Turkish	English Turkish	English and Turkish	Turkish English
Age:	37	63	45	35	43	43	43	33	43	64	40
Number of children	2 (8 years old and 7 months old)	2 Twins at the age of 10	Twins At the age of 7	1 daughter at the age of 6	2 daughters (6 and 8 years old)	Two sons (7 years old and 21 years old)	Two daughters (5 and 8 years old)	1 daughter	2 daughters (5 and 8 years old)	2 sons Twins at the age of 10	2 One son 12 and one daughter 7 years old)

Six out of ten parents stated that it is difficult to come together with the Turkish community except for this Sunday school. Ayse's father shared the following anecdote with me during the interview:

87	Bayram burda oldugu zaman	When the time comes for one of the *eids
88	valla ben de arkadastan ogreniyorum	I promise I learn it from a friend of mine
89	bugun bayram oldugunu.	that it is an eid day
90	Yani oyle bir yogunluk seyi içindeyiz.	We are in such a hectic life
91	Turk ortamdaysan daha iyi biliyorsun	You know it if you are with Turkish

community

92	cunku illa biri gazete takip ediyor.	because one of them for sure reads news
93	Benim hic Turk arkadasim yok	I don't have any Turkish friend
94	o yüzden sadece TACA'ya gelince	so I only realize when I come to TACA
95	ya da TACA'daki arkadaslarla	or meet people from TACA
96	bayram oldugunu anliyorum.	that is an eid day

This father was married to an American wife and he was working in the opposite direction of Sunday complementary school. Their children attended this school on Sundays but they went to a mainstream school just like other children at school. In the case of this specific family, mother wanted their children to learn Portuguese as well. As a Portuguese American mother, she tried to make sure she spent enough time that their children were exposed to Portuguese besides English. Sending their children to Turkish Sunday school was mostly through the father's effort. He woke his children up every Sunday morning and drove them up to school for forty-five minutes and waited during the instruction for three hours. For five out of ten families, the common language at home was English because either mothers or fathers were American. So, these motivated Turkish mothers or Turkish fathers to bring their children to Turkish Heritage language school every Sunday.

These families found the existence of this school very useful because of a few common reasons. First of all, parents thought that this school let their children practice their Turkish with their peers. The more these children were exposed to Turkish language, the faster they learned the language. Most of the parents mentioned that their children started using Turkish more after attending this school. As for the methods used by the teachers in the school, all focal parents

were happy with them in general. Only Deniz's father, Mahmut offered a critique regarding the large amount of writing in the school as follows:

> I think the instruction here at this school is generally satisfying for my sons. They have been coming this for five years and both of them come her with great enthusiasm. The only thing that concerns me is the amount of writing they do in class and the assignments. I am one of the active parents who gets involved in class activities. Children have only three hours of instruction to improve their Turkish here in a week but if they only improve their writing, how are they going to improve their reading, listening, and speaking skills?

This mother was aware of the amount of writing time because their sons were not happy about the assignments. His interview indicated that he criticized teacher's teaching methods because he thought that he was not sure whether all the skills were covered. This father was the one who brought short children' movies to the school every week. He also made copies of worksheets for every child in their sons' class to learn some new vocabulary from the movies. He came to school with her DVD and materials ready every week just in case the teacher invited his to the class. When the classroom teacher let him come to the class at the end of the third class, he came to the class and set the room for video watching. His enthusiasm was unique among other Turkish mothers.

When I interviewed other parents about the methods of teaching Turkish, there were some concerns regarding the teacher authority in the class. One of the parents shared her opinion on the methods during the interview:

102	Oglum her hafta ders cikisi	Every week after the school ends
103	arabada donerken	on our way back to home in the car

104	ogretmeninin yine ona	my son says that his teacher yelled at
105	cok kizdigini	him again
106	ve artik okula gitmek istemedigini	he says that he does not want to go to
107	soyluyor.	school anymore
108	Bir hafta boyunca onu ikna etmek icin	I do my best to persuade him
109	elimden geleni yapiyorum	throughout the week
110	hatta bazi minik rusvetler bile	even sometimes I bribe him with
111	veriyorum	little treats

Here this mother was careful not to talk negatively about the teachers as lines 108 show. However, her comment indicated that she wanted her child to keep attending to the school even though she had to deal with his son's unwillingness to attend. Unfortunately, this mother had to unenroll her son from school at the end of Fall semester. The teacher tried to reach the mother about the whereabouts of the child a few times. After several attempts, the mother responded and said that her son's school schedule and extracurricular activities did not leave enough time to come on Sundays.

It was surprising for the teacher to lose that child from her class because she was so sure that he was going to attend with the full support of the mother.

To sum up, the parents were generally happy about the education of their children in the school. The school had met their primary aim of teaching and developing the Turkish language and culture. There were two types disagreement that was coming from the amount of teacher talk time in the class and the amount of writing both in class and the assignments.

Children's Perspective about Instructional Methods and Materials

Children who attended this Sunday complementary school regularly had different opinions on the materials and coursebooks that they were used for instruction. Seven out of eleven students in Level 2 class criticized the books and how they were losing their focus while practicing Turkish through the assigned books. On the other hand, the rest of the students mentioned that during their interviews they loved the school and there was nothing they wanted to change about the materials.

The students who had problems with school materials mostly expressed the difficulty of the language in the books. The administration handed out two sets of books at the beginning of the semester to each student for free. One set was for the Fall semester and the second one was for the Spring term. Each set included one main course book and one workbook. These books were from the Turkish embassy in Chicago. They donated those books to this school before the classes started. However, these books were the ones that monolingual Turkish students in Turkey used in their classrooms to learn and improve their Turkish. One of the students who were against using these books in class shared the following thoughts in her interview:

> Interviewer: OK, then. Let's talk a little about these books (the books were on the table). What do you think about them? Do you enjoy what you read or see in them?
>
> Ayse: I am not sure about that. I mean there are fun pictures in it but the texts are too long and I get bored until I finish reading them. Also, I do not understand everything in the texts so I got unhappy. (04.14.18)

The conversation we had with this student confirmed that the textbooks were not written for heritage language learners but for monolingual language learners. Other students who shared

their opinions on this issue shared similar views. Pinar who were always coloring her books and notebooks said the following to the same question Ayse answered:

> Pinar: I love coloring my Turkish books. There are interesting characters in it I mean they are funny. The men have moustaches and the women always wear skirts. This book (pointing out the main course book) has too many writings in it but that's OK because I have this workbook. I color it instead. (04.04.18)

These two students were aware of the fact that the books were above their proficiency level and they couldn't keep up with what the texts were saying. Pinar was trying to find a way to love the books and she was integrating her coloring skills with the idea of embracing the materials. She was treating her Turkish workbook as a coloring book instead of a practice book.

As a participant observer in the study, my observational data let me see how students in the classroom were seeing writing practices. The teacher was always using the white board to write sentences about the grammatical point she was focusing on for weeks. When she was writing her sentences on the board, students were supposed to copy whatever they saw into their notebooks. However, most of the students were distracted during those times. Some of them were chatting among each other, few of them were just coloring their notebooks, and others were finding ways to walk around the classrooms such as sharpening their pencils or leaving for restroom. Whenever the teacher attempted writing on the board and spent more than four minutes in front of it, students started murmuring and got distracted with other things.

Based on the observations and interviews with students, the students' level of proficiency in Turkish differed among each other even though they were in the same class. They were placed in the same class with the idea that they had similar backgrounds and skills on the language.

While their ages varied from seven to twelve years old, their grade levels in their mainstream school were also different. 1st and 2nd graders tended to read the words on the board with syllabi. It was obvious they were trying to understand how to spell and pronounce what they saw on the board. Sometimes these students were whispering to articulate the words. Since they were supposed to copy whatever they saw over there, it was taking time for these students to do that. Other students who were in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grades were completing their task faster than them. This could cause some problems in the classroom in terms of classroom management.

Another issue was raised by two students during the interviews about the curriculum. Dogan and Mertcan who were in their 4th grades in their American schools said that they were doing more hands-on projects the previous year. They implied that spending so much time on reading and then learning about the grammar rules of Turkish were not making them involved in the classroom activities. A few times during the academic year, these two students were sent to one of the board members who were available at school to talk about their behaviors in class. After Dogan was sent to a board member for the second time, I was asked to sit with the student and made him read the text that the missed during his absent time. He shared his feeling with me:

> I don't know why the teacher keeps sending me out of class. I do whatever she says and finish the task before everybody. I miss other teacher from last year. We were playing more games in class and we prepared very fun posters. Let me show them to you. (12.13.17)

Here the student took me to where all the posters were presented on the hallway walls. When the student was mentioning the purpose of the project and how the best posters were awarded, he was very enthusiastic. During the interview with this student, he also shared his

concerns about writing so much. Dogan gave this response when I asked him about the pros and cons of the school:

> I spent 5 hours yesterday to complete my narrative paragraph so I couldn't go to my friend's birthday. I wish we had had less writing assignments. If I had Turkish school assignments, my father would not let me do anything else until I finish them. (03.15.18)

The three students who like the coursebooks had one common idea about why they thought that Turkish curriculum was fun. They loved learning about Ataturk who was the leader of Turkey when the Turkish Republic was established after serious wars. All these three students were enjoying the morning ceremonies where all the school was singing the National Anthem all together. They were the loud ones with happy voices. In addition to that, they were the ones who raised their hands all the time to ask questions or make comments if the topic was about Ataturk or his principles or anything related to him. One of these students shared the following thoughts:

> Pinar: Every time I open my course book, initially I see Ataturk's face. I look at him and promise in my head that I will learn Turkish well and be hardworking student.

For students like Pinar learning about Ataturk seemed like an exciting experience since they brought up Ataturk's name all the time during the interviews. Integrating Ataturk, getting ready for the National Holiday that Ataturk proposed made students happy. These three students mentioned that they were looking forward to singing, dancing, and reciting poems on the April 23rd International Children's Day celebrations. When the interviews were completed with these students, there was only one month to the celebrations. They were practicing an hour every week

for their group dance. Their costumes were getting prepared for the special day. One of these students also mentioned her excitement as it follows:

> I can't wait for Children's Day. We will perform for our dance and I will recite a poem written for Ataturk on that day. I learnt every word on the poem and memorized it. My American friends will also come and watch me that day.

This student's excitement was observed with the rest of the classroom as well. They were all making sure that they would remember their words on the performances. The curriculum was also aligned with these preparations. They were reading about Ataturk, writing about him and learning the grammatical points the texts included especially simple past tense.

Ceremonies and Instructional Time

National holidays were part of the schools' co-curricular activities. Especially the ones that were related to the Independence years of Turkish Republic. The first national holiday was Republic Day of Turkey on the 29th of October. Since this day was crucial for the history of Turkey, the school paid extra attention to celebrate it with children. They did not hold classes on that weekend for the first hour. Even though the semester had just started in September, teachers did their best to make students expose to the history of the day by presenting poems, songs, and short videos from Turkey. Not only the National holidays but also some special days were celebrated by the school such as Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's death anniversary on November 10th. National Sovereignty and Children's Day on April 23th, Commemoration of Ataturk and Youth and Sports Day on May 19th were the other special days that were celebrated in the school with the children's participation. Children were getting ready each day for the next ceremony in line. Their teachers were assigning singing songs, reading poems for each student depending on the importance of the day they were going to remember together. Parents were so supportive that

three mothers took the role of making children ready to dance in regional folkloric dances. Another two mothers provided resources to order traditional clothes from Turkey for the kids to wear during those special days.

Colors and signs provided an important set of patterns in these ceremonies. The color red and patterns related that were observed in every special day. Board members, teachers, and parents were working together to arrange the extra-curricular activity area meticulously. For example, on the celebration day of the Republic Day of Turkey on the 29th of October, the following room was designed as it is:

Figure 5

Ceremony Day

There was always a screen for presentations, video showings in the center of the performance room. They never forgot to hang on Turkish flag and one American flag on the sides of the screen. One microphone was always ready to these special days. Chairs were arranged in front of the screen. On each special day, even parents whose children did not attend

the school were visiting the ceremony. They believed those days must have been celebrated together so the children were going to feel what those days really meant for Turkey. After listening opening speeches, children had started their roles for the special day. All these days were similar in nature and the structure was in this order. At the end of each national day or special day, there were always food for children and the attendees. However, the main purpose of providing food was to make sure children get attracted to the activity so they would remember that day in the future.

Administration's Perspective

School's Sustainability

There were eight board members at TACA Sunday complementary school who served annually. They were selected by the TACA members. Each of them had the same authority on the decisions made regarding the school and Turkish American community who attended activities or events at the school building. I interviewed two out of eight board members and observed all of them during the weeks they were at school. They were taking turns to run the school every week. The only times to see all of them at the school at the same time were during the ceremonies. Apart from those days, they were taking their turns to come to the school. They produced many Discourses about the educational activities both in the interviews and participant observational data. The initial Discourse was how much time was shared for the instruction of language and culture. There was no implication or mentioning of religious education at the school.

One of the board members who I interviewed was Mr. Unlu. He stated that every year at the beginning of the semester that year's teachers and board members come together and discuss the expectations about the curriculum and educational activities. He mentioned that how teachers established a balance to introduce Turkish culture and the language was the most important thing

they cared about. Mr. Kaplan who was the second board member I interviewed also agreed with Mr. Unlu about this balance. Since the school was only three hours every weekend, teachers did not have enough time to allocate and practice cultural activities and instructional activities. They were aware of this fact so Mr. Unlu said that students were expected to perform well during the ceremonies so that both students and their parents would leave the school happily. They assumed that students would learn the language through the cultural activities and during the preparation time for the official ceremonies for both national and religious holidays.

For the continuation of this school, all the present board members and the Turkish American community worked hard to keep the school alive. This school was established in the second half of twentieth century. Turkish American Cultural Alliance of Chicago (TACA) was established in 1968. Since then, the volunteers and the community had been keeping this school active. It is a non-government, not-for-profit organization. So, their only aim is committing itself to continue to facilitate the interaction among members and the community to promote and foster continuing good relationship and understanding regardless of their background.

