



INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE SHIFT
TENDENCIES, LIMITATIONS, OPPORTUNITIES / THE CASE OF DİYARBAKIR

SAME HOME DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

Handan AĞLAYAN

English Translation: Agata Fortuna

SAME HOME DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE SHIFT

TENDENCIES, LIMITATIONS, OPPORTUNITIES
THE CASE OF DİYARBAKIR

HANDAN ÇAĞLAYAN

English Translation: Agata Fortuna

DISA PUBLICATIONS

DIYARBAKIR INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH
(DISA)

**SAME HOME DIFFERENT LANGUAGES / INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE SHIFT
TENDENCIES, LIMITATIONS, OPPORTUNITES / THE CASE OF DİYARBAKIR**

Author: Handan Çağlayan

Project Management: Atalay Göçer

Project Consultant: Şerif Derince

English Translation: Agata Fortuna

Proof-reading: Esra Kaliber

Publication Identity Design: Medyakom Kreatif Ajans

Cover Design: Medyakom Kreatif Ajans

Page Layout: Medyakom Kreatif Ajans

Cover Photography: Mahmut Ula

Compilation Editor: Atalay Göçer, DİSA

Printing: Berdan Matbaacılık Davutpaşa Cad. Güven San. Sit.

C Blok No: 215/216 Topkapı/İSTANBUL Tel: 0212 613 12 11

First Edition: September 2014

ISBN: 978-605-5458-23-2

The translated title of this book is proposed by its author and project consultant themselves.

Copyright © May 2014

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the permission of Diyarbakir Institute for Political and Social Research (DISA).



Mimar Sinan Cad. Aslan Apt. B Blok No: 12

21100 Yenişehir/DİYARBAKIR

Tel: +90 412 228 1442

Faks: +90 412 224 1442

www.disa.org.tr

disa@disa.org.tr

Handan Çağlayan, received her PhD in 2006 from the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Ankara University. Until 2013 she worked at Education and Science Workers' Union (Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası/Eğitim Sen) as a gender equality expert. Currently, she gives lectures on gender related issues. Çağlayan conducts studies on class, ethnicity and gender based inequality and interactions between them.

Published books

Analar, Yoldaşlar, Tanrıçalar/Kürt Hareketinde Kadınlar ve Kürt Kadın Kimliğinin İnşası [Mothers, Companions, Goddesses/Women in Kurdish Movement and Construction of Kurdish Women's Identity]

Eğitim İşkolunda Çalışan Kadınların Sosyal Hakları ve İş Güvencesi (ed.) [Social Rights and Job Security of Women Working in Education Sector] (together with Elif Akgül Ateş)

Ne Değişti?/Kürt Kadınların Zorunlu Göç Deneyimi [What has changed?/Kurdish Women' Forced Migration Experience] (together with Şemsa Özar and Ayşe Tepe Doğan)

Kürt Kadınların Penceresinden: Resmi Kimlik Politikaları, Milliyetçilik ve Barış Mücadelesi [From Kurdish Women's Perspective: Official Identity Policies, Nationalism and Struggle for Peace]

Same Home Different Languages/Intergenerational Language Shift/Tendencies, Limitations, Opportunities/The Case of Diyarbakir

report was prepared as a part of the Mother Tongue First: Mother Tongue and Multilingualism in Education project supported by the Diyarbakir Institute for Political and Social Research (DISA), Open Society Foundation, Diyarbakir Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DTSO), Eğitim Sen, Association of Common Solution in Education (Eğitimde Ortak Çözüm Derneği - EOÇD), Heinrich Böll Stiftung Association (HBSD) and Kurdish Education and Language Movement (TZP Kurdî). The opinions presented in the report may not necessarily reflect the opinions of DISA, Open Society Foundation, DTSO, Eğitim Sen, EOÇD, HBSD and TZP Kurdî.

Prepared with cooperation and support of:



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing this research was only possible with the diligent work and contributions of many people. First, I would like to thank Şemsa Özar and Şerif Derince. Their opinions, suggestions, criticism and evaluation were the guiding light at every stage of my work in this research including research design and writing stage. I would also like to thank Şerif Derince for preparing the preface and his contribution to the chapter related to the theoretical debate. Mürsel Yıldız, Songül Can and Berivan Alagöz were involved in the research process from the beginning to the end providing many valuable contributions. They mobilized in order to reach families for interviews. We did many of the interviews together and their evaluation of the research findings broadened its perspective. At the same time, Mürsel Yıldız and Berivan transcribed the interview recordings. Nurcan Baysal, Vahap Coşkun and Atalay Göçer provided valuable insights during the research. Interviews in Karabağçe and in the Kızılkuyu of Karaçdağ were possible thanks to Ramazan and Xezal Kızıoğlu. Remziye Arslan and Zeri İnanç read the text of the research and provided stimulating suggestions, criticisms and evaluation. This study would not have been possible without the people of Diyarbakır who opened their homes and agreed to be interviewed, who shared their feelings and opinions. In addition to them, I would like to express my gratitude individually to the people whom I consulted with regarding the field and topic of the research. On that note I would like to thank: Hikmet Korkmaz (branch director) and Sidar Gülen (member) from Eğitim Sen in Diyarbakır; Leyla Bağatır, Pelda Yalçın and Cülan Bingöl - teachers working in the educational support centers governed by the local authorities; Zeynep Demir - social services expert; Naşide Buluttekin and Nevim Yakut from Umut Işığı Cooperative for Women, Environment and Culture; Fatma Yıldırım from the Department of Public Relations of Metropolitan Municipality, Ahwelat Turhallı Altın, Sadiye Bulut, Müzeyen Aydın Anık and Makbule Altuntaş for their contributions. I would like to emphasize the role of the participants of the panel discussion in developing this work. They shared their opinions and reviews during the discussion panel that was organized on the 22nd of February 2014 to present the findings. When coping with problems during the research preparation process and especially when writing it, I have always felt the moral support of Beril Eyüpoğlu and Minu İnkaya. They supported me with their friendship and constant encouragement.

CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	11
INTRODUCTION.....	19
A. FIELD, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH.....	26
B. REACHING THE INTERVIEWEES AND THE LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEWS.....	30
C. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED.....	32
D. EVALUATING THE FINDINGS TOGETHER WITH THE INTERVIEWEES.....	34
E. FRAMEWORK OF THE REPORT.....	34
F. REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE RESEARCH.....	35
CHAPTER ONE	
CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES TO MOTHER TONGUE, BILINGUALISM AND MONOLINGUALISATION.....	37
A. CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES.....	37
B. MULTILINGUALISM AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE POLICIES IN TURKEY.....	49
CHAPTER TWO	
GENERATIONS AND LANGUAGES.....	57
A. DIYARBAKIR: A MULTILINGUAL CITY.....	57
B. GENERAL TENDENCIES IN LANGUAGE USE AMONG DIFFERENT GENERATIONS.....	63
1. Persistence of the First Generation.....	64
2. <i>Caillou, Pepe</i> and <i>Keloğlan</i>	71
3. Bridging Role of the Second Generation.....	73
4. Learning Turkish for the Sake of Grandchildren.....	77
5. Which Language Where?.....	83
6. A Bilingual Life.....	83
7. Language of Emotions.....	86
8. The Last Shelter of Mother Tongue: Secret Talks.....	87
C. MIGRATION AND MOTHER TONGUE: FROM XWEYLIN TO ADANA AND ÇORLU.....	89
1. Xweylin: A Village Concealed in a Multitude	

of Historical Names.....	89
2. Şakirpaşa in Adana: Ben u Sen’s Projection in Adana.....	92
3. Education, Employment, Social Circles and Mother Tongue in Çorlu.....	93
D. SCHOOL IN ANOTHER LANGUAGE.....	96
1. Starting School.....	98
2. Curriculum and Teachers.....	100
E. LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, TRAUMA.....	107
1. To Fear and Love.....	108
2. To Forget and Come Back to the Forgotten.....	109
F. PERCEPTION OF LANGUAGES AND HIERARCHY.....	112
G. SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LANGUAGE.....	117
1. Three Neighbourhoods, Two Tendencies.....	117
2. “Language That Comes in Handy”.....	121
3. “Bazara Ziman”.....	125
H. GENDER AND MOTHER TONGUE.....	128
1. Mother Tongue, Father Tongue.....	130
2. Home Language as Cover for Home.....	131
3. Village, Patriarchy, Kurdish.....	132
4. TV Series, City Image and Turkish.....	134

CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE REVERSAL, CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS.....	137
---	------------

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION.....	147
-----------------------------------	------------

BIBLIOGRAPH.....	154
-------------------------	------------

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

DDKO Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları (Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Hearths)

Eğitim-Sen Bilim ve Eğitim Emekçileri Sendikası (Education and Science Workers Union)

KCK Koma Civakên Kurdistan (Kurdistan Communities Union)

PKK Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (Worker’s Party of Kurdistan)

TİP Türkiye İşçi Partisi (Worker’s Party of Turkey)

PREFACE

*“Grandmothers and grandfathers!
we want to thank you for the language
you saved for us
now it is our turn to protect it
for those who are yet unborn
we hope it will come true”*

The above quotation comes from the text adopted by the indigenous group Maliseet¹ named as their *Code of Honor*. The Maliseet group was subjected to different forms of repression, including actions against their language and the occupation of their territory by the Canadian state. The quotation expresses how their language was transmitted across generations and the promise that upcoming generations would continue the struggle to preserve it. However, in many places of the world, thousands of languages, including the language of Maliseet, are unable to survive because of oppressive state policies. Since these languages are not transmitted to younger generations, they disappear. It is unfortunate

¹ For more detail reading on indigenous people, including Maliseet language rights in Canada see, Shelly K. Taylor, *The caste system approach to multilingualism in Canada: Linguistic and cultural minority children and French immersion*, Social Justice through Multilingualism, p. 249, Egitim Sen Publications, 2013.

that many people, especially those from communities speaking the dominant language, consider it as a natural self-generated process. However, passing language to the younger generations is actually a natural process; language can and does revitalize itself. Hierarchical relationships within the society and repressive government policies interrupt this process. On the one hand, various techniques of oppression and violence are used to punish communities for speaking their mother tongue forcing them to eventually lose it. On the other hand, the responsibility for the languages is placed on communities which are often misled by the misinformation produced by dominant groups. It is the message of colonialism, the message of government. This is the knowledge they want us to believe to be universal. The social and political relationships based on this knowledge operate in a systematic manner in the world to create structural inequalities among languages and the communities using them regardless of their geographic location, ethnicity, race, culture or religion. Their consequences impact men and women and different class groups in different degrees and serve to deepen the inequalities for certain groups even further. This is the reason why the interruption of intergenerational language transmission, or in other words the loss of language, is not only the problem of certain regions or languages, it is a global issue. The disappearance of a language does not occur in isolation or by chance. It is usually the outcome of actions undertaken by the ruling regime; actions based on political, social and economic domination. The verses of Cahit Irgat portray such dominant power relations in quite a strong way:

*They stole our language from our mouths,
money from our pockets,
sweat from our foreheads,
and without selecting colors
our eyes.*

Irgat's verses give the explicit message that losing language equals economic and political disempowerment. One might argue that it is valid only for one particular language; however, it applies to all non-dominant languages without exception.

Repressions and actions aimed at destroying minority languages were carried out by different regimes in the 19th and 20th centuries in a harsh manner. Yet, the social and cultural implications of these actions have become more visible from the second half of the 20th century onwards. The assimilation process was accompanied by the struggle to resist the oppressive policies of these regimes.

In some cases the response took the form of unorganized masses, but in most cases organized resistance movements emerged trying to stop the domination of these regimes. In many parts of the world these struggles still continue. Owing to this resistance and struggle, both the languages and the minority communities using them gained a lot. Assimilation processes have been the subject of social sciences research in many contexts; various studies and research were conducted from different perspectives. Historically, significant parts of these studies were shaped according to the knowledge of dominant groups and were prepared by the academia to serve the regimes in preserving their dominance. However, recently as a result of the abovementioned struggles, we have observed that some studies are trying to reveal the truth and to challenge the knowledge imposed by dominant groups. Significant parts of these studies focus solely on the disappearance of languages as a part of the repression process, and, to a great extent, on the educational but also social, cultural and in some cases economic consequences of these processes.

It is significant to state the implications of extinction of languages due to bans and othering processes since it can contribute greatly to revealing the discrimination that they have faced. However, focusing only on these results does not help us to understand sufficiently the underlying structural causes and processes. Consequently, many of the recommendations based on these results may not work for the benefit of the people and endangered languages. The analysis should be expanded to explain why and how languages diminish.

Handan Çağlayan started in Diyarbakir and investigated how language is used by different Kurdish families in everyday life. Her study *Same Home Different Languages* based on field research does more than just show us under what circumstances Kurdish was passed from one generation to another; it also depicts how this process was interrupted.

In many ways this study contributes significantly to the current political debates and the academic literature in this field.

First of all, *Same Home Different Languages* contributes to the literature on the subject in the sense that it presents the issue of native language in the context of Turkey and specifically in regards to the Kurdish language. The study approaches this subject not only from the perspective of education, but also using a broader

framework incorporating relations with the other spheres of everyday life; it does not focus only on the consequences of the ban on mother tongue, but also presents which social, psychological and political effects have occurred as a result of the interruption in the intergenerational transmission of language.

Another important feature of this work is the fact that it was prepared by listening to and documenting the voices of the people who are usually the object of debates around mother tongue. As a significant part of the studies on the subject of native language focus on the language policies of the state and how they are applied, they usually intentionally or unwittingly ignore or overlook the resistance and struggle against these policies. Handan Çağlayan, by discussing how the long term struggle of the Kurdish movement has been reflected in the sphere of language and what it has gained for Kurdish, brings the discussion on mother tongue to the fair context which politically and historically discerns the truth. Along with this debate, she presents the political developments that have occurred during field research. They are important from the perspective of presenting the setting in which the debates on native language have taken place.

Moreover, the field research and interviews were conducted in different locations and addressed the situation of intergenerational use of language in villages, towns and in the context of migration. A significant number of studies are conducted without considering the context of any place or with a particular focus on only one location. This study, however, presents a more comprehensive picture not limited to a single location as the interviews were conducted in villages, the poor neighborhoods of city centers and affluent districts at the same time; as well as with families who migrated to western Turkey because of war, the evacuations of their villages or for economic reasons.

The study approaches the subject of native language in everyday life also from the gender perspective contributing important data to the debate in this field. So far studies have failed to sufficiently analyse topics such as the use of language in the context of social classes and possible differences between users as well as the features of intergenerational language transmission in neighborhoods inhabited by families belonging to different social groups.

Another major contribution of the research is that it brings back memories of the history of the places where the interviews were conducted. Starting with the

city of Diyarbakir, where the field works began, information on former inhabitants of visited places, their current and former names, their meanings and languages they originated from were included as a part of a narrative rather than technical details. In addition, it also collects the information on languages spoken in visited places in the past and whether they are still in use. The collected stories show us that Diyarbakir in the past was a multilingual city; a city where many languages were spoken, including, but not limited to Kurmanji, Zazaki, Armenian and Turkish. The narratives also depict the role played by the loss of the Armenian population and language as a result of the state-led massacre in the socio-linguistic memory of the city.

Apart from the valuable content, this study is an important contribution to the current literature on the subject also in terms of the research methods used for collecting data. One of these methods can be described as “listening to the voice of the city”. The field study was not only limited to face to face interviews but also included listening to the voices encountered in the center of the city, in markets, on minibuses and on the streets. Thanks to this method the study not only describes the situation of the language spoken by the people but also gives us an idea about the condition of language in the city. Another interesting issue was the way the interviews were conducted. Instead of asking pre-prepared questions at once and analyzing the collected material, the interviewees were visited on several occasions at different times. Rather than a cold and formal research environment; a warm and relaxed atmosphere was created. What made the analysis more concrete and relievable is the ethnographic analysis of the whole family and the household. Relatively long visits with the families provided the space for observations of the intergenerational use of language. A positive environment was created in which interviewees were able to speak their preferred language and were given the possibility to switch to another even during the same conversation. Observing the language use and shifts during the interviews was also important as it provided the information on conditions in which during one conversation different languages are used.

Unlike similar studies of many civil society organizations targeting policy makers, this study targeted a more common audience. It is a book one can read with pleasure, as it is sociological research using a language and style free of technical jargon and monotony.

The topic of mother tongue has been voiced many times by many people until now. This broad study covers all the necessary angles and it addresses the subject within a holistic perspective and by taking into consideration a social and political context, the perspective of people of different ages and from different places as well as gender and social class issues. We would like to thank Handan Çağlayan for presenting us with this essential, politically righteous and analytical study.

Şerif Derince

INTRODUCTION

The impact of the assimilation process on language does not show itself immediately; it is revealed only through the passage of time. According to linguist David Crystal (2010: 98-99) the sequence of events affecting the endangered language, the language subjected to assimilation, seem to be the same in all geographies and follows three stages. The first is a stage of pressure. People are put under pressure to speak the dominant language. Pressure can come from political, social and economic sources. It can be in the form of various incentives or it can be directly regulated by law. This process can be accompanied by the “bottom up” peer pressure or by fashionable trends in society. Whatever the form of pressure may be, it results in the emergence of a second stage– the stage of bilingualism. In this stage people start to use more efficiently the dominant language they have learned while retaining their competency in their native language. Over time, the new language starts to displace the old one, which, in turn, brings the language facing assimilation to the last, threatening stage. In the last stage the young generation becomes proficient in the new language and finds the native language unnecessary to address their needs; they identify themselves with the new language. Using the old language is accompanied by

the feeling of shame on the part of both parents and children; adults find fewer opportunities to speak their language with new generations.

Crystal's three stage language shift approach presents us with an important framework when discussing the power relations involving the language that is subjected to long term pressure in the context of the dominant power's direct and hidden policies and the practices that contribute to its extinction. However, this framework is based on the assumption that the people subjected to these policies and practices were monolingual. They have developed bilingualism as a result of pressure and, if it continues, they will become monolingual in the dominant language. In other words, this hypothesis assumes that communities, whether subjected to pressure or dominated, are homogeneous in terms of language and follow the linear pattern of a language shift. Many of the linguists, who criticize this hypothesis, describe it as having a "monolingual rule" approach; an approach that does not reflect the circumstances of the large majority of communities around the world (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Cook, 1992; Romaine, 1995; Pavlenko, 2000; Ellis; 2006). Even if there are regions in the world where only one language is spoken, there are very few in number. Historically this has also not been the case; to the contrary, almost every location has had more than one language being used to address the different needs that form a significant part of everyday life. As an example, in almost every Indian village at least two languages are used, while in cities people speak at least two languages at home. On the streets and/or in the marketplaces there is a third language in use, and at schools, a fourth and a fifth. Likewise, in places like Istanbul, Van and Diyarbakir we can hear today, as in the past, many different languages being spoken together; this was also the case prior to the current state policy based on pressure. However, this current situation does not change the fact that the structural hierarchy that emerged between the languages as a result of the oppressive power relations, and the strengthening and consolidating of some languages at the cost and loss of others, has put this multilingualism at risk. In this sense, Crystal's theory gains currency when it points out that people subjected to language pressure do not pass them on to the next generation and languages start to disappear.

On the other hand, bilingualism, or multilingualism, certainly cannot be assessed as a threat or problem in itself. On the contrary, it plays an enriching

role from the perspective of an individual and an integrating role in terms of society (Alpay, 2007: 228). The mentioned positive role of the bilingualism, as it will be presented in the first chapter, can only be possible if there is no relation of dominance between languages.

The level of the threat that can be faced by a language can be assessed by taking into consideration the size of the community using it, the ratio of its usage in society, in which fields it is utilized and the size of the external threat. A language which no longer has any users is called dead. By contrast, having a large number of users may not be sufficient to protect the language from the threat of extinction. As an example, the gradual decrease of language usage or the narrowing of areas where it is used poses a threat to a language. The dominant language may become more dominant if using it gives access to getting better work or benefiting more from the social resources and public opportunities, or when it is perceived in this way because of political pressure and bans. Refraining from using a language under pressure in the fields of education and politics or in the public sphere may result in its impoverishment and a reduction in its functionality. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas is a linguist who has conducted his studies on the language rights and social justice of local people, minorities and migrants for more than 30 years and he has produced many seminal works in this field. Skutnabb-Kangas (2013: 82) argues that if the users of one language do not have enough power to determine their economic, social and political status, if they do not find job opportunities without being forced to migrate, if their social status is dictated by law and they are deprived of socio-economic, political and cultural rights, the language they speak is the most vulnerable.

Regardless of the impact it has emerged with, the biggest threat to a language is the threat of it not being transmitted to new generations (Krauss, 1992). A language that is not acquired and used as a mother tongue by new generations is unlikely to have a future. This is the reason why the moment when different generations in a single family start to speak different languages is considered as a signal of a critical moment for the language's future (McCarty, 2013: 187).

A significant part of the discussion related to languages under pressure above is not foreign to us. In Turkey, a country with a multilingual social reality both in the present and in the past, a strict one-language policy was applied for years.

No one had considered how native languages, other than official language, would be affected by this policy. In fact, as DISA studies regarding native languages show, a mother tongue that is excluded from the education and public sphere is inevitably affected by these conditions.

Vahap Coşkun, Şerif Derince and Nesrin Uçarlar conducted research within DISA in order to reveal the devastation that has occurred as a result of the restriction on the use of Kurdish in education. Scar of Tongue research calls attention to the impacts, including the degradation and restriction of everyday activities, and the threats posed by the ban on the use of Kurdish in the education and public sphere (2010: 9).

This topic was also brought to the agenda during the DISA workshops with teachers. Gender, Education and Mother Tongue was the first analysis report published in 2011 after workshops were held with teachers on the factors affecting the school experience of Kurdish students. In this report Şerif Derince added a new perspective as he analyzed together the ban on Kurdish in education and the effects of gender inequalities. One of the matters highlighted in the report was the girls' rapid loss of the mother tongue during their education (Derince, 2012: 36). Similarly, Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual and Multidialectal Dynamic Education Models study, also prepared by Derince, indicates that Kurdish students are not a homogenous group in terms of language. On the contrary, because of various reasons some of them are monolingual and speak Kurdish or Turkish, while others are bilingual or even in some cases multilingual (Derince, 2012; 20).

The effects of the current official language policy on the languages under pressure can be observed not only in the abovementioned DISA publications, but also in other studies. For instance, during our research on the experiences of women and girls after forced migration conducted in Istanbul with Şemsa Özar and Ayşe Tepe Doğan, the situation we witnessed was characterized with a critical phase. In some of the families we interviewed, mothers and daughters were not able to speak the same language. Daughters "understood Kurdish but did not speak it" while mothers "understood Turkish but did not speak it". When daughters speak Turkish their mothers understood; when mothers spoke Kurdish, their daughters understood it. In this manner they understood each other without speaking the same language. Without doubt, this is a means of com-

munication; it was considered as sufficient in sustaining everyday life. However, it is questionable whether this communication is enough for the multilayered, profound, and sometimes complicated, but in any circumstances full of emotions relationship that can be expected between any mother and daughter.¹

Attention was drawn to this observed phenomenon with the example of Istanbul and in the context of forced migration, in the field research carried out in Turkey by the Main Office of Education and Science Workers' Union (Eğitim Sen) in 2011. The aim of the Eğitim Sen study was to research the public opinion and attitude on the use of mother tongue and education in a native language other than Turkish. Within the scope of the research, the interviewees were asked questions regarding where and in what situations they used their mother tongue. The responses showed that non-Turkish speakers in our country face a 17 % language loss between generations.² In other words, the acquisition and use of mother tongue gradually decreases from generation to generation and a language shift is experienced. According to the Eğitim Sen study, people, whose native language is not Turkish, use their native language when speaking with their parents and older relatives, but tend to speak Turkish with their children. A similar situation is observed in communication with older and younger siblings.

The work of Ergin Öpengin showing the intergenerational loss of language among Kurds is another study pointing out to parallel results with those of Eğitim Sen.³ According to the study conducted with different generations in villages, districts and city centers among Kurds under age of twenty; the dominate language is Turkish. The generation consisting of twenty to forty-year-olds is largely bilingual and Kurdish people over the age of forty speak mainly Kurdish.

Research

The starting point of this research aiming to examine the place of Kurdish language in everyday life and changes of tendencies from generation to generation were the findings of DISA's studies on mother tongue expressed in the

¹ For the mentioned research see Çağlayan, Özar and Tepe, 2011.

² See, Eğitim Sen 2011.

³ For this research see Ergin Öpengin, 2011.

above mentioned works; works that show the decreasing use of Kurdish among younger generation. The observed process of a language losing importance when not used in the public sphere, or that of generations of children and parents not being able to speak the same language are not exceptional situations. Caricatures published in a local newspaper called *Bajarname* satirized this situation and caught our attention during our stay in Diyarbakır for fieldwork. In the caricature, an old woman on a minibus passes money to the young people sitting at the front. One youth says, “I don’t know Kurdish”, while the answer of the other is: “I understand but I can’t speak”. In the last speech balloon the old woman reproaches the young people.⁴ When considering the assimilation policy that was in effect since the foundation of Turkish Republic until now, these findings and observations correspond to the stages outlined in Crystal’s work. It is noteworthy that the current situation resembles the beginning of the third stage, the stage which follows those of oppression and bilingualism; a stage defined as the phase when people become monolingual in the dominant language.

There is no doubt that inferring a dramatic threat out of this similarity could be a bit premature. Despite different types of pressure, Kurdish is still the mother tongue of a large and significant population⁵; at the same time it is spoken in large areas outside of Turkey⁶. Moreover, as it is known and will be discussed below, we have witnessed positive developments emerging out of the Kurdish political movement in recent years that can influence the current course of events. The significant effort is shown towards more common use of Kurdish and passing it on to new generations. In cities such as Diyarbakır, one can find associations and cultural centers established to achieve this very aim.

Considering the years of oppression, bans and especially the exclusion of Kurdish from the education system, questions as to what extent these measures influenced its use in everyday life, its functionality or its acquisition as a mother tongue by a new generation are not trivial ones to answer. Likewise, from the

4 See *Bajarname*, *Rojnameya Çand û Hunerê ya Herêmi* (Sibat) Hêjmar: 1, Sal: 1.

5 According to estimates, 10% to 20% of populations speak Kurdish. As an example, Tarhan Erdem based on KONDA research of different periods evaluates Kurdish speakers’ rate at around 10% (see: *Radikal* newspaper on 17.04. 2013 and the article “How many Turkish Kurds?”). On the contrary Kurds claim that this ratio is around 20%.