Mr. Unlu emphasized that children's happiness is very important for the sustainability of the school. He also shared the following during the interview:

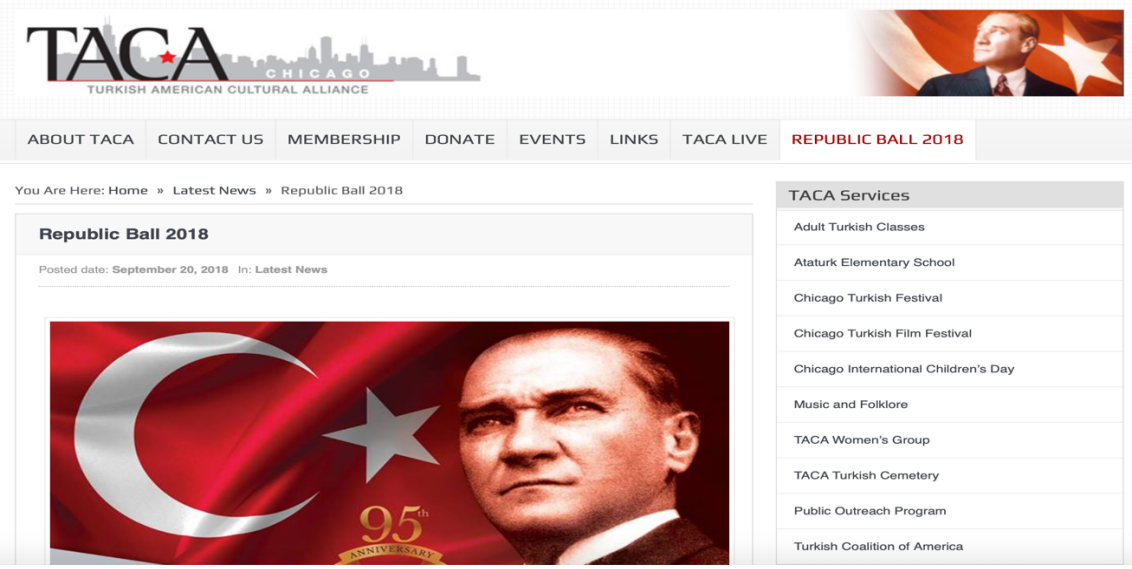
> Our expectation is that when the children graduate or finish the school, they start learning like national anthem, somehow read and understand books, understand their Turkish friends and us. While making sure they are learning these, we also want them keep coming here. It is very common that we lose students over the years. They start coming here mostly at the age of five and stop coming after they are around 10 or 11 years old. This year we have forty-five students totally at the school. In the past years, we had more students than this. There are many reasons

why we lost them but I don't want to talk about those reasons right now. (10.12.17)

This interview and the conversations happened throughout the months with the other board members in the waiting room showed that the administration had a big concern on losing students every passing year. To promote Turkish culture and the language, they arranged picnics, potluck parties, game nights, Turkish movie nights apart from the school activities. The school's web page, which is embedded in the TACA's website, is a continuous and important concern for the administrators in this respect. The homepage includes eight icons that link to different aspects of the organization: about TACA, Contact us, Membership, Donate, events, links, TACA live, Republic Ball as shown in Figure 7 below:

Figure 6

School's Website Screen Shot



The homepage includes a brief description of TACA's mission and how their vision is shaped by the common interests of the Turkish American community. The webpage also includes many other things regarding the students and community to attract the attention of the

members. There is information on Chicago Turkish Festival, Chicago International Children's Day, TACA Women's group, etc. These links provide brief information about the events and announcements. There is even a link for TACA Turkish cemetery on the page. Both of board members mentioned how important for them to keep the page updated for the members. They believed that the language and culture are supported through these activities the webpage shares and updates regularly. The more parents were informed about these activities, the more children would be exposed the Turkish culture and the language.

Challenges School Faces

There were two main challenges the school administration faced every year. Firstly, they had difficulty in finding teachers to teach for the school. On the web page, it says "All our teachers had master's degrees in their respective fields (education, engineering, science, business) and hoped to provide good role models for their students!" These teachers were all volunteers. Mr. Unlu shared the following about the teacher profile:

> Most of our teachers are professional. Last year all of our teachers were professionals. All of them were teaching in Turkey. They were teachers in Turkey. This year we have only one teacher that has a background in teaching Turkish. Other ones are PhD students and one master degree teacher. Recently we do not have any teacher who has a teaching Turkish degree. It is not easy. Occupying those people is really hard to find people like that. All these are volunteers. We only give them a gas money. That's all.

These were the exact words of the board member from the interview. He preferred to have the interview in English. What he meant here about teachers' professionalism was they work or worked as a teacher outside of Sunday complementary school. Since this school was a non-profit organization, hiring teachers was not easy as Mr. Unlu shared.

A second challenge was the amount of English used among the students during the break or even in the classrooms. The administration criticized their own system. According to them, the teachers were trying to teach as if they were teaching the students in Turkey. The following excerpt is from the interview with his regarding the teaching of Turkish:

> Gercekten ikinci dil Turkce cocuklara ve bunu daha da sevimli bir hale getirmemiz gerekiyor cocuklara. Turkce'yi Turkiye'deki Turk cocuklara ogretir gibi ogretiyor, ogretmeye calisiyor ogretmenler burda ama aslinda ikinci dil oldugu icin daha degisik yontemler kullanilmasi daha yararli bence. Daha cocuklara cekici bir hale getirmek gerekiyor dili. (11.13.17)

> Turkish is really a secondary language to children and we have to make it more attractive to children. Here the teachers are teaching, trying to teach Turkish as if they were teaching Turkish children in Turkey, but because it is the secondary language, it is more beneficial to use more different methods, I think. The language must be made more attractive to children. (11.13.17)

TACA board member's remarks were striking as they revealed his stance regarding the teaching in the school: it was not attractive for children. He verbalized the students' perception of Turkish as a secondary language, which connoted inferiority or being lacking in importance. According to him, Turkish was an inferior and less important language than English for students; therefore, it should be made more attractive, than it was then.

CHAPTER 6: HERITAGE LANGUAGE ACQUISITION OF INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY IN TURKISH: PROOF OF LANGUAGE USE

This chapter investigated the acquisition of nominal and verbal morphology in heritage language Turkish in the research site. What is different from the previous chapters is that this chapter focuses on heritage language speakers' accuracy skills of their obligatory context. Since heritage speakers' linguistic performance is a fertile ground of inquiry (Flores, Jesus, & Santos, 2016), the chapter discusses to what extent independent variables that will be explained below made an impact on Turkish heritage speakers acquiring Turkish as a minority language in an English dominant environment. In order to see the bigger picture of how children of immigrants' proficiency help them to communicate in their heritage language, three children's spoken language will be analyzed deeply by looking at specific features of their Turkish usage. Those features include: Case markers (i.e. Accusative, Locative, Ablative, Genitive and Dative) in the nominal domain and five Tense/Aspect/Modality (TAM) markers (i.e., *-(I)yor*, *-(y)AcAK*, *-DI* and *-mIş*) in the verbal domain were examined. Those children represent the ones who show lower proficiency, middle proficiency, and higher proficiency in their heritage language usage. An oral production task was used to examine the Case and TAM markers. This chapter is a response to the fourth research question in my study: Within a heritage language school that involves members of the Turkish immigrant community, how does the students' Turkish heritage language skills differentiate from one another linguistically?

A way to answer this question is to look closely at the language itself, and at grammatical properties of Turkish that are acquired by age 4 or 5 in monolingual Turkish children. In particular, I examine case and tense-aspect and mood (TAM) morphology. To have a better idea of the potential vulnerability in Case and TAM markers, independent variables were added to the

oral production task data that was conducted for each student in the research site. The following independent variables were included in the data set because they may potentially affect students' skills on their Case and TAM marker usages in their spoken language skills: Students' age, the duration of Turkish schooling for students, dominant home language, and frequency of vacation in Turkey.

Age. It was predicted that depending on the age of the heritage speakers at the research site, their acquisition skills on the verbal domain for Case and Tam markers will vary. Their ages were between 7 and 12 at the time of the data collection. The question of whether these children suffer from language attrition (Montrul, 2008) as they develop was asked while analyzing the data. In addition to this, it was expected to see if there was a difference between the morphological skills of younger age children who were exposed to only the dominant home language and school age children with reduced input from his/her HL because the dominant language of the school /society becomes his/her dominant language.

The duration of Turkish schooling for students. This independent variable was added into the model because the Sunday school in this study was the first exposure for the heritage language children after hearing the language at home since birth. Due to this school, the children had the chance to improve their literacy skills. It was expected that the longer the children attended this school, the better morphological skills could be gained in the verbal domain.

Dominant home language. The reason why this independent variable was added into the model was to see how the dominant language at home was impacting students' acquisition skills for the given obligatory context at Sunday school. The studies conducted on the impact of dominant home language for bilingual or heritage language speakers indicate that family language policies (FLP) could vary for different families. Some families give priority to learning

English and this could surpass the importance of learning the heritage language in those families. On the other hand, some families may want their children to maintain the heritage language at home whatever the dominant language of the society is. By including this variable into the model, it was expected to see how the various family language policies include the acquisition of Turkish for each child in the study.

Frequency of vacation in Turkey. This independent variable was added to the model to see how the frequent travel could affect heritage language learners' skills in the verbal domain. The question of how often the families took their children to the country where they were only exposed to heritage language was asked. Depending on the responses, the accuracy skills of children on Case and TAM markers were analyzed.

The accuracy results as dependent variable and all these independent variables were run through a Software for Statistics and Data Science (STATA) and then interpreted in this chapter. Considering these independent variables, the level of exposure to HL, family and society factors are discussed at the end of the chapter.

In the following sections, the findings were structured as follows. First the case markers Case Markers and then Tense-Aspect-Modality (TAM) markers in Turkish are described in order to put the emphasis on the specific features of Turkish that helped to analyze the three students' language use. Then, the oral production task was explained. Next, the results of the statistical analysis were interpreted with each control variable for the chosen three students out of eleven students.

Case markers in Turkish. Case markers attach to noun phrases and indicate their place? in the sentence (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, p.173). The following chart displays how the six case markers function using a few examples.

Table 5

The system of case markers in the Turkish language (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005)

Case	*Suffix*	*Main functions*	*Example*
Locative	-DA	The time/place adverbial, the oblique object of certain verbs, a subject complement, the compound adjectival modifier.	*1.* *Dere-de* '(in) the river';*çocuk-ta* '(at) the child'
Ablative	-DAn	The adverbial of place/time, the oblique object of certain verbs, the complement of certain postpositions, adjectives.	*2.* *Dere-den* '(from) The river; *çocuk-tan* '(from) the child'
Genitive	-(n)In/-Im	The modifier in a genitive-possessive construction, the types of non-finite subordinate (noun, relative) clauses.	*3.* *Dere-nin* 'of the river'; *çocuğ-un* 'the child's'
Dative	-(y)A	The recipient/beneficiary of an action, the destination/target of an action, purpose, the oblique object of certain verbs, the cause of a causative construction.	*4.* *Dere-ye* '(to) the river'; *çocuğ-a* '(to) the child'
Accusative	-(y)I	Direct object	*5.* *Dere-yi 'the river';* *çocuğ-u* 'the child'
Possessive	-m, -n, -i, -miz, -niz, -leri	Attribute possession to the objects	*6.* *Dere-miz 'our river';* *Çocuğ-umuz 'our child'*

Turkish employs morphological case to emphasize some grammatical functions and categories. The marking of these morphological markings is quite obvious as Turkish language is an agglutinative language, with rich morphology. The markers can be used with personal and demonstrative pronouns, noun phrases, question words, and derived nominals. Accusative case

marker is the only one that leaves direct objects in the non-case-marked form. The accusative case marker can be omitted when the direct object is definite, if it is mentioned before or if it is emphasized (Example 5). If there is an indefinite object before the verb, the accusative case marker is necessary in the sentence. The accusative markers are also necessary when there is an indefinite object with a possessive suffix (Example 5).

Subject-object-verb word order is determined according to the case and definiteness of the object in Turkish. The complements and the heads are inseparable. Therefore, verbs come after objects in a sentence and noun phrase complements go before nominal heads. In a simple Turkish sentence, the word order is as followed: Subject-Object-Verb. Yet, depending on the case markers and properties of subject and object the order of these two can change. If there are indefinite and non-referential NPs, they go with the verb but if there is a definite NP, they come at the beginning. In order to have the order of subject and object in a sentence, not only the subject but also the object should be either definite or indefinite. However, when the subject is indefinite and object is definite, the word order is Object-Subject-Verb.

(1) a. <u>both S and O are definite → SOV</u>

Timsah adam-ı ısır-dı

Crocodile man-ACC bite-PAST

'The crocodile bit the man'

(2) b. <u>both S and O are indefinite → SOV</u>

Bir timsah bir adam ısır-dı

A crocodile a man bit-PAST

'A crocodile bit a man'

(3) c. <u>S is definite and O is indefinite → SOV</u>

Timsah bir adam ısır-dı

Crocodile a man bit-PAST

'The crocodile bit a man'

(4) d. S is indefinite and O is definite → OSV

adam-ı bir timsah soktu

adam-ACC a crocodile bit-PAST

'The man was bitten by a crocodile'

Tense/Aspect/Modality (TAM) markers. According to the Turkish language system, the majority of the Tense/Aspect/Modality (TAM) markers have multiple functions. Their functions could be classified with individual functions depending on their tense, mood and aspect. When we look at the category under 'tense' in Turkish, there are two main tenses: past tense and non-past tense. These two tenses have subcategories. Past tense is used with two suffixes *-DI* and *-mIş*. Non-past tense is grouped with *–(I)yor* and future tense marker *-(y)AcAK*.