6 For information on situation of Kurdish in other countries see, Amir Hasanpour, 1997.

perspective of the future of Kurdish, it is important to understand in what aspects the language shifts from the generation to generation. In the context of the current political debate regarding Kurdish, exploring these kinds of questions does not seem to be a priority. However, this debate will focus around the demands related to Kurdish expressed at the political level and raising social sensibility and fulfillment of these demands in everyday life. It will also focus on the reviving of Kurdish, not as a language taught to the new generations in language courses, but as one passed along as a mother tongue. Consequently, the shift of the language is undergoing from generation to generation as well as the factors determining this shift also deserves to be analysed.

Several significant studies regarding Kurdish were influenced by the developments of recent years as outlined above, yet these studies focused on the field of education. Several important studies that need to be mentioned in this context are: Diyarbakır Institute for Political and Social Research’s *Language Scare* (Coşkun, Derince ve Uçarlar, 2010) cited above, *Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual and Multidialectal Dynamic Education Models* (Derince, 2012) and *Gender, Education and Mother Tongue* (Derince, 2012) and booklets published under the *Mother Tongue* title;⁷ *Literacy Acquisition in Schools in the Context of Migration and Multilingualism* (Ayan Ceyhan and Koçbaş, 2011) research published by Istanbul Bilgi University; in addition to the one mentioned above the publications of Eğitim Sen those drawing on the research and symposiums on the importance of the mother tongue in education and multilingualism (Eğitim Sen, 2010; Eğitim Sen, 2010a); the reports published by BETAM on the basis of the Population and Health Survey data (Gürsel, Uysal-Kolaşın and Altındağ, 2009); “Isn’t there anything from me here, my teacher?” *Perceptions and Experiences of Identity, Conflict and Peace* (2010) published by History Foundation of Turkey. However, as was previously expressed above, these works focus more on the field of education. There is a need for information on the Kurdish used in the social dimension; its use in everyday life. If this research provides a small contribution to meet these needs, it will have achieved its aim.

7 DISA’s booklets prepared by Şerif Derince under the series title *Önce Anadili* are: *Önce Anadili*, 2011; *Dil ve Eğitim Modelleri ve Ülke Örnekleri*, 2011; *Dilsel ve Kültürel Farklılıklar Açısından Öğretmen Yetiştirme*, 2012; *Ülkelerin Dil Planlaması ve Politikaları: Eğitimde Çokdillilik*, 2012; *Tekdilliliği Yeniden Düşünmek ve Çokdilliliğin Geleceği*, 2012; *Çokdilliliğe Siyaset Penceresinden Bakmak*, 2012.

A. FIELD, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

Same Home Different Languages research was carried out in 2013 in Diyarbakır. The study is based on face-to-face interviews, visits to schools and families, observations, focus group meetings, meetings with the representatives of civil society organizations working directly or indirectly with children and with institutions providing services.

Although one of the reasons for choosing Diyarbakır as an area of field research was the existence of DISA, a research institution which is based there and able to facilitate this process, it was not the main reason. As will be described shortly, the main reason was the fact that Diyarbakır has been a multilingual city throughout its history. In addition, Diyarbakır gained the symbolic meaning considering the severity of the ban on Kurdish and its devastating effect as well as the size of the continued resistance against it. The implementation of The Reform Plan for the East is still vivid in the memories of older generations and the traces of the ban on Kurdish can be found in the market place in the center of the city. The ban of Kurdish implemented on the 12th of September in Diyarbakır Prison resulted in the drama becoming the subject of theater plays such as “Mountain Language” (“Dağ Dili”)⁸ and stories like “Kamber Ateş Nasılsın”⁹. Without any doubt, the personal tragedies went well beyond the aim of the practices of that period and their results.¹⁰ Human rights defender and politician Vedat Aydın, were put on trial at the beginning of the 1990s after giving a speech in Kurdish during an open, public gathering and wanted to make his defense in Kurdish. Shortly after this he was kidnapped from his home in Diyarbakır and assassinated. Diyarbakır witnessed in the 1980s and the 1990s the banning of Kurdish, and the resultant fear and punishment, and became a city around 2000 that hosted a process of change where the rights of Kurdish language speakers, including the demand for education in mother tongue, and cultural rights regarding the identity became the subject of persisting mass actions. The city continues to be a place where the cultural and political atmosphere of mother tongue is always very intense and dynamic.

⁸ See, Harold Pinter, 1989.

⁹ See, IHD (Human Rights Association), 1991.

¹⁰ For more information on the aims and results of actions in the prison in this period, see the report of the Prison Reality Research and Justice Commission. Source: www.78li.org, accessed on 8th February 2014.

As a matter of fact this intensity and dynamic was felt the entire time, from the stage of designing the research until the conclusion of it. To illustrate, in the days when the research was still in the preparation phase, the second month of the indefinite hunger strike for the “right to defend in mother tongue” started by KCK detainees was about to end. The hunger strike did not only open the discussion and bring awareness to the issue of defense in Kurdish; many people we encountered stated that because they observed people putting their life at risk for the sake of mother tongue, they, themselves, became more willing to speak it. Diyarbakır hosts political demonstrations towards the lifting of obstacles in the use of mother tongue in education and in other areas of life; and at the same time it hosts cultural centers organizing Kurdish cultural activities as well as publishing houses preparing publications written only or mainly in Kurdish.¹¹ Considering also the fact that the city has municipalities providing services in different mother tongues including Kurdish, Diyarbakır turned out to be an ideal place for this study.

It should be highlighted that the activities witnessed in the city during fieldwork provided a broad area for observations. Before starting the fieldwork, in the middle of May 2013, the first field research observations were made while we were looking for the contacts to reach the families for interviews. At that time, Eğitim Sen Office in Diyarbakır was busy with organizing, and advertising for, a well-attended symposium on Education in Mother Tongue. All across the city the announcements in Kurdish and Turkish on municipality billboards were drawing peoples’ attention to the event; banners that had been stretched between the traffic lights at junctions had a similar effect. The local TV channels, regardless of their differing political sympathies, broadcasted programs in Kurdish.

In autumn, when the interviews had been completed, the agenda of the city was filled with cultural and political activities regarding the topic of mother tongue. The first important event of that period was a conference organized on the 21st and 22nd of September 2013 in the conference hall of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality to celebrate the 21st anniversary of the magazine *Nûbîhar*.

¹¹ Some of the publishing houses that prepare their publications primarily or completely in Kurdish are: Aram, Ava, Avesta, Belki, J & J, Lis, Newe Pel, Ronahî, Weşanên Azadiya Welat, Weşanên Enstîtûya Kurdî ya Amedê.

A few days after this conference, several activities occupied the agenda of the city. Just before the beginning of the new school year for primary and secondary schools, Diyarbakır office of Eğitim Sen announced a one-week boycott demanding education in mother tongue. Observing the local debate on the boycott and interviews made with parents on whether or not they would send their children to school provided important clues for the research.

All these factors resulted in Diyarbakır becoming, itself, the area of the research instead of only being the city where the interviewees lived. After realizing this halfway through my research, instead of contenting myself with turning on the voice recorder only when meeting with families, experts or focus groups, I used it to record and listen to the sounds of the city itself. I recorded the voices in market places, on dolmuş providing public transport and in schoolyards. I noted what was said, in which language and in what manner. In other words, during the research with Diyarbakır's residents, I was at the same time trying to listen to and understand the city itself. The observations acquired as a result of this effort are presented in the "Diyarbakır – A Multilingual city" chapter.

In a way it is possible to describe the research as a photograph of the voices of different places of the city or the languages used by each generation with another; a photograph of everyday life at a specific time. However, it is better to describe this photograph as a state of existence being constantly reshaped by the complex dynamics resulting from the interaction of many multi-layered factors and pressure in different directions; or even more as a multi-layered transitional process rather than as a static one.

One of the dimensions in which the research area was organized was that of time. In order to observe the use of the language and language shift between generations; interviews were conducted with people from three generations of the same family in the framework of semi-structured interviews. The opportunity was given to extend the time span to encompass more than just the life of the three interviewed generations. The older generations spoke about their own past and about their relationship with the generations before them. These kinds of stories, as they pass through the prism of the subjectivity of interviewees, were not ignored. The information conveyed by these stories was considered as important because of the subjectivity itself even when they were distorted by it.

In any case, when considering subjectivity in the context of the research topic, the vision providing link with the narrator's self-perception, ways of remembering or psychological factors, it was not considered as a deficiency, but rather as a contribution.

Geographically, attention was paid to conducting the research over an area that might be important from the perspective of the research topic; the space that allowed for observing the impact of a variety of rural-urban differences and socio-economic factors. Thus, when determining which families to work with, attention was also given to selecting families that consisted of three different generations agreeing to be interviewed; and at the same time, families that were located in different places, representing different socio-economic classes. With regards to the conducted interviews and observations; it was also discussed whether or not to evaluate gender as a determining variable.

Interviews were conducted in several different locations in the city as well as in two different villages and a yayla, a summer camping place in mountains, 10 kilometres away from one of the villages. In the city center, face to face interviews were made with nearly 70 people from different generations, representing 12 different families. The following families residing outside of Diyarbakır were interviewed: 3 families from the village of Karabahçe¹², located 40 km from Diyarbakır at the foothills of Karacadağ, 1 family from a semi-nomadic tribe staying in tents in the higher Karacadağ living in Kızılkuyu Yayla and 3 families from Xweylin, a village located 8 km from Lice. In total 20 people who resided outside of Diyarbakır were interviewed.

Nevertheless, the geographic distribution of the research area was not limited to the rural-urban and the different socio-economic locations of the city as envisaged initially. An interview held with one member of a family from the city center led to the extending of the research beyond what was originally projected. The story of village evacuation and migration heard during this interview led us to extend our research from the village of Xweylin in Lice County to Diyarbakır, Adana and Çorlu in the Tekirdağ district. This approach aimed at ob-

¹² Karabahçe village, in the Siverek district between Diyarbakır and Şanlıurfa, is actually linked to town of Siverek. However, this village was selected for field research considering the relations that helped to facilitate the process of reaching families living there, as well as its closer links with Diyarbakır rather than with Urfa.

serving the effects of the migration process. In Adana and Çorlu 10 people from 3 separate families were interviewed. Moreover, the interview with a person from the second generation of migrants from Diyarbakır to Switzerland provided the opportunity to include one example in the context of migration from diaspora. As a result, a total of 101 people from 21 families were interviewed.

Interviews were not limited only to families. In addition, interviews related to the topic of the research were conducted in the city with representatives of non-governmental organizations working directly or indirectly with children, employees of institutions providing services and teachers. People interviewed for the research in this context shared their observations, experiences and opinions regarding their field of work, but at the same time their own family experiences. Sharing turned spontaneously into focus group meetings. Among the institutions visited for this kind of exchange of ideas were: the Public Relations Department of the Metropolitan Municipality, educational support centers linked to the local municipalities, Umut Işığ Women, Environment and Culture Cooperative, Astrid Lindgren Children's Book and Culture House¹³ and one of the kindergartens coordinated by local authorities. Moreover, a manager of Diyarbakır Office of Eğitim Sen and one teacher, who is a member of this organization, were also interviewed. Mardinkapı Primary School in Suriçi was also visited and the observations regarding the use of language in the school environment were made.

B. REACHING THE INTERVIEWEES AND THE LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEWS

The research is based on the face to face interviews with individuals from three generations of the same family. I reached some of the families through the people I had met earlier while doing fieldwork in the city. Later on, I reached new families through a snowballing effect that began after I started relations with the interviewed families. People I met in DISA and the other institutions I visited also helped me to reach families where all three generations agreed to be interviewed. Before each interview a pre-visit was made to explain the goal of the research and the nature of it requiring the interviewing of more than one family member. Thus, each family was visited at least twice. Separate interviews were made with each generation as well as with three generations of the family being in the same place at the same time. To observe specifically the communication

¹³ From now onward the short name Umut Işığ will be used.

between the first and third generations, if that were at all possible, we preferred to interview them together.

Interviews were conducted in Turkish and in the Kurmanji and Zazaki dialects of Kurdish. In the study, as long as the interviewees did not specify it, Kurmanji and Zazaki dialects were not indicated and the term Kurdish was used for both. The choice of the language of the interview was left to the discretion of interviewees. The only exception was the people whose mother tongue is Zazaki dialect of Kurdish but who used both Zazaki and Kurmanji dialects in everyday life. In such cases, if there was no objection from the side of interviewees, the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish was suggested instead of Zazaki for the language of the interview. This is because in such situations translation, and the mediation that it entailed, was no longer necessary because of my knowledge of Kurmanji. As a majority of Zazaki users in the city know and speak Kurmanji fluently, many of the non-Turkish interviews were conducted in the Kurmanji dialect.

Another observation that can be noted regarding the language of interviews was the frequent switching of languages. Sometimes an interview that started in Turkish continued in Kurdish. Sometimes the language of an interview that started in Kurdish, over the course of conversation, shifted to Turkish. The narratives were transcribed from interviews to text in the language and the manner they were expressed. That is why shifts can be seen in the narratives quoted in the text.

The story about the school experience of the one of the interviewees was related to his name. That is why the name Bawer was used without being changed. In fact, some of the interviewees did not have any objections concerning the use of their real names; however, as some people objected, all names have been changed.

The information regarding interviewees, the age, generations of the family, education status, place of residence and the language (or languages) of interview are given below the quotations from interviewees. For interviews made with families in their home environment the neighborhood is specified; whereas in case of the employees of the above mentioned institutions the name of the institution is provided. For interviews made outside of Diyarbakır the place of the interview is indicated. Although Züleyha, whose permanent residence is in Switzerland,

was interviewed in Diyarbakır, in order to highlight it as an example related to diaspora, Switzerland was written as the location. During the interviews a voice recorder was used with the prior knowledge and consent of the interviewees.

C. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

There were many families consisting of parents and children where interviews with second and third generations could have been done; however, it required effort to find families where it would be possible to interview grandmothers and grandfathers as well. In many of the families that I could interview the first generation was no longer alive. Among the people from the first generation who were still alive, some because of their age were struggling with issues that could pose obstacles to the interview; obstacles such as memory loss or hearing impairment. Sometimes during the first meeting, first generation interviewees declared being ready to participate in the interview. However, later on when we went to interview two of the first generations, the interview turned out to be impossible because of illness.

Another difficulty emerged during interviews with the first and second generations, especially those in the poorer districts of the city and in the yayla, summer camping ground, while asking research related questions. As a person who has done prior field research in Diyarbakır on oral history related to issues such as Kurdish identity, forced migration and the Kurdish movement; I had never had such difficulties in explaining what I would like to talk about and getting the answers to my question in previous cases. As an example, in one of the poor districts called Suriçi, an older woman from the first generation I visited at home thought at first that the aim of the visit was to provide financial aid or some kind of a health examination. Despite the fact that I tried to explain with the help of her grandchildren that this was not the aim of the visit, that I would like to speak with her about Kurdish, during the interview she often mentioned her high blood pressure, problems with her eyes and the difficulties her children encountered in the places where they work as seasonal workers. The older woman interviewed in the yayla of Kızılkuyu in Karacadağ was reluctant to answer the questions about her mother tongue and communication with children and grandchildren; in her life there had been no other language besides Kurdish. I got the impression that she found the questions asked about something

that felt extremely natural for her to be senseless.

In the village of Xweylin, an old woman we interviewed together with her husband and son, after responding to the questions related to the topic of research with short, one-sentence answers, wanted to tell us how her village was evacuated, how they were forced to migrate and how their home burst into flames in a minute. Similarly, her husband answered the questions related to mother tongue with just short sentences as an answer and preferred to talk about how their land was bombed and how they do not harvest as much as they did in the past from land that had been bombed for years. The second generation in the poor neighborhoods of the city put forward their concerns and expectations about children's education. As was described in the chapter on the city's different locations, the language of everyday life in these families is Kurdish. On the other hand, the people who were the most willing to speak about their mother tongue and intergenerational communication came from the second generation living in neighborhoods that can be considered as more middle class in nature. Additionally some university students from the third generation were also willing and able to talk about mother tongue and intergenerational communication.

Finally, if it is necessary to mention the status of the researcher, the research timetable and the framework of the report; it needs to be remarked that this research was conducted by a social scientist whose mother tongue is not Kurdish. Instead, the researcher learned the mother tongue of her father later during university years in a language course; also, she does not possess an academic background in linguistics.

Fieldwork started in May 2013. Due to the fact that some of the families left the city for summer holidays or to work in seasonal agricultural jobs, interviews were suspended for the summer months and were resumed in September and October. The interviews in Çorlu were completed in December.

D. EVALUATING THE FINDINGS TOGETHER WITH THE INTERVIEWEES

The findings of the research, still in draft form, were presented together with Kurdî Der on the 22nd of February 2014 during a panel discussion organized by DISA on the occasion of International Mother Tongue Day on the 21st of Febru-

ary. The families interviewed during research had been invited to the panel discussion along with the people who helped to reach them, local institutions providing services linked to the local administration who were consulted on the issues related to research, civil society employees and teachers. This has enabled us to share and discuss the findings with the interviewed people. The final version of the report and conclusion were written after this sharing and discussion. Thus, the participation of the interviewees was not limited to presenting their opinion; they participated actively in delivering the final version of the report by commenting on the results of the research.

E.FRAMEWORK OF THE REPORT

The report completed in March 2014 consists of three chapters. In the first chapter the basic approaches on mother tongue, bilingualism and the situation of imposing one language along with a short reminder of Turkish official language policy and current developments are presented with the aim of shedding light on the evaluation of results. In the second chapter, with reference to the observations of field research and interviews, the areas of use of mother tongue, intergenerational language transmission and/or tendencies in language shift from generation to generation along with the political, socio-economic and psychological factors behind these tendencies are considered. The tendencies in language shift are also approached from the gender perspective. In this chapter the impressions on the voices of the city, various places, some encounters and situations are presented. In order not to interrupt the flow of the main text, the impressions were presented in different format. In light of the considered variables, the third chapter presents conclusions in terms of possible tendencies, possibilities and limitations. At the end of report suggestions are presented regarding the transmission of Kurdish to future generations, its preservation and its development as a language of everyday life.

The importance of resistance mechanisms and political struggle in preserving a language under pressure, developing it and transmitting it to future generations is undeniable. From the field of press to the field of cultural production many mechanisms have been created with the goal of preserving and developing Kurdish. As was highlighted above, these initiatives have been the subject of political struggle. While the struggle and the efforts to protect it at the political

and institutional level in the context of intergenerational language shift and the reversing of this process are important, they are not directly part of this study. This study focuses on the use of language in daily life, everyday intergenerational communication and the tendencies of language shift. The struggle and efforts at the above mentioned levels deserve to be the subject of a separate study.

F.REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE RESEARCH

Last but not least, it should be emphasized that this research based on face to face interviews and observations of everyday life of the city in general does not claim to be a representative study. If a similar study was carried out in cities like Hakkari and Şırnak, cities where the population is more homogenous in terms of spoken language and Kurdish is more widely used, or in cities like Şanlıurfa and Kahramanmaraş, with more heterogeneous populations, the results would be very different from the findings obtained here; hence, these findings cannot be generalized. However, the findings of this research conducted in Diyarbakır, with the use of qualitative research methods and techniques, can provide insight into the dynamics and processes influencing intergenerational language shift in different contexts.

CHAPTER I

CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES TO MOTHER TONGUE, BILINGUALISM AND MONOLINGUALISATION

A. CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

In linguistics literature mother tongue is defined in various ways. According to Doğan Aksan, mother tongue is the language in which a child is able to create the strongest bonds with the society s/he was born into and that descends from his/her subconscious (Aksan, 1975: 285). On the other hand, mother tongue is also defined as the language of the culture that the individual identifies himself/herself with, the language of his/her ancestors, even if that person cannot speak the language of the society to which s/he belongs (Derince, 2013: 501). In some cases an individual comes into the world inside her own mother tongue, grows within that world and gives shape to it by interpreting things through that language. From this aspect, language is the fundamental space for the acquisition and development of consciousness. However, in some cases, because of different social or political reasons, the interpretation process does not occur in the

language of one's parents or grandfathers but in another language. Whatever the language in which the individual experiences this interpretation process; it will directly affect the way s/he develops his/her identity and the relationship s/he establishes between himself/herself and his/her environment. Language is also related to the transmission of social culture. The culture of a society is developed and transmitted through language. At the same time, mother tongue represents the historical and social value of the society that uses it (Cök, 2010a: 76-77). Therefore, in those cases where culture and language clash, it is inevitable that a set of consequences affecting identity development will result.

In an attempt to embody the existence and influence of mother tongue, Serdar Değirmencioğlu, a development psychologist, qualifies mother tongue as the "nest" and the "forest" that surround the individual. It is a warm and lovely nest that protects and nourishes the child letting it develop in ideal conditions. Mother tongue is an inseparable part of this nest; a nest that can be seen at the same time as a cultural one. The metaphor of the nest, suggesting that the mother tongue nourishes the child by protecting it, and the metaphor of the forest present a wider and more comprehensive image about collective life and living together. A plant that grows in this forest is linked to other plants through relationships of vital interdependence; the plants in the forest cannot live independently from one another. The relation of individual to forest embodies a dynamic interaction. The resources and water that nourishes the plants are invisible to the eyes but, when they are lacking, their importance soon becomes evident. Any kind of intervention disrupting the ecologic equilibrium would destroy the forest in a short time (Değirmencioğlu, 2010a: 113-115).

Moving beyond this metaphor, there is research maintaining a more concrete relation between mother tongue and the ecological equilibrium of nature. Tove Skuthabb-Kangas (2013: 79-81) discusses the bonds that exist between languages of natives who have not yet severed their relationship with plants, earth and the ecological equilibrium of nature. Saying that the linguistic and cultural homogenization produced by capitalism and globalization has also imposed a biological homogenization, Skuthabb-Kangas names this situation as a "bio-cultural homogenization" that is dangerous for the whole of humanity. According to the author, there is a link between linguistic variety and biodiversity. In light of this, the richest regions from the linguistic perspective are also those characterized

as having the richest biodiversity. The secret about how to protect, regenerate and transmit to the future this richness is also enshrined within these languages; when the language is lost, the knowledge of biodiversity will be lost as well. A reciprocal loss will be experienced (Skuthabb-Kangas, *ibid*: 82-83).

The rise of capitalist globalization is not the only factor threatening linguistic variety in the world. The practice of colonialism in the past, factors like the education policies in the postcolonial countries, the pressure that natives were exposed and re-exposed to, assimilation and oppressive policies towards minorities and immigrants, national policies of linguistic homogenization during the state building process or the hegemonic status of English around the world can all be considered among the variety of elements that have had a detrimental effect on linguistic variety (Phillipson, 2013). Even though there are nearly 200 states in the world today, the number of languages spoken is higher and reaches thousands. These numbers mean that the cultural reality of sovereign states is constituted by multilingualism, not monolingualism. This multilingualism is being threatened both at a global level and by power relations existing at the state level. The languages of minorities, immigrants and natives suffer from the pressure exerted by dominant languages.

Within the context of given power and domination relations, it is not possible to ignore the advantages that accrue from the learning of the dominant language; especially those in terms of access to social and economic opportunities. Within a social structure characterized by bilingualism, or multilingualism, the lack of knowledge of the dominant language generally prevents minority groups, who already live in marginal conditions, from accessing social and economic opportunities and further deepens existing social injustices (Darder, 2010a: 46). Therefore, the fact that individuals learn the society's dominant language together with their own mother tongue cannot be conceived of as a negative condition. Nevertheless, in many places in the world, the practice is to learn the dominant language at the cost of forgetting one's native language or at least of neglecting it (Cummins, 2000; Skuthabb-Kangas, 1984). This is the case for the Kurdish language in Turkey.

It has been put forward that students whose mother tongue is different from the official language, should speak the dominant language, the language of major-

ity fluently in order to be successful at school. In order to provide children with sufficient knowledge of it, they should be immersed in the dominant language as quick as possible. Since society's dominant language is seen as the language of power and development, even parents of children belonging to minority groups support this allegation when they push their children to learn the dominant language as soon as possible. This situation, together with an education process that plays a fundamental role in the monolingualisation in dominant language, has reached an inescapable dimension and contributed to the separation of younger generations from their native languages. Although this approach serves the monolingualisation in dominant language, it is still under evaluation and its claims related to the issue of academic success have not been verified completely. Monolingualisation in dominant language prevents children from achieving academic success even if they develop an ability to speak the new language. This results in a situation termed as subtractive bilingualism (Cummins, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013) which can be observed all around the world when monolingualisation hinders children's learning of the mother tongue as it is excluded from the education while at the same time it does not guarantee success in the dominant language. The academic achievements of children from minority, immigrant and native communities subjected to this kind of education are always lower than those of their peers who speak the dominant language; they will also always be the first to opt out of the education system (Mohanty, 2013). More importantly, as the linguist Jim Cummins has stressed, the results of research on bilingualism-based education undertaken in many different countries prove that education in a second language can be possible only when there is a good education in mother tongue (Cummins, 2013: 60)¹. In other words, the mother tongue should not be neglected. The precondition of an educational success in the dominant language is that of success of their education in their mother tongue. We will now turn our focus to this issue as it is closely related to our research.

First of all we can start with the difference between mother tongue acquisition and the acquisition of a foreign language. Mother tongue acquisition is different from learning any other language. A language can be learnt by attending a course or by interacting with people who commonly speak it or by choosing it

¹ Jim Cummins' article presents a comprehensive evaluation of the research on this topic.

as an elective course at school. On the contrary, mother tongue acquisition is a natural and unconscious process. It has been said that verbal and non-verbal communicative data submitted to the child after birth are articulated into verbal production through an unconscious process; once these rules are acquired, even without a full awareness, they are absorbed into words production. The use of a language implies the development of the ability of processing both conscious and subconscious mechanisms simultaneously (Demircan, 2010: 77). The language skills a child develops before school age are based on more concrete language knowledge. While the skills developed in the school context are in essence more abstract.

Studies conducted in the past forty years have proved that a child can develop sufficient academic proficiency in a second language if the development of language skills through the instruction of their mother tongue starts before school. In addition, the success is dependent on the child's proficiency in mother tongue (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013; Cummins and Swain, 1986, Cummins, 2013, Benson, 2013). The knowledge children acquire and memorize through their first language is the basis for their further educational development at school. As a consequence, the use of mother tongue at school must be allowed so that children can refresh the knowledge acquired before school to aid their development. Cummins explains the importance of starting language acquisition before school with the help of the concept of "linguistic interdependence hypothesis". Accordingly, when the cognitive-academic language proficiency that we can define as school language is acquired in the first language, it can easily be transferred into a second language learnt later. If a child learns to read and write in his mother tongue and comprehends it, they can transfer these skills into a second language. In this manner, as long as students continue to show academic improvement in their first language, learning a second language creates a bilingualism that is referred to as additive bilingualism (Cummins, 2013: 67).