There are functional and expressive differences among these markers. The suffix *–DI* is used to emphasize the past action. It is also used to show perfect aspect when the present result of a past action is emphasized (Kornfilt, 1997).

a. Past tense marker with past action

Doktor bir canta al-dı dün.

doctor one bag buy- PAST.3S yesterday

'Doctor bought a bag yesterday.

b. Perfect tense marker

anne-si-ne bir canta al-dı dün (ama henuz ona vermedi)

motherACCDAT one bag buy PAST

'She bought a bag for her mother yesterday (but she has not given it to her yet).'

Evidential marker *–mIş* is also used to emphasize past tense and perfective aspect. The difference between the suffix *–DI* and evidential marker *–mIş* comes from the evidence to referred by the event. If there is a reference to indirect evidence, *–mIş* is used. *–DI* is used when there is direct evidence regarding the event.

c. Teyze-m siz-e gelmiş

Aunt-POSS. 1SG you-ACC visit-EV.3SG

'Apparently, my aunt visited you.'

The suffix *–mIş* is also used when the person who expressed the action did not witness the event but s/he still has a knowledge of the event. There are possibilities that the person who expresses the past event is using hearsay, meaning she or he heard the event from someone else or there is some evidence that leads to the possible event that happened in the past.

d. Sinava cok calis-ma-mis-sin.

Exam-DA well study-NEG-EV-2SG

'You didn't study well for the exam.

In this example, the person who reads the exam paper realizes that the student did badly in the exam and assumed that she or he didn't study. Another usage of the suffix *–mIş* is in the case of reporting an event that has been heard or written to another person (Ketrez, 2012).

e. Ercan parti-ye git-me-mis, Ceren söyle-di.

Ercan-NOM party-DA go-NEG-EV.3SG Ceren-NOM tell-PAST.3SG.

'Ercan didn't go to party, Ceren said so.'

Another usage of *–mIş* is to express adoration or fondness about the event or the opposite when the speakers wants to create irony. The last usage of *–mIş* is used when telling stories or narratives to children (Kaili, Çeltek, & Papadopoulou, 2016, p. 83):

f. Ali Ayse'ye evlenme teklif et-mis

Ali-NOM Ayse'DA marriage offer-EV

'(this was not expected) Ali offered Ayse to get marry'

Present Tense and Imperfective Aspect Marker *–(I)yor*

The TAM marker *–(I)yor* is used to express present tense in Turkish and it has multiple usages such as for habitual, progressive, and future references.

g. Habitual state:

Her gece erkek kardes-i-m-e kitap oku-yor-um.

Every night brother-ACC-POSS-DA book read-PROG-1SG

"I read books to my brother every night."

h. Progressive State:

Hakan bugun uykulu gorunuyor

Hakan today sleepy seem-PROG-3SG

"Hakan seems sleepy today."

h. Future references with scheduled events

Annem ile ben gelecek yaz Avrupa turu-na gid-iyor-uz

My mom with me next summer Europe tour-DA go-PROG-1PL

"My mom and me are going to Europe tour next summer."

Marker of future -(y)AcAK. The future morpheme *-(y)AcAK* is a marker of time with a value of main meaning of future reference. Some claim that this marker is a modality (Gulmez, 2013). There is a slight difference between *-(y)AcAK* and *–(I)yor* in that the marker *-(y)AcAK* has more definite reference to future than the marker *–(I)yor.* The following is an example of how the marker *-(y)AcAK* is used in a sentence where the future meaning is more definite:

i. Sinav yarin sabah saat 9 da başla-yacak.

The exam tomorrow morning time 9 at start-FUT.

'The exam will start at 9 am tomorrow morning.'

Another usage of Marker of future *-(y)AcAK* is with assumptions in which the speaker thinks that there is a high possibility of the future action (Kornfilt, 1997):

j. Sabah havuz-a yüzme-ye git-ti-m. Mayo-m orada ol-acak.

In the morning pool-DA swimming-DA went-PAST-1SG. Swimsuit-POSS there be-FUT.#SG.

'I went to the pool to swim in the morning. My swimsuit must be there.'

To summarize, Turkish has a complex and differentiated case system and TAM system (Ablative *-DAn*, Locative *-DA*, Dative *–(y)A,* Genitive *-(n)In/-Im* and Accusative *–(y)I*) as well as TAM markers (Past Tense and Perfective Aspect marker *–DI*, Evidential marker *–mIş*, Present Tense and Imperfective Aspect marker *–(I)yor* as well as Future Tense marker *-(y)AcAK)*. These markers are mastered by age 6 or 7 in monolingual children, but when input is not sufficient these markers lag in development in bilingual acquisition. I next examine accuracy of these markers in bilingual Turkish-English children growing up in the United States as a function of the students' age, income threshold of the family, the duration of Turkish schooling, years the families spent in

the US, dominant home language, original nationality of mothers and fathers, frequency of vacation in Turkey.

Participants

Eleven Turkish English bilingual children ages 7-12 who grew up in Chicago were the same participants as in the previous two chapters. All of the children were first generation Turkish heritage speakers, born in Chicago. The parents and their children completed a structured interview eliciting information about their language and about their children's language skills and patterns of language use in Turkish and English at home. Children in the study answered twenty-seven questions about their bilingual language history, patterns of language use across their life span and during schooling, and their attitudes about improving Turkish. The parents answered more practical questions including but not limited to bilingual language history, questions about their immigration stories, their education and labor background, family language and literacy practices, customs or traditions the families retained from their heritage culture, and lastly questions on their children's future plans. Here the data from three students out of eleven were analyzed in relation to their proficiency skills in their heritage language. Vedat's son Mertcan, Zeynep's daughter Leman, and Ozlem's daughter Pınar were chosen to describe the similarities and differences among their spoken skills. Basic descriptive information is provided in the following table about two groups of participants.

Table 6

Information About the Child Participants and Their Parents

	Simultaneous Bilingual HS	**Parents**
N	11	10
Age during data collection	8.19 (mean)	26.8 (mean)
AoA Turkish	birth	birth
AoA English	birth	21.9
Turkish feels like L1	50%	100%
Turkish feels like L2	50%	---

The parents were Turkish who immigrated to the U.S. from ages 17 to 42 (mean 26.8) and they had been living in the United States between 10 and 21 years during the data collection. Most of the parents started acquiring English when they were in Turkey but several of them (40%) gained their English language skills after they immigrated to the U.S. However, this situation was different for the simultaneous bilingual heritage children who were all born in the United States and their exposure to English started at very early ages. Even though the heritage speaker children were all born in an English-speaking environment, 50% of them felt like English was like a first language. The rest of the participating children felt English was a second language for them. The lowest level of education among parents was a high school degree. The children who can be called sequential bilinguals reported that they started learning and using English and Turkish around the same time. The parents also confirmed that their children were exposed to both languages simultaneously. Two families reported that their children lived with their Turkish speaking grandparents at home. Others visited their grandparents or relatives in Turkey during vacations when they could. Five families (50%) had both Turkish mothers and fathers. The rest of the families had either only Turkish origin mother or Turkish origin father. Only two families (20%) had a Spanish-speaking mother or father

at home and the rest of the families (30%) have American origin mothers or fathers. All of the simultaneous bilingual heritage speakers attended both schools in the United States starting from pre-school and heritage language school from early ages. However, the number of years for heritage language school varied among simultaneous bilinguals. At the time of data collection, heritage language participants' duration of schooling was between at least 2 and 5 years. The following table presents the analyses of three students' speaking skills in their heritage language.

Table 7

Students' Profiles

	Age	Dominant Home language	Heritage Language Schooling	Frequency of Turkey visits
High proficiency HLL (Mertcan)	10	Turkish	3 years	Every year
Intermediate proficiency HLL (Pinar)	7	English	1 year	Every year
Low level proficiency HLL (Leman)	9	English	2 years	Never

Task

Montrul and Sanchez-Walker's (2013) story retelling task was used in this study in order to understand Turkish heritage speakers' inflectional morphology skills in Turkish and how the external and internal factors influence speakers' skills in their heritage language acquisition. In the task, the colored pictures of children's tale *Little Red Riding Hood* was used with the participants. Each child interpreted what they saw in each picture. They were asked to use as many descriptive

adjectives as possible. In the task there were a total of 15 pictures of the story. You could see examples pictures from the task in the following figure.

Figure 7

Sample pictures to narrate the story of Scufiţa Roşie "Little Red Riding Hood"

The narrative task was video recorded for each child. Then, they were transcribed for analysis. Transcriptions were double checked by two different Turkish speaking researchers including me. There were two separate judgement analysis of Case and TAM markers. Then, researchers came together to cross check the judgements.

Results

A total of 547 utterances with objects were considered for the analysis. Of the total 547 utterances, 303 (55.5%) had fragments (without verbs or subjects) and 243 (44.5%) complete sentences (with verbs, subjects and/or objects). According to the presence and absence of Case and TAM markers, their accuracy levels were analyzed for each morpheme. Out of 546 utterances, 273 of them (50.1%) were accurate in terms of subject verb agreement in the Turkish language system. The following table demonstrates the number of obligatory contexts as well as the rate of correct compliance for all of the six Case morphemes searched in the current study as follows: Ablative, locative, dative, genitive, accusative, and possessive. The errors were further analyzed for their accuracy levels.

Table 8

Accuracy Rates for Heritage Speaker' Case Markers

Suffixes	Number of observations	Number of correct suppliance	Mean accuracy percentage
Locative (–dA)	546	523	95.7
Ablative (–dAn)	546	526	96.3
Dative (-(y)A)	546	489	89.5
Genitive (-(n)In/-Im)	546	492	90.1
Accusative (-(y)I)	546	488	89.3
Possessive (-(s)I)	546	411	75.2
Total (Mean)	3276	2929	89.35

The mean accuracy percentages of all the Case markers are different. The Ablative suffix seems to be the most correctly supplied suffix (M=96.3) while possessive marker has the most erroneously supplied suffix of all six markers.

Table 9

Mean Accuracy Percentages of TAM Morphemes

Suffixes	Number of obligatory contexts	Number of correct suppliance	Mean accuracy percentage
Future (*-(y)AcAK*)	546	532	97.4
Past tense (*-DI*)	546	402	73.6
Present tense (*-(I)yor*)	546	497	91
Evidential (*-mIş*)	546	123	22.5
Total (Mean)	2184	1554	71.125

In table 5, accuracy results of Tense Markers were shared. Depending on the accuracy results of all, evidential (*-mIş*) is the one that had the lowest accuracy rates for HL speakers while the most successfully supplied marker had an accuracy rate of Future tense marker. Relying on the descriptive results related to the use of Case and TAM markers, a difficulty scale can be compiled as shown in Table 4 and 5. These results demonstrate that the difficulty scale (from the least difficult to most difficult) for verbal domain is as follows:

- Possessive < Accusative < Dative < Genitive < Locative < Ablative

  (-(s)I) < *-(y)I* < *-(y)A* < -(n)In/-Im < (–dA) < –dAn
- Evidential < Past tense < Present tense < Future

  -mIş < *-DI* < *-(I)yor* < (*-(y)AcAK*

In the following part, I will explain each marker individually by looking at their correlation with statistically important control variables and the possible reasons behind them. In the first part the accuracy rates of TAM morphemes will be presented one by one. Then, the results based on the CASE markers will be shared. At the end of this part, the overall analysis of all CASE and TAM markers and their correlation to the control variables will be explained.

Individual results for TAM markers. I ran four logistic regression analyses in the model for one binary dependent variable: six with Case markers and five with TAM markers as dependent variables. In almost all models, heritage speakers' age, heritage speakers' Turkish schooling duration, dominant home language, and lastly frequency of heritage speakers' vacation time in Turkey were fixed factors.

Table 10

Accuracy on Future Tense by Independent Variables

ac_future	P> I z I
age	0.246
dom_home_lang	0.130
Frequency of Turkey visits	0.042
duration_tr_schooling	0.061
_cons	0.954

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.1011 / Wald chi2(5) = 7.75
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test.

Table 6 includes the results for future tense marker -*acak*. Among the control variables, only *duration of Turkish schooling is* significant. According to the results, the number of years

Heritage speakers spent in the school setting is impacting speakers' skills in future tense. Different from other case markers and their obligatory contexts, the future marker *-acak* has the highest accuracy percentage (97.4). In this result, there had been included only four independent variables: *age, dominant home language, frequency of Turkey visits., and duration of TR schooling.* The rest of the control variables were excluded since they were found to be the dummy variables in the case of -acak.

Table 11

Accuracy Percentages on Future Tense by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
Future	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	**86%**	100%	100%	**90%**

Two out of eleven heritage speakers showed errors in their future tense usages. The rest of the speakers had no errors in the parts they were expected to use future tense. Example of errors produced by the heritage speakers are listed in (1). The following examples will demonstrate the differences among high, intermediate and low proficiency levels of three students: Mertcan, Pinar, and Leman.

(1) High proficiency student (Mertcan):

Bir adam küçük kızı koruyacak. (HSE2) (no problem)

A man little girl-ACC protect-FUTURE

'A man will protect the little girl.'

Example (1) is correct because the heritage speaker removed the necessary suffix from the root and put the correct version of suffix according to vowel harmony. This example shows us how the rest of the students used the correct form of future tense in their expressions.

(2) Intermediate proficiency student (Pinar):

Simdi o anneannesi yemekcek. (HSE11) (not removed the suffix)

now it grandmother-POSS to eat-FUTURE

'Now the wolf will eat her grandmother.'

Example (2) is incorrect because the heritage speaker did not remove the "mak/mek from the sentence. Turkish future tense uses the suffixes "acak" and "ecek". The future tense verb contains the verb root, "acak" or "ecek" and the personal suffix. We obtain the verb root by removing the "mak/mek" from the infinitive form.

(3) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Kırmızı Başlıklı Kız kurabiye götür. (HSE8) (incorrect tense marker)

Little Red Riding Hood cookie bring

'Little Red Riding Hood brings cookie.'

This incorrect usage shows us that heritage speakers can mix tense markers. When the student is expected to use future tense in the context, this specific student preferred to use present tense. This usage includes an imperative meaning as well. Leman gives an order to the character in the story and wants her to carry the cookie. However, there should be a future meaning implying that Little Red Riding Hood will conduct the deed in the future.

Among these three students, 10-year-old Mertcan shows the highest proficiency in future tense usage. If we look at the Table 3, we will remember that he was the one who visited Turkey every year and he was also the only student who attended heritage language school for three

years at the time of data collection. On the other hand, Pinar and Leman were younger than Mertcan and they had been attending the school for a year or two.

Simple Past. Among the control variables, *age, frequency of vacation time in Turkey,* and *income threshold of the parents* are statistically significant.

Table 12

Accuracy on Simple Past by Independent Variables

ac_past	P> I z I
age	0.001
dom_home_lang	0.017
freq_vac_tr	0.001
duration_tr_schooling	0.085
_cons	0.002

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0000 / Wald chi2(5) = 73.60
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test.

According to the results, the acquisition of simple past tense for heritage speakers is associated with the age of language learners. The more the heritage speakers' age decreases, their ability to use simple past tense in Turkish increases. In addition to this, the more HSs visit Turkey, their proficiency in simple past gets better.

Table 13

Accuracy Percentages on Simple Past by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
Past	59%	**30%**	55%	94%	100%	91%	80%	**56%**	82%	69%	**77%**

There were 307 errors with simple past (-di) (total of 547 utterances). Student number 2 that refers to Mertcan who was 10 years old at the time and he was older than Pinar and Leman. Even though he used to visit Turkey every year, he showed lower proficiency while using simple past tense in Turkish. However, Pinar was 7 years old and she was the youngest among the three students. Pinar was also one of the few students in the school who visited Turkey every summer for a long period of time. Her skills in using past time in this specific task showed that frequent visits were an important factor to support heritage speakers' speaking skills to express actions that happened in the past. In the case of Leman, she had never visited Turkey until the age of 9. Her low proficiency in using past tense prevented her from expressing what she saw in the Little Red Riding Hood story correctly. Example (4) shows errors with vowel harmony while adding simple past suffix to the verb. Mertcan had difficulty in finding the right consonant before adding the simple past suffix to the verb.

(4) High proficiency student (Mertcan):

Kırmızı Başlıklı Kız ormana doğru koşdu. (HSE2)

red hood-def girl forest-DAT run-PAST

'Little Red Riding Hood run to the forest'

Example (5) demonstrates errors with using the right simple past tense in the appropriate situation. Here Leman knew that she was supposed to convey the message that occurred in the past but she picked the wrong suffix to add at the end of the verb.

(5) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Kopek pesinden koşacaktı. (HSE8)

dog after-PREP run-FUTURE-PAST

'Dog was going to run after the girl.'

On the other hand, Pinar showed excellence while using past tense in her expressions. When she was asked to describe what happened in the picture where Little Red Riding Hood was running towards the forest, she managed to find the correct suffix with the correct vowel harmony.

(6) Intermediate proficiency student (Pinar):

Kırmızı Başlıklı Kız anneannesinin evine koştu. (HSE11)

red hood-def girl grandmother- POSS house-DAT run-PAST

'Little Red Riding Hood run to her grandmother's house.'

Evidentiality. Among the control variables for evidential case marker, *dominant home language* and *frequency of vacation time in Turkey* are statistically significant. According to the results, there is a negatively signed linear relation among the dominant home language and duration of Turkish schooling with children's skills in evidentiality.

Table 14

Accuracy on Evidentiality by Independent Variables

ac_evidential	P> I z I
age	0,122
dom_home_lang	0.003
freq_vac_tr	0.006
duration_tr_schooling	0.388
_cons	0.209

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0003 / Wald chi2(5) = 28.94)
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test.

This finding addresses the potential alternative argument that evidentiality marker is acquired later than the other case markers. The studies done on Turkish native speakers and L2

learners of Turkish support this finding. The second language learners of Turkish have had difficulties in perceiving *-mis* due to the multifunctionality of morphemes (Kaili, Çeltek, & Papadopoulou (2016). The participants in this study showed similar results but the only difference is that this time the learners are heritage speakers of Turkish and they are children whose ages vary from 7-12.

Table 15

Accuracy on Evidentiality by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
-mis	43%	**20%**	40%	79%	11%	29%	11%	**2%**	20%	28%	**28%**

As indicated in Table 5, the mean accuracy of heritage speakers evidentiality is 22.5% which is the lowest result among all the Case markers. Student 8 with two percent accuracy rates showed the most errors in his evidential suffix usage during the story retelling task. Since this specific suffix was to report the event that happened in the past, the heritage speaker showed some confusion in terms of the agency of the suffix. Even though the heritage speaker did not witness the events in the story, he did not use the correct form of (-Mis). Example (5) shows how Student 8 misplaced the usage of evidential suffix with simple past while describing an action that the story teller cannot guess from the given pictures.

Leman's results in evidentiality is the lowest of all students in the task that was given. As it was mentioned in Table 3 for students' profiles, Leman was 9 years old in a household setting in a dominant English home. She had never visited Turkey until the age of nine. This profile influenced her ability to use evidentiality in her story telling task negatively.

(7) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Babaanne dogum gunu pastasi yapti. (HSE8)

grandmother birth day-ACC cake-ACC make-PAST

'Grandmother made a birthday cake.'

Here Leman did not see any picture showing that grandmother was cooking. On the given picture, the student saw a picture with a birthday cake on the table. She was supposed to use a suffix that implied an action in which the witness did not see the action but just the result. Instead of using past tense, the expectation was to hear a report with an evidential suffix such as Mertcan's example:

(8) High proficiency student (Mertcan):

Babaanne dogum gunu pastasi yapmis. (HSE2)

grandmother birth day-ACC cake-ACC make-EVI.

'Grandmother made a birthday cake.'

Example of Evidential with reasoning:

(9) Intermediate proficiency student (Pınar):

Kirmizi baslikli kiz-in dogum gunuy-du (HSE11)

Red riding hood little-ACC birthday-PAST

'It was Little Red Riding Hood's birthday.'

The suffix, *-mIş* expresses inference that is made based on reasoning or previous knowledge. For the given example, an appropriate context would be when there was an evidence on the text or the book mentioning that it was a little girl's birthday. The photo the heritage speaker sees has a cake on the table. Pınar made the right assumption by looking at the photo but the student picked the wrong past tense marker. The example would be as follow:

(10) Kirmizi baslikli kiz-in doğum günüy-**müş** (HSE10)

Red riding hood little-ACC birthday -EV

'It was Little Red Riding Hood's birthday.'

Since reported past tense has no equivalent in English, definite and reported past tense usually look the same when translated:

(11) Arkadaşım Türkiyeye gitti - My friend went to Turkey

Arkadaşım Türkiyeye gitmiş - My friend went to Turkey

Another example of incorrect usage of evidential came from a very common mistake from 80% of heritage speakers. In this version of evidential marker *–mIş,* this suffix refers to a completed event in the past. The biggest difference between *-DI* and *–mIş* comes from direct and indirect evidence. If there is a direct evidence, *-DI* is used and *–mIş* is used when there is an indirect evidence.

(12) Kurt babaanne-yi ye-di. (HSE2)

Wolf grandmother-ACC eat-EV

'Wolf ate grandmother.'

Here there was no way of seeing evidence of the wolf's eating grandmother on the picture the heritage speaker was describing in the scene. The speaker was supposed to use evidential marker because of the indirect evidence on the picture.

Mertcan, Pinar and Leman's proficiency did not show a huge difference in the case of evidentiality. They all had difficulty in expressing actions that they did not witness with their own eyes. Using Turkish as a dominant language at home did not help Mertcan. Even his heritage language school experience for 3 years did not assist his skills in evidentiality. Their

results are also aligned with Kaili et al (2016)'s study. The discrepancies were witnessed in these three students' speaking skills and they were more obvious than other case markers.

Iyor. Among the control variables for -*iyor* case marker, there is no statistically significant result that could affect students' skills in using present continuous tense marker in their story telling task. According to the results, there is a negatively signed linear relation among these variables and children's skills in using -*iyor* and this result is statistically significant at the level of $p<.01$.

Table 16

Accuracy on Iyor by Independent Variables

ac_iyor	P> I z I
age	0.215
dom_home_lang	0.984
freq_vac_tr	0.779
duration_tr_ schooling	0.313
_cons	0.000

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0001 / Wald chi2(5) = 32.76
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *$p<.1$, **$p<.05$, ***$p<.01$, two-tailed test.

Table 17

Accuracy on Present Continuous Tense by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
-iYor	93%	96%	87%	76%	**100%**	98%	94%	**71%**	**100%**	100%	90%

As indicated in Table 5, the mean accuracy of all heritage speakers is 91% for (*-iyor*). Leman showed the lowest score among all heritage speakers in the task. The present continuous tense verb is basically one big word containing the verb root, "yor" and the personal suffix. We obtain the verb root by removing the "mak/mek" from the infinitive form. For example, the verb root of "yazmak" would be "yaz", "izlemek" would be "izle" and "konuşmak" would be "konuş". However, Leman did not remove "mak/mek" from her sentences. The given example shows how she ended up using the infinitive version for her sentence:

(13) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Kirmizi baslik-li kiz meyve topla-mak (HSE8)

Red riding hood-PREP girl fruit pick-TO

'Little Red Riding Hood is picking fruit.

Here the heritage speaker also forgot to add the necessary suffix to give the continuous meaning with -iyor. Pinar also made a similar error while trying to use -iyor in the story retelling task. If the verb root ends in a vowel, we drop the vowel at the end completely. To it we attach one of "ı/i/u/ü". The letter that we choose depends on the verb root's last vowel. Choosing the correct letter is done to preserve vowel harmony. Next we attach the present continuous tense suffix "yor". However, this specific student (HSE11) could not pick the appropriate vowel for her verb.

(14) Intermediate proficiency student (Pınar):

Kurt anneanne-yi yeme-ye çalış-**a**yor (HSE11)

wolf grandmother-ACC eat-ACC try-PRES.

'Wolf is trying to eat grandmother.'

Here, HS was supposed to select 'ı'as a vowel instead of 'a' to add it at the end of the verb she selected to use. The correct sentence would be as follows:

(15) Intermediate proficiency student (Pınar):

Kurt anneanne-yi yemeye çalış-**ı**yor .(HSE11)

wolf grandmother-ACC eat-ACC try-PRES.

'Wolf is trying to eat grandmother.'

The rest of the heritage speakers, other than student 4 and 9, did well in their sentences with present continuous. This specific suffix is one of the markers that heritage speakers learn earlier than others such as evidentiality. Mertcan, Pinar, and Leman used the marker in the appropriate time with the correct usages by following vowel harmony rule in Turkish. Among these three, Leman had more incorrect usages than Mertcan and Pinar.

Individual Results for Case Markers

Locative. Among the control variables for *locative* case marker (-da/-de), frequency of vacation in Turkey and the nationality of mother are statistically significant.

Table 18

Accuracy on Locative by Independent Variables

ac_locative	P> I z I
age	0.118
dom_home_lang	0.783
freq_vac_tr	0.015
duration_tr_schooling	0.951
_cons	0.000

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.717 / Wald chi2(5) = 14.41
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test.

According to the results, there is a positively signed linear relation between the time spent in Turkey for children and their locative case marker skills and this result is statistically significant at the level of $p<.1$. Given that the variables, the more children spend their summer vacations or winter breaks in Turkey, the more their skills improve in the spoken usage of locative case marker. The interview data showed that the parents who were both native speakers of Turkish preferred to use mostly English at home. They would prefer for their children to improve English as soon as possible instead of Turkish. The surprising result aligned with Xia (2017) study in which Heritage speakers' parents' language attitudes and ideologies are influenced with English-only ideology.

Table 19

Accuracy on Locative Case Marker by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
-da	100%	98%	96%	97%	94%	97%	98%	89%	98%	84%	97%

As indicated in Table 5, the mean accuracy of all heritage speakers for using locative suffix *-da* in their story retelling task was 95.7%. This result was among the highest score for CASE marker results. Most of the students showed proficiency in their locative usage. In English we express location using words such as in, at, on and by. In Turkish the locative case suffix is used to express location. The locative case suffix is *DE* and is added to the end of a noun. The suffix *DE* obeys what we will call suffix consonant harmony, which determines whether the first consonant in the suffix is voiced or voiceless depending on the voicedness of the letter that comes before it. If the sound before the suffix is voiceless the suffix starts with a '*t'*. If the sound

before the suffix is voiced the suffix starts with a '*d'*. A sound is voiced when our vocal cords are vibrating while producing the sound. The heritage speakers who made errors mostly had issue with choosing the right vowel for the harmony. The following example was one of the common incorrect usages of location case marker:

(16) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Kurt orman-**t**a kirmizi baslik-li kiz-i takip et-mis. (HSE8)

Wolf forest-LOC red riding hood-PREP follow-EVI. 3SG

'Wolf followed Little Red Riding Hood in the forest.'

Here Leman selected the '*t*' even though the sound before the suffix was voiced. The correct sentence would be as follows:

(17) Kurt orman-**d**a kirmizi baslik-li kiz-i takip et-mis. (HSE11)

Wolf forest-LOC red riding hood-PREP follow-EVI. 3SG

'Wolf followed Little Red Riding Hood in the forest.'

Mertcan, Leman and Pinar all did as well (except for minor errors) as their other peers at the school. This specific case marker shows the location of the objects or subjects in the sentence. This makes it easy to acquire since using locative suffix is very common in the language

Ablative. Among the control variables for *ablative* case marker (–dAn), *age, years spent in the U.S. for parents and family's income threshold* show statistical significance.

Table 20

Accuracy on Ablative Case Marker by Independent Variables

ac_ablative	P> I z I
age	0.048
dom_home_lang	0.778
duration_tr_schooling	0.069
_cons	0.017

Number of obs = 546 / Prob > chi2 = 0.0006 / Wald chi2(5) = 21.68
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test.