The English – French bilingual education model applied in Canada's French speaking regions is the best known model where it is possible for children to be successful in learning a second language while continuing the educational path in their mother tongue. This model is called "immersion" into the second language. Definitely, the fact that both languages can be considered as dominant

in this model and that it is mainly applied to middle class families' children has contributed significantly to its success. Similar models applied to the students of other minority groups in Canada² and to the Spanish mother tongue immigrants in the United States of America have not been so successful.

Cummins analyzes in detail the different models applied not only in the school context but also as part of the socio-economic, socio-cultural, psychological and class-related factors that establish sharp differences between successful and unsuccessful models. The first difference, as stated above, is the fact that the first successful model was applied to people coming from the dominant language group and middle class backgrounds, while in the second the target groups came from migrant, marginal groups and lower class backgrounds.³ The other characteristics of the first group model are: the children's mother tongue is the dominant language in the society; the mother tongue is considered valuable both in the society and at home; it has a high level of social and economic value; a high possibility for mother tongue to live on for long time; a child lives in an environment where their family knows the written language, cares about his school success and stimulates him; the learning of the second language is based on a voluntary choice and motivation. As for the school environment, other factors have been ascertained as the fact that teachers are bilingual, school programs are in two languages and there is a long education path based on bilingualism. In models based on monolingualisation instead, the main features are as follows: children belong to a minority group and their mother tongue is not the dominant language in the society, neither is it seen as valuable; similarly, families of children have a low social and economic status and there is a low possibility that the mother tongue will live on; low interaction with school; an illiterate family environment that does not provide stimulation; the learning of the second language is compulsory and not based on a voluntary choice. Teachers are not bilingual, school programs are not in two languages and students

² For another critical review about minority students in Canada refer to Shelley K. Taylor, 2013: 249-275.

³ Even if in the English literature the definition used for the second group models is "submersion", Coşkun, Derince and Uçarlar think that this definition is not appropriate and suggest using the definition "monolingualisation model" (Coşkun, Derince and Uçarlar, 2010: 88). This definition would be more appropriate because the ultimate purpose of these models is to make students forget their mother tongue and learn the dominant language to become monolingual.

lack the opportunity of having a long, bilingual-based education path (Cummins and Swain, 1986; Bernreuter, 2010; Coşkun, Derince and Uçarlar, 2010: 88-92). According to the features listed above, the first model can be classified as additive bilingualism while the second can be classified as subtractive bilingualism; in any case we could clearly define and consider the second model as the monolingualisation model.

In addition, it is important to stress that the factors listed above are also socio-economic factors that affect the academic success of children who get an education in the same language. As in most cases, in this field it is also clear that a multitude of inequalities interact with each other. This congruence tells us that linguistic minorities at the same time have a lower class status. This, of course, is not surprising. On the other hand, to make a connection between class position and language it is not necessary that children speak a different language. Antonia Darder (2010: 42-43) points out that culture is not an autonomous system; instead, it is identified with social stratification and tensions, along with claims that it represents social processes closely related with sex or race, gender and class based patterns. Departing from this perspective, it can be said that cultural and linguistic processes rather than being neutral are connected with the reproduction of power relations through social organizations. Therefore, the relation between language and class status is significant. The kind of social structure an individual finds herself entering when she comes into the world, her life conditions, kind of education, the work she does, the environment she lives in all play a part in determining the language she uses to express herself. Class differences and the languages people use – even for the ones speaking the same language – can be relevant. Indeed, socio-economic factors, the fact that the social and cultural universe where children grow up has no place at schools or that teachers ignore this universe; affect negatively the school success of children belonging to the poorer classes. Although one speaks of the homogenizing mission of school, it must be stressed that these are actually environments where social inequalities, whether based on class or sex, are reflected and reproduced. Departing from this point, Cummins (2000) states that in schools where education for linguistic minority students occurs in the dominant language, their experiences are micro-reflections of what their parents experience in the wider society. In the case mentioned above, the fact that children from lower social classes are at

the same time members of minority language groups, together with other factors they are exposed to, exacerbates inequalities.

To sum up, it suffices to state that by saying that language is an important variable in the context of injustices that schools reflect and reproduce while the elimination of language barriers alone will be insufficient to extinguish inequality. The stress should be put on the need to concentrate at the same time on class inequalities; whether they be gender based or other inequalities. Returning to the issue of bilingualism, Carol Benson (2013: 116-136), following a recent research and analysis based on new information showing the negative effects of monolingualisation on education success, mentions that currently this model is being examined in many countries and that mother tongue based programs have started to become more readily accepted. Indeed, this is a positive development. On the other hand, as can be witnessed in our own country, the implementation of monolingualisation-oriented practices continues. Therefore it is useful to shortly discuss the distinctive effects that these practices have not only on school success, but also on the extent to which mother tongue can be transmitted to new generations.

The fact that the language a child grows in and through which she names and shapes the world is not recognized at school means a lack of recognition and/or a rejection of the child's identity. As Gök underlines (2010a: 76), this kind of approach, one that can be observed directly in colonialist hegemonic practices, represents a serious and negative experience for a six year old child who sees her mother tongue denied, her family and the environment where she has grown up neglected and therefore experiences a denial of her world of meanings.

The relevant question is; how will this experience affect the child's psychology and school success? David A. Hough et. al. (2013: 230) summarize research results on the psychological conditions of children exposed to this kind of discrimination as follows:

- Lack of respect towards their language, culture and values;
- Sense of inferiority and of being insulted when they encounter the dominant culture;
- Rejection of their individual culture and language;
- Externalized or internalized feeling of hatred towards oneself;

- Mind exploitation (the individual perceives herself and the world through the classifications created by the dominant language);
- They leave school in the first years or repeat the year with increasing failure.

The psycholinguist Ajit K. Mohanty (2013: 40), who uses the expression "their destiny is cursed by their language" in reference to children who start school in a system that considers their culture, identity and language inferior; describes the situation of a child in India studying according to a monolingualisation program in the dominant majority language schools as follows:

"(...) the first steps she made at school where steps made in a foreign world. Because of the linkages she had to leave behind while going to the classroom, she understands very little of this world. The child's communication resources, her language, her knowledge about the world and her culture (...) are pushed aside. Since the child lost her communication resources, her language, her knowledge about the world and her culture the very first day at school, there is nothing left "to develop". She has been taken to school to be repressed and then pushed out by a system whose language she is forced to understand. The child needs at least three or five years even to understand her teacher and after this period it will be too late for everything (...). In all school programs despite the use of technologies like smart boards the child can't learn to read and write. Because the child can't understand teachers, readings and school curriculums using a language she doesn't know. This language is not the language her family uses (Mohanty, *ibid.* 41- 42)

There are different estimations as to how long children who do not start school in their first language need to achieve expected educational success. Some research findings show that minority students need at least five years to catch up with the class average while studying in the dominant language. Other research findings show that a student from a minority group needs fifteen months of effort to achieve the same success that a student using dominant language reaches after ten months; in both cases students are trying to reach a moving target (Collier and Thomas, 1999; Cummins, 2013:65). As a consequence, most of the time it is not possible to reduce this educational gap. As Mohanty states, it will always be too late for them. While it is possible that child's parents will push her to learn as soon as possible in order to provide her with better socio-economic opportunities; for the majority this will just result in the transmission of poverty to new generations.

In places where hierarchical social relations are based on language and ethnicity many different kinds of secret and public power practices operate to assimilate children who cannot get education in their mother tongue into the dominant language. How do children and their families react against these types of practices? There is not one easy and true answer to this question. In most cases their reaction depends on their living conditions, political view and attitudes and other environmental tendencies and factors. Sometimes we observe families showing resistance against dominant language policies and embracing their mother tongue. This is usually the case when members of a family possess a certain level of political awareness. Instead, in many places in the world where the dominant language is being imposed and especially when people from groups suffer because of oppressive politics and poverty are considered, there is no other choice for them besides pushing aside their native language. Consequently, no matter whether it is related to poverty or identity, parents do not want their children to experience the same difficulties they had. Since they want a better future for their children, parents accept that the only way is to assimilate completely into the dominant language.

Given this, in cases when parents coming from disadvantageous social background want their children to quickly learn the dominant language for better future and life opportunities, can we talk about assimilation as being voluntary? When considering such situations, when individuals are stimulated to assimilate to the dominant culture, I want to leave the answer to this question to Skutnabb Kangas. In her opinion, there is no other more “encouraging” instrument resulting in the abandoning of mother tongue than economic, social and political benefits. Skutnabb-Kangas (2013: 430) referring to a UN 2004 Human Development Report, stresses that forcing an individual to choose between his mother tongue and his future means a violation of both human rights and linguistic human rights. Such assimilation cannot be considered to be a voluntary assimilation chosen by free will.

Since in Turkey the issues of mother tongue, especially the issue of Kurdish, is one of the primary political demands and focus of introducing mother tongue in education, it is useful to evaluate the conceptual and theoretical debate outlined above. However, as highlighted earlier, the aim of this study is not only to present the issue in the context of education; the aim was to observe language

dynamics in everyday life. In order to reach this aim, it is useful to look at the concept of the “linguistic market”⁴ used both by Robert Phillipson and Pierre Bourdieu. According to this concept, within the language hierarchical structure that came along with the diffusion of modernization and the construction of the nation state based on ethno-linguistic grounds a “language market” appeared. In this market the relations between different languages are defined according to the market they have. The language market is important as it defines whether the language is used in the education system and other areas of public life as well as whether the families using the language or languages transmit them to the future generations. Hegemon groups impose their political supremacy with violence and/or consent, but at the same time they try to establish the legitimacy of the language or languages to be used in social, political and economic fields. The aim of the hegemon is not only to gain acceptance of it from the people identifying themselves with the dominant power, but to force minority groups and people subjected to discrimination to recognize it. That is why those groups that use the dominant language are rewarded while those who are not part of the system are punished. Those who do not use the dominant language are punished by being subjected to different kinds of pressure and violence. This eventually creates social, political, economic and education inequalities and discrimination. As a consequence, numerous inequalities and discrimination based on pressure and violence start to affect and increase the vulnerability of languages; families begin to think that transmitting their languages to new generations is an expensive, dangerous and often useless effort.

According to what has been discussed so far, it is evident that language transmission from generation to generation is actually related to state politics and practices which directly or indirectly create this condition. Even though there is much debate on the direct causes, indirect ones are not discussed as much. One of these indirect causes is people’s attitude towards their own mother tongue and other languages. Language attitude is defined in terms of how a person feels towards their language as well as towards others (Baker, 1992; Gardner, 1985). Being proud of one’s language and admiring a language are positive attitudes; being ashamed of one’s language or disliking a language thinking that it is un-

⁴ For a comprehensive debate about this concept, refer to P. Bourdieu, 1999; R. Phillipson, 2003; R. Phillipson, 2009.

derdeveloped can be considered as negative attitudes.⁵ Furthermore, believing that language is relevant in terms of finding a job or that it could be a reason for social stigmatization is also related to language attitude. It is important to know the attitude in society of a language as this attitude is closely connected to how the future of the language will be shaped. Consequently, when language is characterized by positive attitudes towards it, in general there are no serious problems regarding its transmission to younger generations; it is not perceived as being under the threat of disappearing. If, on the other hand, a significant population has negative attitudes towards the language, the passing of it to future generations becomes more difficult. Positive or negative attitudes toward languages can be nourished by either the community using it or by a community speaking another language, as they both exist in a hierarchical relation. If both the community using the minority language and the majority speaking the dominant language have a negative attitude towards it, the transmission of this language to the younger generation becomes almost impossible and a progressive loss occurs. On the other hand, when just the dominant community has a negative attitude while the minority group speaking their language nourishes it with a positive attitude, then language extinction is less of a possibility and the transmission to younger generations is not very difficult. In the same way, if both communities have a positive attitude towards the minority language, we can observe a stable bilingualism. As stated before, no matter if they are positive or negative; these attitudes do not exist independently of state politics and practices. Rather on the contrary, most of the time they are shaped by them. Looking at the attitudes in the context of Turkey and Kurdish will give us a clue about Kurdish transmission to future generations. It is evident, that in the situation where Kurdish was forbidden for a long period outside the Kurdish community and inside the dominant society we cannot expect a positive attitude towards it. Language attitudes among Kurdish people are discussed along with field notes.

⁵ For a comprehensive debate about language attitude, refer to C. Baker, 1992; J. Edwards, 1994; R. C. Gardner, 1985.

B. MULTILINGUALISM AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE POLICIES IN TURKEY

The data on mother languages were collected for the last time in national statistics in Turkey in 1927. As these kinds of data are not currently being collected in national statistics, it is impossible to speak about the exact number of native language speakers. According to the “Biz Kimiz?” (“Who Are We”) survey carried out by KONDA in 2006, the languages spoken in Turkey and the percentage of the population using them are as follows: Turkish (%84,54), Kurdish (%12,98), Arabic (%1,38), Armenian (%0,07), Greek (%0,06), Hebrew (%0,01), Laz Language (%0,12), Circassian (%0,11), Coptic Language (%0,01).⁶

The aforementioned figures indicate that a multilingual social reality exists in Turkey. The policy applied throughout the history of Turkish Republic against this multilingual social reality can be summarized in this quotation from Büşra Ersanlı: “In Turkey mother tongue (Turkish) is widely considered as the only and politically dominating language. In the framework of nation-building it had been possible to introduce Turkish, called the language of the state, as the only native language. The perception of native language and state power were seen as identical. Therefore, during lengthy periods when the social and cultural fields were subjected to a statist understanding, Turkish, which was perceived as a state language, left their mark on the social, cultural and economic field. Basically, it could not have gotten away from being the language of patriarchal politics.” (Ersanlı, 2010a:107)

As of today, an important body of critical works on the one-language policies have emerged. The works of İsmail Beşikçi without any doubt have a prominent place among them. As criticism against the unitary policies was severely punished, for years his works were almost the only sources of information on the subject.⁷ As Beşikçi pointed out and as was emphasized in the following years by many other written sources, the founders of the Turkish state aimed to create a homogeneous society of citizens on the basis of the social fabric that remained after the empire that was plural in terms of language, religion,

⁶ See Milliyet KONDA Toplumsal Yapı Araştırması 2006 Biz Kimiz? www.konda.com.tr/.../2006_09_Toplumsal_Yapi.pdf.