According to the results, there is a positively signed linear between the age of children and their accuracy skills in ablative case marker usage in the verbal domain.

Table 21

Accuracy on Ablative Case Marker by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
-dan	100%	100%	98%	97%	97%	91%	94%	100%	100%	100%	**82%**

As indicated in Table 5, the mean accuracy of heritage speakers' ablative case marker usage was 96.3%. This result was also one of the highest scores in CASE marker results. Almost all the students showed proficiency when they are expected to use ablative suffix in their story retelling task. The ablative case suffix *-DEn* is added to the end of a noun to indicate movement away from the noun. It is also used to indicate the object of several verbs. The ablative case suffix obeys suffix consonant harmony, just as the locative case suffix does. Heritage speakers who had incorrect usages of this specific case had issues with choosing the correct suffix ending.

There is only one letter difference between locative -Da and ablative -Dan suffix and this could be confusing for heritage language learners. Even though the incorrect utterances were few, they had similar errors. The following sentence exemplifies this:

(18) Intermediate proficiency student (Pınar):

Avcı kurt-un karnı-n-**dan** kızı çıkar-dı. (HSE11)

hunter wolf-ACC stomach-POSS-LOC girl-ACC remove-PAST

'Hunter removed the girl from wolf's stomach.'

Instead of using locative, Pinar was supposed to use ablative suffix in order to indicate the movement. The correct sentence would be as follows:

(19) Intermediate proficiency student (Pinar):

Avcı kurt-un karnı-n-**dan** kızı çıkar-dı. (HSE11)

hunter wolf-ACC stomach-POSS-LOC girl-ACC remove-PAST

'Hunter removed the girl from wolf's stomach.'

The few incorrect usages came mostly from Pinar who had an intermediate level proficiency in Turkish. She was the one who was exposed to English more than Turkish at home. Her family were both university professors and they used English to teach their courses. They were not home most of the day. Pinar was attending a dual language school from 8 am to 3 pm. Then, she had tennis practice and then gymnastics every week day with native speakers of English. When Pinar finally arrived home, she used to complete her assignments before the dinner. Her parents said that they read Turkish stories every night before sleep. However, they mostly used English to go over what Pinar learned during the day at school. The lack of practice in Turkish could be the reason why she could not select the right suffix to fit into vowel harmony in her story telling task.

Dative. Among the control variables for *dative* case marker, *age* and *parental education* control variables show statistical significance.

Table 22

Accuracy on Dative Case Marker by Independent Variables

Accuracy dative	P> I z I
age	0.028
Dominant home lang	0.792
Frequency of trips to Turkey	0.473
Duration of Turkish schooling	0.142
_cons	0.366

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0300 / Wald chi2(5) = 17.01
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test

According to the results, there is a positively signed linear relation among these variables and children's skills in using *dative* and these results are statistically significant at the level of p<.01. Given that the variables are positively associated with the use of *dative* case marker, age influences HL learners' dative case marker skills. The older the child, the more likely that they will be accurate in their dative usages.

Table 23

Accuracy on Dative Case Marker by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
-Ya	86%	**98%**	96%	86%	89%	90%	78%	**77%**	90%	97%	**100%**

As indicated in Table 4, the mean accuracy for *–da* was 89.5%. In the ranking of all the case markers accuracy results, it came in the fourth place out of sixth. It is safe to say that most of the students showed proficiency in their dative usage. The dative case suffix is *(y)E* as mentioned in the introduction. The dative case suffix is often used to signify motion towards something. A lot of verbs that take an object with the dative case suffix, can take an object with the accusative case suffix as well. The object with the accusative case suffix is called the direct object and the object with the dative case suffix is called the indirect object. Heritage speakers who had incorrect usages had issues with locating indirect or direct objects so that lead them to ignore the dative suffix or add an extra dative suffix to their nouns. The following example was observed during the task:

(20) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Kirmizi baslik-li kiz babanne elma, ekmek ve kurabiye ver-di. (HSE8)

red riding hood-PREP girl grandmother apple, bread and cookie give-PAST

'Little Red Riding Hood gave apple, bread and cookie to her grandmother.'

Here Leman ignored the fact that the direct object which was 'babaanne' in this sentence was supposed to take *-Ya* to show the motion toward grandmother. The following example shows the correct version of the dative suffix:

(21) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Kirmizi baslik-li kiz babannesi**ne** elma, ekmek ve kurabiye ver-di. (HSE3)

red riding hood-PREP girl grandmother apple, bread and cookie give-PAST

'Little Red Riding Hood gave apple, bread and cookie to her grandmother.'

On the other hand, Mertcan's skills in using dative was almost perfect with 98% accuracy rate. He had no difficulty in this specific case marker. Mertcan's father was a Turkish national

and his mother was a native speaker of American English. His biggest advantage was having a grandmother at home all the time who did not known English except for few basic words. He had to use Turkish to communicate with her. His excellence in using Turkish case markers could be the cause of living with a monolingual grandmother.

Genitive. Among the control variables for *genitive* case marker, *frequency of vacation in Turkey* show statistical significance.

Table 24

Accuracy on Genitive Case Marker by Independent Variables

ac_genitive	P> I z I
age	0.874
dom_home_lang	0.251
freq_vac_tr	0.030
duration_tr_schooling	0.118
_cons	0.060

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0028 / Wald chi2(5) = 23.50 Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test.

According to the results, there is a positively signed linear relation among these variables and children's skills in using *genitive* and these results are statistically significant at the level of p<.01. Given that the variables are positively associated with the use of *genitive* case marker, the time families spend in Turkey during their holidays also influences HL learners' genitive case marker skills. The more children spend time in Turkey among their monolingual peers and with their relatives, the more likely that they will be accurate in their genitive usages.

Table 25

Accuracy on Genitive Case Marker by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
- (n)İn	95%	**100%**	96%	89%	95%	90%	**74%**	**74%**	92%	84%	95%

As indicated in Table 4, the mean accuracy of heritage speakers for genitive case marker was 90.1%. This was also one of the highest scores with the third one in line. The genitive case suffix *(n)İn* is used to denote possession. This suffix uses *'n'* instead of *'y'* as a buffer letter. Most of the issues came from this feature, especially two students who made most of the errors with 74% had issues with selecting the correct letter. The given example shows how they interpreted their utterances and came up with the following:

(22) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Kız kurt-a sor-du **el-ler-i-nin** neden çok büyük (HSE8)

Girl wolf-DAT ask-PAST hand-PLU-ACC-POSS why so big

'Girl asked wolf why your hands are so big.'

(23) Intermediate proficiency student (Pınar):

Kurt-un **karn-ı-yın** içine taş koy-du-lar. (HSE11)

Wolf-POSS stomach-ACC-GEN into stone place-PAST-PLU

'They placed stone into wolf's stomach.

In example (22), Leman used *'y'* instead of *'n'* when she was supposed to show possession. The correct version would be *'karnının'*. This is one of the common errors even native speakers of Turkish make when they are learning at early ages.

Possessive. Among the control variables for *possessive* case marker, *frequency of vacation in Turkey* show statistical significance. According to the results, there is a positively signed linear relation among *frequency of vacation in Turkey* with children's skills in using *possessive* and these results are statistically significant at the level of $**p<.05$ and $*p<.1$ respectively.

Table 26

Accuracy on Possessive Marker by Independent Variables

ac_possessive	**P> I z I**
age	0.721
dom_home_lang	0.094
freq_vac_tr	0.007
duration_tr_schooling	0.692
_cons	0.390

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0001 / Wald chi2(5) = 31.37
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. $*p<.1$, $**p<.05$, $***p<.01$, two-tailed test.

Given that the variables are positively associated with the use of *possessive* case marker, the more HL learners are exposed to Turkish in Turkey, the better they perform in the verbal domain of possessive. As it happened in locative and dative markers.

Table 27

Accuracy on Possessive Case Marker by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
- (n)İn	86%	**100%**	87%	70%	83%	76%	56%	**43%**	80%	63%	69%

The mean accuracy rate of child heritage speakers for possessive case marker was 75.2% with the lowest result. This marker works with genitive case marker in which if we want to show possession in Turkish, we need to add a Genitive Case suffix to the possessor and the possessive marker to the possessed noun. For this marker, the expectation was to see the appropriate suffix at the end of the noun compounds. The students who failed to add the appropriate possessive marker mostly had issues with adding a suffix to give possession meaning. The two examples are from student 8 who was nine years old at the time of data collection. It was her second year at the Sunday Turkish school and the dominant home language was English.

(24) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Kurt babaanne ev git-ti. (HSE8)

wolf grandmother house go-PAST

'Wolf went to grandmother house'

The correct version of this sentence would be:

(25) Kurt babaanne-**nin** ev-**i**-ne git-ti. (HSE8)

wolf grandmother-GEN house-POSS-DAT go-PAST

'Wolf went to grandmother**'s** house.'

When the genitive marker is ignored/forgotten, it is likely that possessive marker will be ignored as well. These two markers complete each other in terms of possessive meaning. As Table 23 indicates, Leman had the lowest accuracy rate with her possessive marker usage.

Accusative. Among the control variables for accusative case marker, *dominant home language* and *duration of Turkish schooling* variables show statistical significance. According to the results, there is a positively signed linear relation among *years spent in the U.S for parents* and children's skills in using *accusative and* these results are statistically significant at the level

of $p<.05$. Given that the variables are positively associated with the use of *positive* case marker, two variables that show statistical significance have a negatively signed linear correlation at the level of $*p<.1$ for *duration of TR schooling* and $**p<.05$ for *dominant home language.* Neither of these two variables impacted HL learners' accusative skills positively.

Table 28

Accuracy on Accusative Marker by Independent Variables

ac-accusative	P> I z I
age	0.215
dom_home_lang	0.003
freq_vac_tr	0.320
duration_tr_schooling	0.014
_cons	0.000

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0018 / Wald chi2(5) = 24.91
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. $*p<.1$, $**p<.05$, $***p<.01$, two-tailed test.

Kaili, H., Çeltek, A., & Papadopoulou, D. (2016)'s study is aligned with this result as well since the studies have been conducted so far for accusative case marker indicated that second language learners of Turkish have also experienced difficulty in the acquisition of this specific marker.

Table 29

Accuracy on Accusative Case Marker by Each Student

Accuracy %	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
- (Y)i	**72%**	94%	94%	83%	97%	92%	83%	89%	96%	84%	**97%**

The mean accuracy rate of accusative usage for heritage speakers was 89.3 (Table 4). These results indicate that heritage speakers mostly did well in their verbal domain for this specific marker. Mertcan (Student 2) who made the most errors on this marker was 8 eight years old at the time of data collection. His mother was native American and his father was a Turkish American. Even though the father said that the dominant home language was Turkish, some incorrect usages of accusative marker were observed. The following example is on one of the common errors this student did when he was supposed to use 'Ni' suffix:

(26) High proficiency student (Mertcan):

San**a** daha iyi duyabilmek icin (HSE2)

to you better hear-INFINITIVE

'In order to hear you better.'

The correct version of this phrase would be with the correct vowel after the pronoun in the phrase:

(27) High proficiency student (Mertcan):

Seni daha iyi duyabilmek icin (HSE2)

to you better hear-INFINITIVE

'In order to hear you better.'

Another incorrect usage of accusative came from Leman who was 9 years old at the time of data collection. It was her second year the Turkish school as well. Her mother was Turkish American and her father was African American. The dominant home language was Turkish. The following sentence exemplifies how the student had an issue selecting the correct suffix:

(28) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Anneanne-**ni** yi-yor (HSE8)

Grandmother-POSS eat-CONT

'It is eating **your** grandmother.'

The correct usage of this expression would include a suffix by adding a direction to object. In the incorrect version the student implies that the grandmother is the researcher's grandmother while it was supposed to imply that it was little red riding hood's grandmother. We can give this meaning via the following example:

(29) Low proficiency student (Leman):

Anneanne-yi yi-yor (HSE8)

Grandmother-ACC eat-CONT

'It is eating **her** grandmother.'

In the case of Leman, the dominant home language was always English. Even her mother was using English during regular day activities or at the weekends. Leman's mother stated that she was too late to bring her daughter to Turkish language school. She said that she wanted her child to adapt into the American way of schooling and the culture quickly and easily. Leman was attending English only public school and then practicing her swimming skills with her American friends. Leman's grandmother knew English very well; Leman's mother thought that her daughter did not see the necessity to push herself to use Turkish when Leman and her grandmother visited or facetimed each other.

Agreement. Among the control variables for *agreement* in the sentences HL learners made, *age*, *parental education, frequency of vacation in Turkey, duration of TR schooling in U.S.,* and lastly *the nationality of mother* control variables show statistical significance.

Table 30

Accuracy on Agreement by Independent Variables

ac_agreement	P> I z I
age	0.000
dom_home_lang	0.229
freq_vac_tr	0.003
duration_tr_schooling	0.004
_cons	0.000

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0000 / Wald chi2(5) = 100.58
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test.

This model for agreements demonstrated more significance than the other models. Except for the dominant home language variable, all the other ones have a positively signed linear relation among them and children's skills in using *agreement* and these results are statistically significant at the level of **p<.05, ***p<.01. Given that these variables are positively associated with the use of *agreement* in their sentences, I can conclude HL learners have the awareness of Turkish sentence structure due to the influence of these control variables. This model indicates that the more students devote time and effort, with the help of their parents and the time spent in Turkey and the Turkish schooling even if it was only on Sundays, these children get better at forming sentences with subject verb agreement.

Table 31

Accuracy on Agreement by Each Student

Accuracy	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
Subject-Verb	70%	**93%**	74%	84%	**1%**	17%	33%	23%	76%	25%	51%

The mean accuracy of using the correct subject verb agreement combinations was 51%. Among these results, student 5 failed more than everybody else in producing agreement in the sentences she made. Heritage speaker 5 was 7 years old at the time of data collection and it was her first year at this Turkish school. She had no previous Turkish schooling experience. Even though the father claimed that the dominant home language was Turkish, her mother was Spanish American. In addition to that, they were not visiting Turkey every year. Student's father said that they went to Turkey when the child was 3 years old and then they did not have time to visit. Their child had almost no correct subject-verb agreement. This student used only English even though all the questions and instruction were in Turkish.

Student 6 who was 7 years old at the time of data collection, like student 5, was visiting Turkey every two years. His average result was better than student 5 but there were still inconsistencies in his sentences in terms of subject-verb agreement. The dominant home language was Turkish but parents said that they started putting more emphasis on English after their child started English only elementary school. The following example was one of the sentences while he (or she) was trying to describe what Little Red Riding Hood was doing the in the forest by herself:

(30) Kiz babaanne cicek ver-ecek (HSE6)

girl grandmother flower give-FUTURE

'Girl will give flower grandmother.'

The correct version of this sentence should have included the direction of who would give flower to whom. The subject here was the girl and the object of the sentence was grandmother; however, the meaning was completely changed since the student did not include dative at the end of the object. This led to subject-verb agreement issue.

(31) Kiz babaanne-si-ne cicek ver-ecek (HSE6)

Girl grandmother-POSS-DAT give-FUTURE

'Girl will give flower to her grandmother.'

Among Mertcan, Pinar, and Leman, Leman had the lowest accuracy rate even in subject verb agreement. The sentences she came up with almost all the time had missed the suffix to show singularity or plurality. Her English-speaking skills were more proficient than her heritage language and her first language was affecting her second language.

Code Switching and Code Mixing. Among the control variables for *code switching* and *code mixing* and in the sentences HL learners made, *age*, *dominant home language, frequency of vacation in Turkey, and duration of TR schooling in U.S* control variables show statistical significance. *Code switching* and *code mixing* showed 6 statistically significant findings in just one model out of 8 variables.

Table 32

Code Switching & Code Mixing

Code_sw_mix	P> I z I
age	0.000
dom_home_lang	0.009
freq_vac_tr	0.039
duration_tr_ schooling	0.001
_cons	0.000

Number of obs = 546 /Prob > chi2 = 0.0000 / Wald chi2(5) = 87.53
Estimations performed using STATA 16.0. standard errors adjusted for clustering on conflict episode. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed test.

Except for dominant home language control variable, all the other ones have a positively signed linear relation among them and children's skills in using *code switching* and *code mixing*

and these results are statistically significant at the level of $**p<.05$ for dominant home language, $***p<.01$ for all the others. Given that these variables are positively associated with the use of *code switching* and *code mixing* in their sentences, I can conclude that all these factors do not hinder HL learners in applying code switching in their sentences because they were all born in the States and attended English speaking schools.

Out of eleven students, only 22% of them used only Turkish in their story retelling description task--205 sentences out of 944 that were in Turkish. The rest was all mixed starting with English and ending with Turkish, or using only Turkish for certain nouns or adjectives. This result indicates that the heritage speakers who attended Turkish school used mostly English in their verbal descriptions. Even though Leman used more code-switching in her sentences than Mertcan and Pınar, they had also a lot of moments in which they could not remember the equivalence of English word to describe the story in Turkish.

Discussion

This chapter presented findings from a quantitative analysis of HL students' language skills and use at one complementary school in Chicago, IL. Using socio-linguistic framework, I investigated HL acquisition of inflectional morphology in Turkish by heritage language learners depending on spoken language data collected from the participants. The specific morphemes under investigation were the Case morphemes (Ablative, Locative, Dative, Genitive and Accusative) in the nominal and the TAM markers Past Tense and Perfective Aspect marker *-DI*, Evidential marker *-mIş*, Imperfective Aspect and Present Tense marker *-(I)yor* and Future marker *-(y)AcAK*) in the verbal domains. In order to see the overall picture of sentence structures in Turkish, I looked at agreement in the sentences they used during the data collection. Lastly, I investigated whether the participants were using code switching or code mixing in their

utterances. The main target was to see whether HL learners demonstrate the variability in their use of inflectional morphology in an agglutinative language.

To evaluate HL learners' skills in Case and TAM markers in the bigger picture, I ran a statistical test by adding control variables to data. Those were students' age, the duration of Turkish schooling for students, dominant home language, frequency of vacation in Turkey.

The results indicated that Heritage language learners (7-12 age) provided the target morphemes with varying accuracies. Student participants' highest accuracy was with future ((y)-acak) in TAM morphemes with 97.4 % accuracy in 546 obligatory context and the lowest accuracy was with evidential(*-mIş*) with 22.5 % accuracy in the same amount of context value. This result is consistent with Coskun-Kunduz (2019)'s working study in which she found that "the comprehension of *-mIş* is more preserved in first-generation Turkish immigrants as compared to its production" not with heritage language speakers. The overall accuracy rates of all the TAM markers was 71.1 %. (see in Table 3 the mean accuracy percentages of TAM morphemes). On the other hand, the accuracy rates in Case markers were generally higher than TAM markers. Student participants used ablative (–dAn) with 96.3% accuracy in all the observations and the lowest accuracy rates were in possessive (-(s)I) case marker with 75.2 %. These results gave me an understanding of how proficient the students were with Case and TAM markers at the time of data collection. To highlight the results, I focused on three specific students' results by giving examples from their story telling task. These students were Mertcan (10 years old) with a high proficiency level in Turkish, Pınar (7 years old) with an intermediate proficiency in Turkish, and lastly Leman (9 years old) with a low proficiency level in Turkish.

These results were used to interpret the statistical results coming from STATA by looking at all the control variables mentioned above. Statistically significant results were divided

into two groups in order to understand the individual markers and how they were influenced by the factors. I called the first group family factors and the second group society factors. In the following section, I share how I interpreted these factors and their influence on Case and TAM markers usage for heritage language learners.

Family Related Matters

Family background is essential for heritage language speakers because language skills are influenced by dominant home language and how much time those parents speak to their child in the heritage language. Even though language attrition is a potential problem for heritage language speakers, it is validated with research that family and community factors are a critical influence on children's language development in addition to school and individual factors (Dixon, Zhao, Quiroz, & Shin, 2012). According to the results, frequent vacations to Turkey has the highest rate in terms of statistically significant results on almost all of Case and TAM markers except for *ablative, accusative, dative, future, -iyor, simple past* (for details see Table 19 overall results for Case and Tam markers). The participants who visited Turkey every two years or every year either in summer or winter break showed better results in their language skills in those markers. I did not look at the variability among the duration of Turkey visits but still the results related to the ones who frequently visit Turkey had the biggest influence on the spoken languages skills with Case and TAM markers with 62%. The parents' interviews also confirmed how they valued the visits they did every year. Even though all the parents thought that their children improved their spoken Turkish language skills every time they went to Turkey, visits to Turkey every year was a priority only 3 families of Melissa (Mertcan's mother), Ozlem (Pinar's mother) and Ulas (Leman's father) who went to Turkey as a family every year and all of them spent almost two months there. This amount of exposure to the heritage language learners

affirmed that there is a statistically significant correlation between the visits and the language use.

The effect of the dominant home language on HL learners' Case and TAM markers proficiency were found as statistically significant only with 31% of the overall observations. To be specific, the dominant home language of the family had a positively signed linear relation only with simple past tense marker (-Di). Other than that, Case marker accusative (-(y)I), TAM marker evidential (-*mIş*), and code switching and mixing had a negatively signed linear relation with the dominant home language. Given the results, it seems the less HL learners were exposed to Turkish at home, their skills in these specific domains got better. The results with code-switching and mixing sounds plausible because HL learners are not getting enough exposure to their heritage language at home and they are preferring to use both languages while sharing their ideas. In the story retelling task, students used either English or Turkish words to describe what was happening in the story. The following has some examples from the task that include code-switching:

Student 4: Bak wolf is heavy because his stomach is heavy.

Look wolf is heavy because his stomach is heavy.

In this example the student prefers to start her/his sentence with a Turkish action verb while s/he was trying to explain why the wolf in the story looked fat. By looking at this sentence, it could be said that the student's English is more dominant than his/her Turkish. This imperative verb in Turkish signals that the family members are using it in their daily conversation. I also observed that the classroom teacher at the complementary school was using the same verb before explaining the target topics.

In the following example, we will see another student who used code switching while describing what the girls and the grandmother were doing at the beginning of the story.

Student 6: O kiz and her anneannecim dancing

That girl and her my *grandmother* dancing

In this sentence it was obvious that the student's Turkish was more dominant than his/her English.

Society Related Matters

In addition to family background, I looked at societal factors as sources to see the different effects of heritage language children's development with Case and TAM markers. These factors have the potential to provide opportunities for HL children to improve their HL. I focused on one factor under this category and duration of Turkish schooling since this control variable showed statistical significance in four different models. According to the results, the duration of Turkish schooling has a statistically significant effect on students' code switching and mixing tendencies, their agreement skills on the sentences they made, their ability to use accusative Case marker when it was necessary, and lastly on their ability to produce complete sentences or not. Among these results, accusative case marker had a negatively signed linear relation with the duration of Turkish schooling. This finding indicates that the more time students spent in this specific Turkish complementary school, the better the skills they showed on the accusative. Students varied in the number of years they attended this Turkish school on Sundays, varying from one year to three years. Four out of eleven students attended the school for 3 years. Five out of eleven of them came to school for 2 years consecutively. Only two students attended the school for only one year. Mertcan was one of the students who was in his third year at the school. His high proficiency level especially in his speaking provided robust

evidence about the importance of being schooled in the heritage language. It was Pinar's first year and Leman's second year even though Pinar showed better performance while retelling the story of "Little Red Riding Hood." Despite attending only for one year, Pinar's family were taking their daughter to Turkey every year for long periods. Additionally, the dominant language at home was Turkish even if Pinar preferred to explain herself through English while talking about her daily activities in her English-only public school. However, for Leman things were different because she did not have the similar opportunities as Pinar had. Her father was African American who did not know Turkish. Only her mother knew the heritage language; the common language among parents was English so Leman was hearing more English than Turkish at home.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to look at the oral production skills of heritage speakers at the Sunday complementary Turkish school to understand if children of immigrants were using the correct markers in the nominal and verbal domain. Three findings stand out in relation to the literature. First, a strong positive effect was found among parents who took their children to Turkey at least every two years on the child's Case and Tam markers usages; when parents visited the home country every three years or less, it had a negative effect. This finding is consistent with the findings of Biedinger, Becker, and Klein (2015), in which exposure to the heritage language through family and relatives was found to have an impact on the children of the immigrants in Germany. The duration of visits and the quality of communication for HL learners varies for every child. The children who had a chance to be exposed to their heritage language more than their peers who attended the same complementary school in Chicago showed statistical significance in the following areas: evidentiality, genitive, locative, possessive case markers, and simple past TAM marker. They were also good at using agreement in the sentences

they made for the task in their spoken responses. They were able to construct full sentences while retelling a story. Together, these results suggest that the quantity of time allocated to language plays a role in Case and Tam markers and the ability to construct full sentences with agreement in their target language.

Second, dominant home language had an effect on children's spoken language development with Case and TAM markers usage: this may reflect on parents' attitudes towards keeping the HL. Parents who used Turkish impacted their children positively in 6 areas; there was one negative impact on the usage of -iyor during the task. It was found that the amount of exposure to the language contributed to children producing more full sentences in Turkish and having agreement in the sentences HL learners constructed. This finding is in line with Hoff and Elledge (2005) in which mother's and father's preferences to use the heritage language had a statistically significant effect on the children's ethnic language vocabulary. This might be attributable to the fact that most of the parents (either mother or father) immigrated to the U.S. after college when they were adults. Their native language skills were already developed before coming to the States and this gave them better opportunities to transfer their skills to their children. Hammer, Farkas, and Maczuga's (2010) study also confirms the findings in this study by showing that more exposure was likely to mean higher levels of Turkish proficiency but perhaps not greater acquisition levels of using time markers such as *-iyor* (present continuous tense) for young HL learners.

Third, the age of heritage language learners impacted children's heritage language development in shaping their skills in Case and TAM markers in verbal domains. The children who were attending the school at least two years during the time of the study showed the best results in their acquisition skills. This result is in line with Dixon et al. (2012) who found that the

majority of language learners who started studying their heritage language in their early ages and kept practicing more and more with the help of structured schooling, as it was in this study, were more proficient than others. Therefore, the age of the heritage language speakers contributed to the language development of the children as long as they were being schooled every year and visited Turkey at least every two years.

A minor but interesting finding is that dominant home language had a positive effect on the children's code switching and mixing and the correct usage of evidential case markers. This finding is supported by Pan, Rowe, Singer, and Snow (2005) who found that families who used the heritage language consistently with their child at home showed more variation in their growth in the language. The families who were able to respond in HL to conversations and the families who were able take their children to Turkey, and lastly those who brought their children to Turkish complementary school every weekend had positive influences on their children's language learning.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the findings and limitations of the study, and discusses the implications for future research in heritage language education. First, the key findings are summarized and discussed by connecting them to the research questions. Then, implications are presented. A brief overview of the heritage language education field and the description of the study are disclosed before the final discussion of each chapter.

Heritage language education is a complex and ambiguous phenomenon. Scholarly efforts that choose to investigate it along a single dimension are limited since there are many factors that influence its implementation including school policies, teacher education programs, and resources for these specific language learners. Thus, heritage language learners are exposed to their parents' language mostly at home without a support system through their schooling period in the U.S. Even though it has been estimated that one in every four students will be an English language learner by the year 2025 not only because of the increasing numbers of immigrants but also because of the diverse language use at home (Van Roekel, 2008), the need to accommodate heritage language learners and the methodologies to respond to these needs in classrooms are big challenges that are waiting to be solved both for teachers who have these students in their classrooms and students who are heritage speakers. After recognizing the differences between second language learners and heritage language learners, there is a still a question that waits to be answered: What are the language needs of heritage language learners and how can we meet them?