⁷ For some of these works, see Beşikçi, 1978; Beşikçi, 1990; Beşikçi, 1991a; Beşikçi, 1991b; Beşikçi, 1991c.

culture and ethnicity. The assimilation policies were considered as an important tool to reach this goal (Yeğen, 1999, Ersanlı et. al.. 2012, Akçura, 2008). Authorities advanced language assimilation policies that aimed to popularize the use of Turkish in public. Furthermore, they also took measures to limit the use of other languages. The use of languages other than Turkish in education had been banned except for some exclusions regarding the minority status agreed upon in the Treaty of Lausanne. Together with the introduction of such institutions and theories as the Turkish Historical Society, Turkish History Thesis, Sun Language Theory served to indoctrinate the idea that Turkish Republic hosted only a single linguistic cultural identity⁸, the ways of dissolving the identities and languages other than Turkish within it were sought. Accordingly, plans introducing bans and measures to uproot populations were put into practice. “Non-privileged, classless integrated population” claim was reflected at every level from the content of education to the field of culture. As an example, there was no education curriculum or textbook where any space had been given to mention and discuss the country’s cultural language diversity.

Even if it seems that many changes have taken place recently, this approach constituting the philosophical foundation of Republic continues to exist in various ways until present (Derince, 2013). The examples below may suffice to give an idea on the many manifestations of this approach in different periods.

The Reform Plan for the East prepared after the crushing of the 1925 the Sheikh Said rebellion to curb new possible rebellions, among other severe measures, included also a ban on Kurdish. It demanded that Kurdish civil servants would not serve in the region, not even those for unimportant positions (Akçura, 2008: 46).⁹ This refusal to appointment Kurdish officers and the fact that public servants were demanded not to speak Kurdish can be encountered in an additional

⁸ For mentioned theories and their critical examination of their functions see: Üstel, Ersanlı, 2003; Yeğen, 1999; Yıldız, 2007.

⁹ The exact Turkish text of the article 10 envisaging not appointing Kurdish public servants read as follows: “aşiret yapısının o sene zarfında ilgası ve halktan doğrudan doğruya hükümetle temas ve hukukunun bilvasıta hükümetçe muhafazası ve temini hususu peyderpey mevki-i fiille konacaktır. Bunun için Şarkta hükümet kuvvet ve nüfuzunun her şube-i idareden mefkureli ve muktedir memur gönderilmek suretiyle takviyesi lazımdır. Aynı zamanda bu mıntıkadaki tali memuriyetlere dahi Kürt memur tayin olunmamalıdır. Merkezden mansup memurin “jandarma dahil” için berveç-i ati teklif-i kanuniye lüzum vardır.” (cited by Akçura, 2008: 46)

document. In the report covering the provinces of Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Van, Hakkari, Muş, Mardin Urfa and Siirt prepared in 1936 by Abidin Özmen who served in the 1st Public Inspectorate in Diyarbakır; a ban on speaking Kurdish and punishing people using it had been proposed. Özmen proposed a range of penalties for speaking Kurdish ranging from giving notices to their dismissal from office. He stipulated that, even when the citizen comes to the public institution and does not know Turkish, the public servant shall not speak Kurdish. According to Özmen if the officer is forced to, he should find as someone to translate who is not a public servant: “Public servants in state offices definitely should not be allowed to speak Kurdish. The officer should not try to understand a peasant who does not know Turkish. A translator who is not a public servant should be found for the peasant. In this way everyone will be forced to speak Turkish.” (cited by Akçura, 2008: 73-76). The “Citizen, Speak Turkish” campaign organized by Turkish Hearths in 1928 can be considered as a one of the practices of this period aiming to pressure the speakers of other languages to speak Turkish (Üstel, 1997). However this campaign was not principally against Kurdish, it should be indicated that it was directed especially towards the Greek and Armenian communities of Istanbul.

Another regulation that should be mentioned in this context is The Settlement Law. The main aim of this law categorizing the population according to ethnicity and language spoken, together with applied migration policy, was to support the assimilation process of other native languages into Turkish (Beşikçi, 1991c; Kirişçi and Winrow, 2007).

The practices related to limiting the use of non-Turkish native languages in public space continued in the years that followed. Even the content of the “Guidelines for the State Development Program to Be Implemented in East and South-east”, a report prepared after the military coup of 27th May by the military regime and recently revealed by Can Dünder and recommendations it contained, echoed the Reform Plan for the East or the Settlement Law. It clearly indicates that the mindset in terms of assimilation had not changed.¹⁰ Changing the Armenian, Kurdish and Greek names of villages and places into Turkish had continued with the Law 1587 enacted after the coup (Coşkun, Derince, Uçarlar, 2010).

¹⁰ For the comparative evaluation of the above mentioned report’s recommendation with the Reform Plan for the East, see Baskın Oran, 2008.

The most severe practices related to languages other than Turkish and which essentially led to ban on Kurdish came up in the years following the September 12 military coup. In the Turkish Constitution of 1982 there was more than one article adopted for just this purpose.

“No language prohibited by law shall be used in the expression and dissemination of thought. Any written or printed documents, phonograph records, magnetic or video tapes, and other means of expression used in contravention of this provision shall be seized by a duly issued decision of a judge or, in cases where delay is deemed prejudicial, by the competent authority designated by law.” (Art. 26, paragraph 3 and 4).

“Publication shall not be made in any language prohibited by law.” (Art. 28/2).

“No language other than Turkish shall be taught as mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of training or education.” (Art. 42/9)

Kurdish legally gained the status of a banned language with the National Security Council’s Law No. 2932 enacted in 1983. The law stated that the mother tongue of Turkish citizens is Turkish and all activities aimed at using and spreading languages other than Turkish were prohibited by law. In the explanation of the law the following expression was used: “Any language other than the official state language recognized by the Turkish State”.¹¹ This expression clarified what was meant in the Constitution by the words “any language prohibited by law”. Geoffrey Haig (2006) remarked on this situation and noted that Kurdish is not referred to directly within the state’s official discourse even when being prohibited and that this is tantamount to an “invisibilisation” policy.

Although the above mentioned law was later repealed, the pressure on the use of Kurdish continued in a very strict manner until the beginning of the year 2000. It was commonly known that expressing any thought or feeling in Kurdish, using a few Kurdish words in the political arena or even singing could have been a pretext used to punish someone with something even as harsh as a prison sentence. This policy was accompanied by various visual and written media publications aiming to link the perception of Kurdish language and identity

¹¹ Later on, when the Kurds in Iraq gained legal status and Kurdish was recognized as a second official language, this phrase was amended to “first official language of state” (Coşkun, Derince, Uçarlar, 2010).

with crime. The scale of these actions can be assumed from the size of the public outcry and aggression that artist Ahmet Kaya was subjected to.

The process of lifting some of above mentioned bans and restrictions started gradually with the legal and administrative regulations in late 1990s and increasingly continued in the 2000s. Two main factors can be identified behind the improvements in this area. The first was the fact that the demands of the Kurdish political movement regarding Kurdish identity and language had gained social support. The latter was the impact of Turkey’s increasing international engagement from the beginning of 2000.¹²

Since the Kurdish political movement from the mid 90s began to grant more space in its political agenda to cultural identity rights, more demands related to Kurdish have begun to be articulated. The movement announced that the year 1996 was the Year of Ahmedê Xanî and called on Kurds to speak their mother tongue more; this resulted in the increasing of social awareness over this issue. In the following years, by constantly keeping the demands of education in mother tongue on the agenda and by removing the obstacles to the use of Kurdish in the public sphere, the Kurdish political movement achieved several successes. Practices, such as the purposeful violation of the ban on the use of Kurdish in the field of politics, resulted in the de facto lifting of bans.¹³ By winning local elections and taking over governance at the local level, the political parties of the HADEP-BDP line, opened the door to de facto bilingual/multilingual practices in local services.¹⁴

Together with these developments and along with the legal and administrative regulations implemented under and influenced by the harmonization process with the European Union, a part of these prohibitions came to an end. A selection of the above mentioned regulations are listed below: ¹⁵

¹² For more a comprehensive analysis, see Derince, (2013: 145-152).

¹³ For punishment imposed for speaking Kurdish in political activities see Çağlayan, 2011: 67-92.

¹⁴ For the original evaluation of policies of the Kurdish movement on the language rights see Nesrin Uçarlar, 2012.

¹⁵ For more detail and materials on the mentioned regulations see Coşkun, Derince and Uçarlar, 2010. Also for the critical analysis adding a new perspective to the relative removal of the obstacles impeding the use of Kurdish in 2000’s see Derince, 2013.

- Abolition of the Law No. 2932 noting Kurdish as a forbidden language (1991);
- Removing the “language prohibited by law” expression from the 26th and 27th Article of the Turkish Constitution (2001);
- Removing with the Second Harmonization Package the “prohibited language” expression from the Press Law (2002);
- Paving the way to broadcast in Kurdish with a regulation implemented under the “Different languages and dialect used traditionally by the Turkish citizens in everyday life” (2002);
- By amending the Foreign Language Education and Training Act No: 2923 allowing the opening of private courses to teach mentioned languages and dialects;
- Providing legal guarantees for broadcasting in different languages and dialects (2003);
- TRT, an official national television and radio channels began to broadcast in Zazaki and Kurmanji dialects of Kurdish along with Bosnian and Arabic (2004); TRT-6 broadcasting only in Kurdish was launched (2009);
- Allowing the establishment of institutes, offering optional courses and academic research on “Different Languages and Dialects” at universities (2009);
- Paving the way for allowing a detainee and convicted prisoner to speak Kurdish on the phone;
- With the amendment to the election law lifting the ban on using language other than Turkish in election campaigns (2010);
- Kurdish becomes an optional course in education (2012);
- Defense in mother tongue in courts accepted (2013).

It is fair to suggest that despite all of these regulations neither have all the bans been lifted nor the hierarchy established between the languages been removed. To illustrate, the permission granted to Kurdish in the field of education is still strictly restricted and allows only Kurdish language teaching. Moreover, the legislative regulations stipulating that Kurdish cannot be taught as a mother tongue remain in place.

It may be noted that dismissive, humiliating attitudes and behaviors towards Kurdish still exist. More recently, at the beginning of 2012, Bülent Arınç, the gov-

ernment’s leading spokesman, used language implying that Kurdish is not a language of civilization. This expression cannot be considered as any less dismissive than that of “mountain language” or “kart kurt” (the sound of walking in snow which according to a theory invented by the military is the source of name of Kurds and their language) used in the September 12th period. Using only Kurdish is still a disadvantage in terms of access to education and professional occupation. Moreover, it can be a reason for getting a low status job or discrimination even in the private sector.¹⁶

If we go back to the three stages defined by Crystal, the current situation resembles the third stage¹⁷. On the one hand, we are witnessing a struggle to preserve the existence of Kurdish with some changes of the attitudes, behaviors and regulations intended to hinder it; on the other hand we can observe a social and political struggle that is taking place to impede the abolition of restrictions. At a macro level, as this struggle is formative in determining the direction of the process and the form of intergenerational communication in everyday life, it is not good to ignore the effects of repressions; the economic and social disadvantages and incentives, education process, work life, social environment, media, migration, current political developments and the hierarchy of value that has been established between the languages.

¹⁶ For cases of discrimination due to speaking Kurdish or speaking Turkish with an accent, see Çağlayan, Özar and Tepe, 2011.

¹⁷ As was mentioned above, David Crystal defines three stages of the assimilation process that a language is subjected to. The first stage called “stage of pressure” is followed by the stage of bilingualism. The third stage is characterized by Crystal as the moment when bilingualism is slowly being replaced by the dominant language.

CHAPTER II

GENERATIONS AND LANGUAGES

A. DIYARBAKIR: A MULTILINGUAL CITY

Diyarbakır has always been a multilingual city throughout its history. It is stated in *Seyahatname* by Evliya Çelebi that Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Armenian and Kurdish were among the languages spoken in this city. In the assessment of the chapters about Diyarbakır in *Seyahatname*, Martin van Bruinessen (2003: 63-73), adds some of Aramean dialects spoken by Syrian Orthodox and Nestorians to the languages enumerated by Çelebi.

Diyarbakır is still as multilingual as it is used to be, but it is true that this multilingualism has changed. For instance, Persian has no meaning beyond being the language of a neighboring country. Even though Arabic is still prevalently used in border cities such as Mardin, Siirt and Urfa, it is no longer present among the languages of Diyarbakır. Currently, the languages of Syrian Orthodox and Nestorians are spoken by a small group of people, rather than being commonly spoken languages. That is why it should be listed as a rare language which should be protect-

ed if it is to be preserved as part of the cultural heritage of the city. In the streets of the city, it is also not possible to hear any Armenian, which was described as a commonly used language by Evliya Çelebi during the times that he visited the city. An old bazaar in Balıkçılar is now called Çarşıya Şewiti.¹ This situation illustrates how Armenian has not been used since the beginning of the 20th century.