Life stories and family backgrounds influence HL learners' exposure, especially during the language acquisition years starting from birth to their schooling. The proficiency of individual HL speakers is influenced by the quality, quantity, modality, setting, and timing of the

input (Carreira, Hitchins Chik, & Kagan, 2017). What these students go through after they start schooling makes the difference in terms of their literacy skills within the dominant language of the society. They start becoming either simultaneous or sequential bilinguals depending on the aforementioned factors (Montrul, 2012) in time. This impacts their heritage language skills negatively with some kind of language attrition, and their HL can erode or become like "Swiss cheese" as Polinsky and Kagan (2007) report in one of their studies. These minority language speakers keep their understanding of their heritage language with basic vocabulary and structure but they are not fully comprehending what they are reading or hearing.

On the other hand, monolingual or native speaking children, who are the dominant language users of the society they live in, have many opportunities to build on their home language through literacy opportunities at school. They not only develop their informal but also formal language skills by going through complex grammar structures and advanced vocabulary exposure. However, HL speakers do not have that advantage. So, their literacy skills are fostered in the majority language. Even though these heritage speakers have the benefits of first language acquisition (Montrul, 2008), there exist many gaps in knowledge and skills in their heritage speaker. In order to fill these gaps and skills that HL learners cannot gain through majority language education, parents send their children to after school community language programs or Saturday/ Sunday complementary schools.

My study focused on issues related to language, literacy, and identity of Turkish immigrants in the U.S. because existing literature suggested that second-generation immigrants experienced loss of language and culture with negative effects; there were a very limited number of studies on Turkish HL schools. One study mentioned in Otcu-Grillman (2014) shared the results of New York's community languages other than English (LOTE), showing that Turkish

was the second language from the end in the spectrum of languages in community schools of New York. There are studies looking at parental involvement and how first-generation Turkish parents maintain their children's Turkish as a heritage language (Senyurekli a& Detzner, 2008) but previous studies looking in depth at Turkish heritage schools in the U.S. are limited to a few studies. Research with immigrant learners in the U.S. suggested that retaining the home/heritage language was a positive factor in immigrant children's academic achievement and well-being; thus, an important next step was to look at another population such as Turkish heritage speakers. The research on this school contributed to the data on Turkish American heritage language speakers, their identities, and most importantly, the role of HL schools in maintaining Turkish language. The findings of this study will be a guide to assist them in seeing how their practices help and how their instruction and co-curricular activities need to be modified so as to create a more vibrant curriculum. Sharing the results with teachers and parents through a workshop would be helpful in order to make a closer connection with teachers and board members to encourage them to change their curriculum and classroom practices for the benefits of students' literacy skills in a more communicative way.

Considering the importance, and potentially causal role, of heritage language speakers' exposure to their first language in the study of the heritage language education, this dissertation examined a community heritage language program, how and to what extent it influenced heritage speakers' literacy skills, and whether resources the programs provide are sufficient for the acquisition and the maintenance of the heritage language. I collected new data for one of the least studied minority languages in the U.S. setting by identifying heritage speakers age, their parents' background, teachers' methods, the proficiency skills of the students, and resources provided at school that impact HL learners. In doing so, I intended to make a significant

contribution to the ethnographic end of the emerging study of heritage language learners to which the shift in focus is promising. I intended the study to provide important information on sociocultural and sociolinguistic factors that affect heritage language learners within a specific language school setting.

I conclude the dissertation with a final discussion of findings by placing the emphasis on their contribution to the literature; strengths, weaknesses and implications of the ethnographic findings; and finally, thoughts on future research directions.

Summary of the Findings

This dissertation is unique as it only the second study ever conducted in a Turkish Sunday school in the United States (Otcu-Grillman, 2009). The findings can assist a struggling community that has lacked research about the contributions of Turkish heritage schools. My findings regarding the role of this school to maintain and improve Turkish as a heritage language and building Turkish cultural identity in the U.S. show that even the limited time the parents shared for their children's heritage language literacy skills every Sunday has a meaningful and beneficial impact despite the lack of appropriate resources and well-prepared teachers.

Observations during one year showed that this Turkish school serves not only as a language school but also as a community identity building center. Its teachers were not language teachers. Instead, they were mostly recent graduate students who were not trained to teach in the elementary schools. This created problems when they transmitted information to Turkish American students, as these students' characteristics were different from those of the Turkish students in Turkey. Heritage language students were (emergent) bilinguals with different needs than monolinguals. As discussed in Chapter Two, heritage language learners are not served well in the mainstream education system that does not cater to their special language needs (Valdes,

2005). Ethnic mother tongue schools like the Turkish school serve to fill this gap to some extent; however, the kind of education provided in these community-based schools is not sufficient for the students' language needs. As previous heritage language studies have also described (He, 2004; Jo, 2001; Kondo, 2005; Lucy, 2001; Luo, 2013; Potowski & Carreira, 2004; Tse, 2001; Wells, 2010), heritage language students are immersed largely in the ideological and cultural teachings in their speech communities within content-based curricula in the heritage language. These heavily loaded curricula are often taught through monolingual ideologies and teacher-centered pedagogical methods by native speaker teachers of the heritage language who are not specifically trained in language teaching. Within such a pedagogical atmosphere that is different from the mainstream schools, the students struggle to learn the basics of the heritage language while trying to learn the content that they were presented with.

My research conducted on community-based heritage language school among teachers, students, and parents showed conflicting views regarding the need for the continuous cultivation of language and identity. The majority of the participants recognized the importance of nurturing language and culture but in ways that they primarily associated with certain institutionalized forms of teaching. Three out of four teachers believed that the existence of this school contributed to the students' language identity and their attitude towards keeping their mothers' or fathers' language. The controversial idea coming from one teacher implied that students at this heritage school were too young to be expected to adapt to heritage language culture. The parents who were specifically Turkish American expressed a greater need for organized language classes, i.e. recognized heritage language as the key instrument for communication with their relatives and friends in the country where the heritage language was spoken. These parents also expressed a need to communicate with their own children in the heritage language. On a more

personal level, the participants' point of view and the diversity among families in terms of exposure to different language (see Table 2 in Chapter 4) affected heritage language learners' attitudes towards the learning process. Analysis of the open-ended interview questions which were related to identity showed that students' self-acknowledgement was based on how parents represented and interpreted their own identities. The majority of the parents (88%) kept identifying themselves as only Turkish instead of Turkish American although they had been living in the U.S. for more than 10 years. Their nationalistic views on their Turkishness appeared throughout the interviews. Their nostalgia for living in Turkey and spending more time with their Turkish relatives and family members was observed when they insisted on being called Turkish first then Turkish American.

Content-analysis of the open-ended interview questions with heritage language learners indicated that a large number of learners directly adhered to their heritage language through either their mothers or their fathers or through both their parents. The heritage language learners associated the use of their heritage language with communication. The common motto the children embraced was "we understand each other; therefore, we are communicating;" however, the parents who sent their children to improve literacy skills and be exposed to heritage language culture thought the opposite way. The parents' interviews showed that they wanted their children to use Turkish with their elder relatives in their occasional visits to Turkey and when the parents wanted to communicate in Turkish in their daily lives. The inconsistency between children and parents in terms of how they approached the heritage language led children to adopt more bicultural identities because they were the product of bicultural families who lived in a society where the American way of schooling and living was the culture.

Heritage language learners benefited both from the resources the school provided and the teachers they had. The traditional instruction enabled the learners learned to speak and write in Turkish mostly in community-based heritage language school classroom settings. Parents' role in this school was very enriching and helpful for their children's learning process. In one academic year, heritage language learners had many opportunities to gain speaking, reading, and writing skills. The literacy opportunities occurred within an encouraging learning environment with parental support. However, there was an issue with the resources the school provided. The books written for native Turkish speakers created problems for heritage language learners who were struggling with the basics of the language. This struggle was represented in learners' speaking tasks as well.

HL learners were having troubles in their heritage language acquisition of inflectional morphology in Turkish. A strong positive effect was found among parents who took their children to Turkey at least every two years in terms of accurate usage of Turkish Case and TAM markers. In addition to this, the duration of heritage language school had a positive impact on students' speaking skills. The more they were exposed to the target language, the better pronunciation skills and familiarity with case and TAM markers were observed. Linguistically, students performed almost perfectly in their marker usages except for their results in evidential marker (-mış) usage with only 22% accuracy. They excelled in Case markers such as locative and possessive suffixes and demonstrated success in their simple past and future tense When the results were interpreted to analyze the speaking skills of heritage speakers, dominant home language of each family, frequency of visits to Turkey of heritage speakers, their age, and lastly the duration of heritage language schooling helped uncover the underlying variables that influence students' skills. The study showed that the value of the school was enormous since it

was the only environment for students, who attended English-only public schools during the week days while living in an English-speaking city, to get exposed to their heritage language.

Implications for Practice

The findings showed that the teachers and the parents considered their students to be similar to their students in Turkey because of their monolingual ideologies. They tried to teach them the content-based Turkish elementary school curriculum in the same way that they taught there. However, as Valdés (2005) points out, the administrators and teachers should be sensitive to the students' bilingual/bicultural/multilingual identities. They should design their curriculum in a way that addresses the learners' future needs and goals.

Furthermore, the administrators and teachers may consider borrowing strategies and second language methodologies from mainstream classrooms in the U.S. For instance, they could learn about teaching through personalized projects, group and collaborative work. They could change their present teacher-centered instruction to one that is more student-centered. In addition, the teachers could prepare more challenging lessons. Lesson preparation helps manage classrooms better and provides opportunities to implement new activities and materials.

The study also pointed out that the administrators, the teachers and the parents all had expectations from each other with regard to the students' performance in the school. These expectations were only natural if all parties did their tasks in their own domains. Presently, this is not always the case and creates conflicts among the groups. Closer communication and cooperative work among all the parties would help the school be better positioned to serve students in the future.

Future Research Implications and Limitations

There are several topics that deserve further investigation. For example, future research study may explore what happens to students after graduating from the Sunday school in terms of developing the language and literacy skills in the heritage language. Second, the school studied for this research was a secular one with devoutness to Ataturk's principles in founding Modern Turkey. Since there are also religiously-oriented Turkish schools in the U.S., a research study on the Discourses within them would also yield interesting results. A comparison and contrast of both kinds of schools would contribute to understanding the roles of these schools in the U.S. and the kind of "Turkishness" that they promote. Finally, this study only described the focal students' practices in their Sunday school environment. Future research may consider following the focal students into their regular schools to see any similarities or differences in their social practices, relationships, and ways of acting within both types of schools.

The current study has a number of limitations. For example, (1) only eleven children's language use was examined; (2) mono-lingual children were not included in the study in order to cross-check HL learners' language skills as a control group; (3) the parent language data were self-reported and they were not given the same story retelling task as their children to see their Turkish proficiency skills. Future research is needed to address the above-mentioned shortcomings. Furthermore, future studies may also consider home and societal factors longitudinally, because the results are dynamic and constantly changing especially with children from ages from 7 to 12. In addition, future research can delve more deeply into the low-income families of Turkish American families in the U.S by analyzing in detail family language policies, parents' and children's attitudes toward learning HL, and how all these factors influence children's linguistic skills in Case and TAM markers in Turkish. To summarize, this study adds

to the rather sparse body of research that shows that heritage languages are hard to maintain in the face of pressure from a highly dominant societal language unless the right circumstances and the quality of exposure are provided for the children.

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APPENDIX A

PARENT CONSENT FORM FOR CHILD/REN

Dear Parent,

You and your child(ren) are invited to participate in a research project entitled, "Understanding language practices at a Turkish Heritage School*."* I am requesting your permission to conduct a language background questionnaire with your child/ children at Sunday complementary school. In addition, I would also like your permission to conduct oral narrative activity with your child. I will use 'Little Red Riding Hood' story pictures. The purpose of the study and of these data collection activities is to know Turkish American children's Turkish proficiency level. During the second task, I will video-tape your child while retelling the story with your permission.

The purpose of the study and of these data collection activities is to understand the dynamics at a Turkish heritage School and how this school helps children to maintain their Turkish culture and language.

The data I will collect from the questionnaire and the oral narrative task will be kept in protected computers and will not be shared publicly. The results of the study might be used in academic conferences or scholarly printed materials with pseudonyms of the participants.

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to participate in the project and you may change your mind and withdraw from the study at any point during the data collection period. Your decision about whether or not to participate will not affect your family life or your child's academic performance. Your child/children may refuse to answer any questions during the questionnaire and oral narrative task.

Will my study-related information be kept confidential?
Yes, but not always. In general, we will not tell anyone any information about you. When this research is discussed or published, no one will know that you were in the study. However, laws and university rules might require us to disclose information about you. For example, if required by law or University Policy, study information which identifies you and the consent form signed by you may be seen or copied by the following people or groups:

- The university committee and office that reviews and approves research studies, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the Office for Protection of Research Subjects;
- University and state auditors, and Departments of the university responsible for oversight of research;
- Federal government regulatory agencies such as the Office of Human Research Protections in the Department of Health and Human Services;

If you choose to participate in the study, you will help the investigators to better understand the benefits and challenges associated with being heritage language speakers of Turkish in US. There will be no compensation for participating in this study.

You should feel free to ask questions now or at any time during the study. If you have any questions, you can contact me via phone at (662) 202-4261 or via email at evcen2@illinois.edu, or Dr. Sarah McCarthey at (217) 244-1149 or via email at mccarthe@illinois.edu If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

Thank you,

Ozge Evcen

I have read and understand the above information. I have been given a copy of this consent form. Please check below and sign in you are giving consent to participate in this study and if you give your child consent to participate in this study.

____I agree to have my son/daughter to participate in the study
____I agree to have my son/daughter participate in the language background questionnaire.
____I agree to have my son/daughter participate in the oral narrative task

My child's name: _____

_____ _____
Parent's Signature Date

APPENDIX B

CHILDREN ASSENT FORM

Dear Child,

I am doing a research study called "Understanding language practices at a Turkish Heritage School" I am requesting your help to conduct a language background questionnaire and an oral narrative task with you. I want to know what you think about learning Turkish at a community school.