As was briefly stated in the introduction, numerous plans have been carried out causing the languages other than Turkish to be excluded from the educational system and forcing them to be used only in rural areas and houses, not in city centers. People who violated the stipulated measures in these plans by speaking the language were punished in various ways. Even though these interferences and sanctions were maintained in various ways in the following years, it can be seen that it is impossible to prevent this language from being spoken in houses, neighborhoods, market places and in the countryside.² September 12 persecution period followed the period in which Kurdish language could be spoken out of houses at least within the 60s and 70s after the TİP, DDKO, Eastern demonstrations and a political revival among Kurds. The regulations on using the language in Diyarbakır Prison sent the message that not only the relatives of people in jail, but also other Kurdish speakers were forbidden to use Kurdish language; and they could have been sentenced for this reason.

After passing through the dark age of September 12, Kurdish found its own place among the common voices of the city. Even though we cannot base this belief upon any solid information, it is believed that the horrifying effect of September 12 can be added to the socio-economic and psychological impacts of a monolingualism policy, which started to be implemented during the first years of the Turkish Republic. In the 1980s, these impacts caused Kurdish to be considered not as a language of education, culture, life in modern city centers, professions,

¹ “Burnt/Burnt Bazaar” in Kurdish. [A bazaar which is also called as Sipahi Bazaar between the road from Dağkapı to Mardinkapı and the road from Ulucami, Balıkcılarbasi, Dağkapı,] is known as burnt bazaar due to the fire in 1894, 1915 and 1940 (Tigris, no publication date stated: 602-603). Şeyhmus Diken (2014) states that the non-Muslim tradesmen suffered loss in the fire in 1915; but especially in the fire that took place in 1894, approximately a thousand shops belonging to Armenian tradesmen were burned. The fires which lead this bazaar to be called as Çarşıya Şewiti in the present day, are indicators of how Armenians were exiled not only from the bazaar but also from the city.

² For a significant and stimulating analysis of how Kurdish was protected and kept alive in the strictest prohibition period, see Metin Yüksek, 2011

and literates; but as a daily language of villages, houses. The 1990s can be considered as the period in which Kurdish had been subjected to many restrictions and violent bans; but eventually, it was understood that it was not possible to prevent it from being spoken. Even though all the cassettes were confiscated, Kurdish weddings were raided as Kurdish songs were sung. Using Kurdish words in public places was enough to be detained³, but this threat could not prevent Kurdish from being spoken.

In the 2000s Kurdish is both an audible and visible language in Diyarbakır; it is a spoken and written language. It is the language of literature, music, culture and politics. There are posters in Kurdish in large billboards in the main squares of the city. There are Kurdish outdoor signs hanging on the doors of municipal cultural centers, educational centers and social organizations. Though it is not an official language, Kurdish is virtually a service language in municipal institutions. It is possible to hear it when entering the municipality buildings and to see signs written in it. During the research, arrested KCK members were pleading in Kurdish in the courthouse next to the Metropolitan Municipality building. Cultural centers screen Kurdish movies and perform Kurdish plays in theatres. Local politicians give their speeches in Kurdish during meetings and demonstrations. Even though they are not allowed to or they do not prefer to make the whole speech in Kurdish, they feel that they have to start their speeches with at least a few Kurdish sentences. Being able to give a speech in Kurdish is a source of political and social pride. Ads, posters and bulletins are either only in Kurdish or in two different languages. Kurdish was once the language of bazaars, streets, and houses in the past; but now it is the language of politics, elective courses and television channels. The TV channels watched extensively in the city are usually produced in other countries and broadcasted via local and foreign satellites. To put it in a nutshell, Kurdish has become a language of literature, art and media.

In some “modern” districts of the city like Ofis, Turkish continues to be widely used. However, during the field research in 2013 it was observed that a new, characteristically more Kurdish, from the language perspective, modernization process has been created as an alternative to the modernity represented by Ofis from the end of the 1980s.

³ These examples are based both on the stories told in interviews and personal observations on those years.

Voices of the City A Market Place in Diclekent



In the borders of Kayapınar county, there is a market place in Diclekent, where merchants who moved here from districts such as Suriçi, Bağlar and the middle class live along with professionals such as clerks, lawyers and teachers. Sellers answer in Turkish if the question is asked in Turkish. If the question is asked in Kurmanji, they answer in Kurmanji; if the question is asked in Zazaki, they answer in Zazaki. When I listen to the tape I recorded in the bazaar, I mainly hear the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish. The most striking thing happens in the stall where every product is sold for a million Turkish liras. The stallholder keeps repeating the same words in a row to draw the customers' attention. It is the voice of a boy. First he yells in Turkish:

–“Terlik, çorap, kaşık, bardak her şey bir milyon!”
[Slippers, socks, spoons, glasses, each is a million!]
Right after, he goes:

–“Şimik, gore, kefçi, îs-kan, her tişt milyonek!”

These sentences are constantly repeated in the recording. The recorded voice of a boy advertising his products in Diclekent proves that this district is home to two main languages.



An Arabic Children Song in Ben u Sen

We are passing through the alleys of Ben u Sen after entering through a little door in the city walls in Mardinkapı to visit a family as part of our research. We come up to three little girls sitting on the ruins of an abandoned house. The 3 to 4-year-old girls with messy hair and slippers on

their feet are sitting on the wall and singing. They sing and clap their hands at the same time so joyfully that their joy reminds us of little birds perched on branches tweeting. With the habit of pricking up our ears, we get closer to hear the song they sing. I tried hard to understand whether they were singing in Zazaki or Kurmanji which are Kurdish dialects or in Turkish; I still could not identify the language though. I am getting closer, but they stop halfway through singing when I get close; so, I cannot figure out the language



of the song. I first ask what they sing in Turkish, then Kurdish; they look at my face in silence. A-middle-aged woman ahead explains me the situation saying: “They are coming from Syria. They are the kids of families escaping from the war. Poor kids live in really difficult conditions”. Thanks to these little girls who are unaware of the horrible war that they are escaping from, singing under the sunlight like little chirping sparrows, clapping their hands joyfully; Arabic melodies are added to the voices of the city.

“Ay lê Gûlê Gûla Min ê”

The Voices in Minibus Lines in the City

One of the places that the tape recorder is on to record is at a transit line for the minibuses. The songs that are played in minibuses are unexceptionally Kurdish. Love songs which are not very famous, are followed by the other songs that can be considered as Kurdish rap. It is possible to listen to either the radical political songs telling about the clashes in the 90s, or classicals such as Mîhemmed Şêxo, Ay lê gûlê gûla min, Aram Tigran and Hey Dilbere. Passengers get on, get off the minibus, ask the way or for change while these songs are being played. Old ladies with white headscarves and old men with coif and shalwar mainly speak Kurdish. Middle-aged women and men mainly speak Turkish. The situation among youngsters is variable. Most of them speak Turkish, but not all of them. Youngsters who carry books of special courses or university can speak a clear Kurdish with a nice pronunciation. You can see from their faces that they feel that they are doing something very important while they are speaking the language. Speaking of the drivers, they are always trying to pass the minibus in front of them; they are always in a hurry and are mostly angry; they answer the passengers in the language that the passengers asked the question in.

A Symposium About Language, Religion, Identity and Session Breaks

As was stated in the introduction, The Religion, Language, Identity Symposium held in the Diyarbakir Municipality Auditorium was organized by Nûbîhar magazine for their 21st anniversary during the period when the fieldwork study was conducted. The Symposium, in which official language policies, regulations regarding assimilation, official documents on the effort to preclude Kurdish were discussed for three days, drew a lot of interest. It was really hard to find a seat for any of the sessions. The conversations were broadcasted outside of the building, and even this was not an adequate solution in some cases. During breaks between important sessions on language, religion and identity there was always huge crowd in halls of the building. The language of conversation between the participants, who were mostly university students and educated people, was mainly Turkish. When I mentioned my study in a conversation with some young people and asked for their opinions, they answered in Turkish to my questions in Kurdish; and they answered in Kurdish to my questions in Turkish.

B. GENERAL TENDENCIES IN LANGUAGE USE AMONG DIFFERENT GENERATIONS

“Dikim nakim bi kurmancî xeber nadin. Diya wan bi tirkî xeber dide.”⁴(Kibar, first generation)

“Ez xeber didim qîza min, tişkî ji min fehm nakin. Nizanin. Dibe “anneanne çawayî, baş î? Ew e.”⁵ (Zülfiye, first generation)

“I speak Turkish with my children. I speak Kurdish with my mother and father.” (Devran, second generation)

“With my siblings we spoke Turkish (...) with our father, mother, all grandmothers and grandfathers, with them always Kurdish. Now (...) with my wife we speak Turkish.” (Nihal, second generation)

“My grandma usually speaks Turkish with me. I mean she speaks Turkish more or less. She speaks by showing things. She understands but can’t speak.” (Nilay, third generation)

When identifying the most general tendencies regarding Kurdish speakers in the city, it can be noted that the first generation speaks Kurdish, that a mix of Kurdish and Turkish is used by the second and that the third uses Turkish. Among the people of the first generation are ones who do not know Turkish apart from a few basic sentences. Those who know Turkish tend to continue using mainly Kurdish in everyday life. A majority of the people from the second generation knows both Turkish and Kurdish. The common feature of the people from the second generation who know Turkish but who also continue using Kurdish is that they still communicate with their parents in Kurdish. However, despite the fact that they communicate in Kurdish with their parents, their language of communication with relatives, younger siblings and children is mainly Turkish. Although among the third generation there are people who understand Kurdish and a part of them who can also speak, for the majority of them Kurdish is not a language of communication and a natural part of their everyday life. These general tendencies vary depending on such factors as education, occupational status, social class, age and rural or urban place of birth.

⁴ “No matter what I do they don’t speak Kurdish. Their mother speaks Turkish”

⁵ “When I speak they don’t understand me. They don’t know [the language]. They can only say “grandma, how are you? Are you OK? And that’s it!”.

1. Persistence of the First Generation

It is not unexpected to find a few individuals among the first generation who still consider speaking Turkish as a source of prestige. However, a majority of non-Turkish speakers welcome it reluctantly and some even react against the attempts of their children and grandchildren to communicate in Turkish. There are two reasons for this. First, people who know only Kurdish or just a bit of Turkish, because they cannot speak Turkish fluently, have difficulties in communicating in it with the younger generations. They struggle to communicate in Turkish, which they feel is demanding and limits their communication.

The other reason has its source in the cultural and/or political sensitivity of the first generation. Even if some people from the first generation know Turkish, they are not pleased when their children and grandchildren speak Turkish at home. According to them even if Turkish is a necessity in outside life, they persistently carry on using Kurdish at least at home as a way of protecting their identity and culture.

The decisive attitude of Birgül's grandfather over all home-dwellers of an eight-room house with a large courtyard can be considered to be one such example of this position.

“Never never never as children [we spoke Turkish], we used to go to school, even [when] we were in second grade, we have learned Turkish too, not at all that willingly... and our courtyard was so big, so for line game we had drawn a line, with my sister. Around evening we were speaking Turkish, we have just learned it, we are speaking it enthusiastically. Grandpa returned from the bazaar and shouted at us, “Leave your Turkish schmurkish outside!” he said, “leave it at school, inside of this house never”, (...) Zîmana xwe girêdayi bu. Çikas ev jî ditî bu, baskî jî ditî bu jî ber zimên. Sala 1925a de qedehe bu Kurdî, li Amedê. Go ew demê mesela kalê mi, yekî gundiyê, jî alîye Derikê hatiye, Meheme Elî, çu çarşîye. Serî balıqçiya. Li vîra kahve van hebiye. Îca merik tek kelime kî tirkî nizanî. Kurmancî xeber dide. Her xeber dide, zabit, ceza dide. Ê perê vî jî tunne. Feqîr e. Evar xeber diçe jî kalêmin, dibên meheme elî birîne qerekolê, kurdî xeber daye, ceza jî vî hatiye birin. Kalêmin diçe, perê heqê heberdana vî dide. (...) Jî alî politikê de tesira kale min bu.”⁶

6 “He was attached to his language. He was repressed because of language. Kurdish was banned in Diyarbakir in 1925. That time one peasant came from village close to Derik, the village of my grandfather. His name was Eli. He went to the bazaar. To Balıqçılarbaşı. There were coffee houses. This man did not know a single word in Turkish. He spoke Kurdish. Whenever he spoke Kurdish the municipal police punished him with a fine. He

(Birgül, second generation, 50, primary school education, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

The story of Nermin's father also provides an example of how the first generation was making an effort to keep Kurdish alive at home:

“My father forbade it especially at home, in this way we did not speak a single word in Turkish cause he used to say, well he was aware, he used to say ‘if you don't learn, if you can't express yourself in your own language, your children will go and, well people exist with their language, so we will not exist anymore or so. That time he always was saying it.” (Nermin, second generation, 40, secondary education, Umut Işığ, interview in Turkish).