If you agree to be in my study, I will conduct the questionnaire with you in your Sunday complementary school classroom. If you and your parents say it is okay, I want to video-tape your answers in oral narrative task.

You can ask questions about this study at any time. If you decide at any time not to finish, you can ask me to stop and I will.

If you sign this paper, it means that you have read this form and you want to be in the study. If you don't want to be in the study, don't sign this paper. Being in the study is up to you, no one will be upset if you don't sign this paper or if you change your mind later.

I have read and understand the above information. I have been given a copy of this consent form. Please check below and sign in you are giving consent to participate in this study.

____ I agree to participate in the questionnaire.
____ I agree to participate in the oral narrative task.
____ I agree to have responses video-taped during the oral narrative task

Your signature: _____ Date: _____

Your printed name: _____ Date: _____

Signature of person obtaining assent:_____ Date:_____

Printed name of person obtaining assent:_____ Date: _____

APPENDIX C

PARENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Immigration story

1. Can please you introduce yourself to me briefly?
2. When and how did you come to U.S?
3. How would you identify yourself in terms of ethnicity?
4. What does mean to be Turkish American?
5. What do you think about being a Turkish immigrant in the U.S.? Is it a burden in any way?
6. Do you want to stay in the U.S. in the long run? Why do you want to stay in the U.S with your family?

Parent's education and labor background

1. What is your educational background and what do you do in the U.S.?
2. Do you think you are proficient enough in both English and Turkish?
3. Which language is your dominant language?
4. What would you say the relationship between culture and language is?

Family Language and literacy practices

1. Do you want your child/children to be able to speak, read, and write in your heritage language; in Turkish? Why or why not?
2. What does American culture mean to you?
3. What does native or heritage culture mean to you?
4. How do you consider your child's identity?
5. Is your child bilingual?
6. Is your child bicultural? Do you see any Americanness in your child? If so can you give me one example?
7. What do you think about your children's communication with his/her monolingual relatives such as grandparents, aunts or uncles from Turkey?
8. Which language do you mostly use with your child at home?
9. What are your methods to improve your children's English and Turkish?

Customs/ Traditions

1. What traditions or customs have you tried to preserve as a family? Why? Are there traditions that you have given up or changed? Why?

2. How are holidays traditionally celebrated in your family? What holidays are the most important? Are there special family traditions, customs, songs, foods? Has your family created its own traditions and celebrations? What are they? How did they come about?

3. What organizations or activities are you a part of? If not, would you consider joining a culturally based organization such as TACA or Turkish American Student Association, etc.?

4. Have you ever attended an event hosted by those organizations? If so, how did you feel being there?

Hopes for children's education

1. How important to you is that your child/dren can forget speaking in Turkish? Why or why not?
2. Do you think to be fully proficient in Turkish is necessary for your child? Why or why not?
3. As parents, are you worried that your child will lose his/her familiarity with his/her root and ancestral language?
4. What do you foresee for children's education in the U.S?

APPENDIX D

CHILDREN INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Why are you learning Turkish? For students aged 8-12

Dear student of Turkish,

Thanks so much for helping me with this research. The following questions ask about why you are learning Turkish. *This is not a test***.** I want to learn about why children your age are learning Turkish.

1. How old are you? I am ____ years old.

2. Which language did you learn first? Turkish or English or other?

3. At what age did you begin learning Turkish? (for example: from birth or age 5)

4. At what age did you begin learning English? (for example: from birth or age 5)

5. Did you start school in the United States?

6. Have you studied in Turkey?

7. Do you travel to your family's home country?

*If **YES,*** how often: _____ For how long? _____

8. Do you enjoy coming Turkish classes in Sunday complementary school? Why?

9. What is one thing you like most about this school?

10. What is one thing you would prefer to have it differently at this school?

11. Why do you come here every Sunday?

12. How many Turkish friends do you have at this school?

13. Which language do you use with your Turkish friends at school?

14. What are the differences and similarities between Sunday complementary school l and your regular school?

15. Do your family support you while you are learning Turkish? How?

16. Do you prefer to be somewhere else instead of coming here on Sundays? Why?

17. Do you think you are good at learning Turkish?

18. Do you think learning Turkish is important? If Yes, why?

19. Do you like Turkish music? If yes, what are your favorite singers or songs?

20. Do you like Turkish movies? If yes, what are your favorite ones?

21. Do you read Turkish books at home? If yes, what are your favorite books?

22. Which language do you use with you parents at home?

23. Which language do you use when your parents use Turkish with you?

24. Do your relatives visit you in the U.S. every year such as your grandparents, nephews, niece, aunts, uncles, etc.?

25. Do you think you share similarities with your American friends? If yes, what are they?

26. Do you have friends in Turkey? If yes, how often do you communicate with them?

Is there anything else that you would like to tell me why you are learning Turkish?

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APPENDIX E

PARENT CONSENT FORM FOR PARENT INTERVIEWS

Dear Parent,

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled, "Understanding language practices at a Turkish Heritage School.*"* I am requesting your permission to conduct one interview with you. This interview will last approximately 35-40 minutes or so. The purpose of the study is to know if Turkish families living in the United States have concerns related to maintaining/losing Turkish core identity and Turkish culture and the practices they engage in to address these concerns. During the interview, I will take field notes and audio record our interview.

The data I will collect from individual interviews will be kept in protected computers and will not be shared publicly. The results of the study might be used in academic conferences or scholarly printed materials with pseudonyms of the participants.

Your participation in the interview is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to participate in the project and you may change your mind and withdraw from the study at any point during the data collection period. Your decision about whether or not to participate will not affect your family life or your child's academic performance. You may refuse to answer any questions during the interview.

Will my study-related information be kept confidential?
Yes, but not always. In general, we will not tell anyone any information about you. When this research is discussed or published, no one will know that you were in the study. However, laws and university rules might require us to disclose information about you. For example, if required by laws or University Policy, study information which identifies you and the consent form signed by you may be seen or copied by the following people or groups:

- The university committee and office that reviews and approves research studies, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Office for Protection of Research Subjects;
- University and state auditors, and Departments of the university responsible for oversight of research;
- Federal government regulatory agencies such as the Office of Human Research Protections in the Department of Health and Human Services;

If you choose to participate in the study, you will help the investigators to better understand the benefits and challenges associated with being heritage language speakers of Turkish in US. There will be no compensation for participating in this study.

You should feel free to ask questions now or at any time during the study. If you have any questions, you can contact me via phone at (662) 202-4261 or via email at evcen2@illinois.edu, or Dr. Sarah McCarthey at (217) 244-1149 or via email at mccarthe@illinois.edu If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or

complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

Thank you,

Ozge Evcen

I have read and understand the above information. I have been given a copy of this consent form. Please check below and sign in you are giving consent to participate in this study and if you give your child consent to participate in this study.

____ I agree to participate in the interview
____ I agree to be audio-recorded

_____
Name

_____ _____
Signature Date

APPENDIX F

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SOURCES OF DATA

Research Questions	**Sources of Data**
How does the complementary school practices and the parents support students' heritage language skills?	Story retelling task (Little Red Riding Hood) Teacher interviews Classroom observations (eg. interaction between teacher and student, student and student interaction)
How do teachers influence students' attitudes toward learning heritage language and their skills?	Classroom observations (eg. Speaking in English) Student interviews Parent interviews Teacher interviews
How do school practices and resources shape Turkish national and bicultural practices for the learners?	Classroom observations (eg. Students sharing cultural experiences) Student interviews Parent interviews
How do bicultural identities of each participant group and their language choices influence students' attitudes at school?	School activities (eg. National holiday celebrations, reading Turkish national anthem) Classroom observations

APPENDIX G

BOARD MEMBER INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

October, 2017

Dear Board Member,

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled, "Understanding language practices at a Turkish Heritage School.*"* I am requesting your permission to interview you about your experiences at Sunday complementary school. The purpose of the study and of these data collection activities is to understand the dynamics at a Turkish heritage School and how this school helps children to maintain their Turkish culture and language. During the observations, I will take field notes.

The data I will collect from interviews will be kept in protected computers and will not be shared publicly. The results of the study might be used in academic conferences or scholarly printed materials with pseudonyms of the participants.

Your participation in the interview is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to participate in the project and you may change your mind and withdraw from the study at any point during the data collection period. Your decision about whether or not to participate will not affect your management. You may refuse to answer any questions during the interview.

Will my study-related information be kept confidential?
Yes, but not always. In general, we will not tell anyone any information about you. When this research is discussed or published, no one will know that you were in the study. However, laws and university rules might require us to disclose information about you. For example, if required by laws or University Policy, study information which identifies you and the consent form signed by you may be seen or copied by the following people or groups:

- The university committee and office that reviews and approves research studies, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Office for Protection of Research Subjects;
- University and state auditors, and Departments of the university responsible for oversight of research;
- Federal government regulatory agencies such as the Office of Human Research Protections in the Department of Health and Human Services;

If you choose to participate in the study, you will help the investigators to better understand the benefits and challenges associated with being heritage language speakers of Turkish in US. There will be no compensation for participating in this study.

You should feel free to ask questions now or at any time during the study. If you have any questions, you can contact me via phone at (662) 202-4261 or via email at evcen2@illinois.edu,

or Dr. Sarah McCarthey at (217) 333 0960 or via email at mccarthe@illinois.edu If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

Thank you,

Ozge Evcen

I have read and understand the above information. I have been given a copy of this consent form. Please check below and sign in you are giving consent to participate in this study.

____I agree to participate in the study
____I agree to be interviewed
____I agree to be audio taped.

_____ _____
Signature Date

APPENDIX H

BOARD MEMBER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Questions for Board Member

27. What are the purposes and goals of Sunday complementary school?

28. Please describe school's history.

29. What are your expectations for the school?

30. What are parents' expectations for the school?

31. What ways does Sunday complementary school use to determine the language background and language proficiency of students?

32. What percentage of students finish the school? If students do not complete the school, what are possible reasons for their withdrawal?

33. What is your opinion on English use in the school?

34. What is your opinion on Turkish use in the school?

35. What credentials do teachers have?

36. What professional development opportunities do teachers have?

37. What professional development opportunities do teachers need?

38. Please describe briefly how much time the school devotes to: Language teaching/ Culture teaching /Religion teaching

39. What skills and levels of language proficiency do you think students reach when they graduate?

40. What aspects of culture are taught in the school?

41. What kind of student identity does Sunday complementary school foster?

42. What kind of efforts do you make to encourage students to take on this identity?

43. How does the school develop home-school connections or promote parent involvement?

44. What opportunities do students have for using the language and developing cultural knowledge outside the school?

45. Does Sunday complementary school track students' development in the heritage language after they leave the school? If so, how?

46. What are the challenges that the school is faced with today?

APPENDIX I

TEACHER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Questions for Teachers

1. Can you tell me about your educational and professional background?
2. What methodologies and instructional strategies do you use in class?
3. Do you use textbooks? If so, what do you use?
4. What other materials do you use for instruction?
5. Do you use technology when you teach? If so, how do you use technology?
6. How do you evaluate students' progress?
7. What are the students' attitudes toward the languages they speak?
8. What is your opinion on English use in class?
9. What is your opinion on Turkish use in class?
10. How much time do you devote to: Language teaching/ Culture teaching/ Religion teaching?
11. What skills and levels of Turkish proficiency do you think students reach when they finish this level?
12. What aspects of culture do you teach in your classes?
13. What kind of student identity do you foster in your classes?
14. What kind of efforts do you make to encourage children to take on this identity?
15. How do you develop home-school connections or promote parent involvement?
16. What opportunities do students have for using the language and developing cultural knowledge outside the school?
17. Can you think of an instance in which your techniques worked or did not work?
18. Could you share a success or failure you had when teaching in this school?

APPENDIX J

TEACHER INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

September, 2017

Dear Teacher,

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled, "Understanding language practices at a Turkish Heritage School*."* I am requesting your permission to interview you about your experiences at Sunday complementary school. The purpose of the study and of these data collection activities is to understand the dynamics of Turkish heritage School and how this school help children to maintain their Turkish culture and language. During the observations, I will take field notes.

The data I will collect from interviews will be kept in protected computers and will not be shared publicly. The results of the study might be used in academic conferences or scholarly printed materials with pseudonyms of the participants.

Your participation in the interview is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to participate in the project and you may change your mind and withdraw from the study at any point during the data collection period. Your decision about whether or not to participate will not affect your teaching. You may refuse to answer any questions during the interview.

Will my study-related information be kept confidential?
Yes, but not always. In general, we will not tell anyone any information about you. When this research is discussed or published, no one will know that you were in the study. However, laws and university rules might require us to disclose information about you. For example, if required by laws or University Policy, study information which identifies you and the consent form signed by you may be seen or copied by the following people or groups:

- The university committee and office that reviews and approves research studies, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Office for Protection of Research Subjects;
- University and state auditors, and Departments of the university responsible for oversight of research;
- Federal government regulatory agencies such as the Office of Human Research Protections in the Department of Health and Human Services;

If you choose to participate in the study, you will help the investigators to better understand the benefits and challenges associated with being heritage language speakers of Turkish in US. There will be no compensation for participating in this study.

You should feel free to ask questions now or at any time during the study. If you have any questions, you can contact me via phone at (662) 202-4261 or via email at evcen2@illinois.edu, or Dr. Sarah McCarthey at (217) 333 0960 or via email at mccarthe@illinois.eduIf you

have any questions about the right of research subjects, contact the Chairman of the UIUC IRB - Human Subjects at (217) 333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

Thank you,

Ozge Evcen

I have read and understand the above information. I have been given a copy of this consent form. Please check below and sign in you are giving consent to participate in this study.

____I agree to participate in the study
____I agree to be interviewed
____I agree to be audio taped.

_____ _____
Signature Date