During the Religion, Language Identity Conference I met Aleyna, who invited me to conduct an interview with her mother, nieces, nephews and brother's wife. During the interview Aleyna's mother, Kibar, mentioned how she encouraged her grandchildren to speak Kurdish and how she feels uncomfortable with their reluctance to do so:

“Ez dibêjim bila zimanê xwe bielîmin, heta ji bo min zazakî girîng (...) de ka ez çî bikim? (...) Ez nabêjim îlahîm hun ê bi kurmancî biaxivin! bila bi zimanê bizanibin bes e qena. (...) Merivê me ne dibêjin: çima tu nayê mala me? Ez bêm çî! Ez tîm wê hun bi tirkî diaxivin ez bi tirkî nizanîm. Hun jî bi kurmancî xeber nadin! em wisa lihevdu mêze bikin. Ez çî bikim? (...) Ez dibêjim sîcê dê û bavê wan e. Lazim bû dê û bavê wan bi wan re bi kurdî xeber bidana.” (Kibar, first generation, 60, illiterate, Gaziler, interview in Kurdish)

Today, as in the past, the emotional attitude of the first generation has brought few results. Foremost, factors such as the education of children and the “influence of environment” became reasons why Turkish entered everyday life. Although the above mentioned examples given by the third generation express their reproach towards young generation who lacked knowledge of Kurdish, in most cases the first generation wanted their children to learn Turkish to enable

didn't have money. He was poor. In the evening my grandfather was informed that for speaking Kurdish Mehmet Eli was taken to the police station. My grandfather went there. He paid the fine for speaking Kurdish. (...) Politics had an impact on my grandfather.”
7 “I say learn your language, Zazaki is important for me (...), but what can I do? (...) I'm not saying speak Kurdish only. It's enough if they learn. (...) People I know ask why I don't come to visit them. Why would I go! I come to you and you speak Turkish. I don't know Turkish. And you don't speak Kurdish. We just look at each other. What can I do? (...) I think it's their parents' fault. Their parents should have spoken Kurdish with them.”

them to be successful at school:

“The language of our home was Kurdish. But we have learned Turkish equally as well, we knew it. But first was Kurdish. With father in Kurdish. With mother too. But for sure they wanted us to know Turkish for school.” (Ferda, second generation, 45, secondary education, Diclekent, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

According to Nalan, the fact that her family did not speak Kurdish with her at home grew out of similar reasons:

“Our parents, you know I grew up here, as I see it from my perspective, they didn't speak with us because they didn't want us to struggle, to have difficulties. So that they wouldn't make fun of us at school.” (Nalan, second generation, 30, secondary education, Umut Işıği, interview in Turkish)

After Turkification of the language of communication and life outside of the home, no matter whether it started before or at school, this situation started to affect the language used at home. In fact sometimes conversations with the first generation that started in Kurdish after a few words turned into conversations in Turkish:

“(…) all in all no matter how much effort parents had made, after some time we also grew up, after finishing high school or starting career, you see, for example we like very much chatting with my father (… for example I tell my father about my dialog with Nevin, I say to my father: ‘baba ez çûm ba Nevinê û Nevin go,’⁸ and then immediately comes Turkish. You know, the language we learned later, for us when we tell about our conversation with someone, after ‘mi go’⁹ the conversation continues in Turkish. My father doesn't continue in Turkish but after some time we come to a deadlock, we stop.” (Nermin, second generation, 40, secondary education, Umut Işıği, interview in Turkish)

As it was indicated earlier, the second generation who passed their childhood in a Kurdish speaking family environment and continues to use it as a language of communication with their parents, maintains their everyday life using two languages. However, the areas and degree of language use among the bilingual second generation varies according to factors such as their level of education and their profession. To illustrate, people who continued their education af-

⁸ “Father, I went to Nevin and I said to her that…”

⁹ “I said that …”

ter finishing primary school or who have a profession that requires speaking Turkish use Turkish more often. One of the main factors of intergenerational language shift will be addressed in the following chapters is the case of school experience. One aspect that needs to be underlined is that primary school education, despite being effective in terms of learning Turkish, was hardly effective in changing the language of daily life outside of school. It was observed that secondary and further stages of education were effective in letting Turkish leave the school walls and diffuse into the daily life outside of schools and what is more important, into families.

As a matter of fact, the majority of interviewed people from the second generation recounted that in primary school times when at school they spoke Turkish, but as soon as they were in the schoolyard they immediately reverted back to using Kurdish. They found it strange to speak Turkish with their parents after coming back home from school and used to switch to Kurdish of their own accord.

As an example, for Devran who we met in Ben u Sen, Turkish he learned in primary school remained only the language of school. He had not thought of it as a language that he could use to communicate with his father:

“We spoke Turkish at school but after coming back home there was Kurdish. I was ashamed to speak with my parents in Turkish. I didn't think of it as a language to speak with them. We spoke at school but when we arrived home we stopped.” (Devran, second generation, 25, secondary education, Ben u Sen, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

Similarly, Axîn during his school years used to return to using Zazaki at home after school:

“For as long as I can remember, at home we have spoken Zazaki. Our dominant language at home is Zazaki. But do you have this in the new generation, no you haven't. It was spoken at our home. In my home it is not spoken a lot. In my older brother's home it is not spoken a lot. In my other brother's home it is not spoken a lot. Turkish is spoken more often. (… We used to speak. Cause everyone used to speak Zazaki a lot. We were born and we grew up here. In Suriçi. Turkish was a language we learned later at school. It was over for use when we were getting home from school. When returning home Zazaki used to start.” (Axîn, second generation, 30, secondary education, public relations department of municipality, interview in Turkish)

As we will see in the narratives, from the perspective of the second generation, despite perceiving the language of home and school as separate ones in primary school, if they continued their education the significance of Turkish increased incrementally. The language of school also travelled home with them. As Axîn expressed it, with the progress of education, Turkish becomes the language of thought and expression in addition to being the language of reading and writing:

“When did Turkish start? When our school life started. We started to learn something; after primary school. For instance, sometimes I can’t even think in Zazaki. I think in Turkish. (...) No matter how much we spoke it after coming back home in primary school... but it finished after secondary school. We brought it home but we didn’t speak it with parents not to get slapped. With parents not, but with everyone else [we speak] Turkish.” (Axîn, second generation, 30 years old, secondary education, public relation department of municipality, interview in Turkish)

In his narrative Delal compares the experiences of his older brothers. He pointed out the importance of the social environment as well as the education environment in the shift away from Kurdish, the first language of life, to Turkish:

“Well, honestly my brothers had been surprised when they had heard someone speaking Turkish when playing a game. My brothers always told us about it. But not any more. (...) Because one of my brother became a doctor and now his environment is mainly Turkish, but my other brother is in Diyarbakır. His friends are from Diyarbakır. They are still very close with Kurdish. They speak much faster. More fluently. But my other brother stumbles. It’s not his fault. He stayed 10 years away from here, from family and relatives. Because family and relatives speak Kurdish with you. Environment factor influences.” (Delal, third generation, 23, university graduate, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish)

The second generation distances themselves from Kurdish with education and later because Turkish is the language of work life. As mentioned in some of the stories, in some cases it just develops by itself. On the other hand, Kurdish was not only banned by the state, it was stigmatized as a language of villagers and as a sign of backwardness.¹⁰ At times when this stigmatization was influential,

¹⁰ Büşra Ersanlı (2010a: 312) is summarizing the change undergone because of stigmatization as follows: “First of all it was referred to for a long time as the “non-existing language” and later as the “unknown language”, at this point some issues had been discussed with the movement; it is not Turkish so it is a language you cannot communicate in. Later as there was no progress considering its status and place in the

it affected the approach of Kurds towards their mother tongue. They have been voluntarily moving away from it. Even if the repressions and bans on Kurdish reached its peak in the period of September 12, those times are also characterized by the increase of political struggle around Kurdish identity and language. It appears that the psychological effects of stigma had its effect not after, but before September 12. In this respect, when considering the second generation that has distanced itself from Kurdish for good, it is good to pay more attention to the people from the second generation in their 40’s or older rather than the ones around the age of 30. Züleyha comments on how her peers, who are professionals like her and belong to upper-middle class, have completely distanced themselves from their mother tongue:

“Wexteki ew geç bûn, bi nivîsandin û xwendin gişk bi zimanê Tirkî bû û Kurditî bû bû, ji gor wan yanî, Kurditî bû bû ne avantajek, dezavantajek. Ji bo wir ne peyvîn. Heya yekî Tirkî baş zanîbi di mektebê de jî baş be. Yekî mektebê de baş bi dikari bixwine. Yekî bixwene, dikari wer meslegekî derek baş. Ê meslek tê manayî perê jî hebe.”¹¹ (Züleyha, second generation, 45, university graduate, Switzerland, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

Even after the attitude towards Kurdish started to change and even if a person has not distanced herself from the mother tongue voluntarily, the place of it in education life and at work is very limited. It is possible to observe the effects of this situation thanks to the second generation of people who are unemployed or who have a job which does not require Turkish. For instance, Sabiha, who we interviewed in the village of Hasırlı, speaks only Kurdish. Her husband is a temporary worker at the local municipality. Her husband’s mother, who lives in the same house with them, does not know Turkish at all. Four of her children, out

hierarchy it was called as a “dialect of Farsi” and finally also “as language that is not Turkish”. This is an important step as for many years all children and young people had been taught that Kurdish is a “broken” version of Turkish. After being a language that is “not Turkish” Kurdish became a language that has its own name. However, in a majority of the places where it should be named it is not.” From the moment described by Ersanlı, Kurdish has been recognized as a language, however, it is currently stigmatized as a “language that does not have a language of civilization”.

¹¹ “When they were young, reading and writing, everything was in Turkish. Kurdishness was not an advantage, rather it was a disadvantage. That is why they didn’t speak it. In fact, if someone knows good Turkish, they are good at school as well. If someone is good at school, they can study. Someone who studies can get a good profession. Having a profession means having money.”

of five, are studying in elementary school and all of them, including the fifth and youngest one know Turkish. But the daily language that they speak with their mother and grandmother is Kurdish. Not only for the grandmother, but also for Sabiha who does not have many connections with the outside world, the only language of communication is Kurdish. The second generation of villagers that I interviewed does not know Turkish or has a limited knowledge of it. On a daily basis they use Kurdish when speaking with their kids. Therefore, it can be stated that the second generation women who are educated or not; live either in the villages or cities; are either working or housewives who mainly speak Kurdish.

It is possible to make a similar analysis for the second generation of men. However, some differences between men and women who speak mainly Kurdish in everyday life can be observed because of their experiences. In the case of men, despite not receiving any education, Turkish comes into their lives a bit during military service. Apart from that, men also encounter Turkish when they go to work at construction sites, mines, fields and in the various cities where they stay temporarily. They had to learn Turkish to communicate with other people; but as they were going to these places in groups and as the work places were generally isolated from the places where other people lived, they kept speaking Kurdish among themselves. Thus, the Turkish that came into their lives in this way could not go beyond being a compulsory communication language similar to the Turkish that they learned in military service (which was probably rough for them). A father and son that I met in Xweylin both have the experience of being soldiers in the military and workers at a construction site in a different city. For both, Turkish was the language of obligatory situations and short sentences.

I need to state that the second generation men who met Turkish while they were doing military service were not eager to share their experiences. The situation was open to discussion due to the negative attitudes that they received in the military as they were speaking Kurdish with their friends and co-workers, or because of their accent. The reason might be because the interviewer was a woman, or it might be because of a psychological factor or sad memories that they gained during their time in the military. It was also possible that they did not want to share such memories in front of their wives and other family members.

At the beginning of the chapter, it was stated that the third generation was generally inclined to use Turkish as their daily language. For the first and second generations, a differentiation was indicated by giving examples of factors such as education, profession, social status, life in urban or rural places, gender etc. Yet, the fact that Turkish gains ascendancy for the third generation cuts across all other variables for all social classes and adults. Even though the main language of the household that they are born into is Kurdish, they learn Turkish concurrently. The main reason for this situation is television which is available in every household, either in a rural area or in the city centre, in a poor or in a wealthy place. The assimilation pressure takes place in educational life, but it seems that children meet Turkish via television before they go to school. If the dominant language at home is Kurdish, they probably grow up in an environment with two languages. But if there are two languages at home; in other words, if adults use both Turkish and Kurdish, their kids choose Turkish unconditionally throughout their childhood.

2. *Caillou, Pepe and Keloğlan*¹²

There were three generations living together in the house that I visited in the village of Ben u Sen. The grandmother had learned a bit of Turkish in one of the cities that they moved to and lived in for a while. But it was only enough to understand what was said. As they were working in a farm away from the city, they did not have any relation with the local residents. The grandfather also learned Turkish to communicate in necessary occasions in the military and in the cities where he worked as a construction worker; but, like his wife, his mother language was Kurdish. It was the same for their daughter who was living close to them. There were also two languages being spoken in the house where she lived. The daughter-in-law and their son who were living in the same house were using the two languages in their communication. They were speaking Kurdish with the first generation and they were speaking both in Kurdish and Turkish with each other. Their Turkish had a Kurdish accent which was native to Diyarbakır. However, the grandsons who were around 4 or 5 years old, did not have such an accent. This case drew my attention when they came and talked to us while I was chatting with the elder people in Kurdish on the roof of the house before I starting to record. When I asked them how they learned to speak Turkish like

¹² Cartoon characters which are broadcasted in national television channels.

this, the answer that they gave me was a kind of answer which cannot be heard in just any house: Pepe. The interaction with Turkish by these children around that age starts with Caillou. In every house that we visited, kids loved Caillou and especially Pepe; they were trying to imitate their speeches. There is a reason for the distinct Turkish accent of the kids, an accent which is different from that of the spoken Turkish in the neighbourhood and from their parents in a house where Turkish is rarely spoken and the daily language is mainly Kurdish, that reason was Pepe.

It is clear that television has had an indisputably determining role in the simultaneous learning of Turkish and Kurdish in a house where the predominant and mother language is Kurdish. But opinions of teachers that I interviewed showed that television was not the only determining factor. The examples they mentioned were about working, middle class families who are sensitive about using Kurdish. These are families who don't turn the television on in order to prevent their children from learning Turkish; they had failed in their efforts. This failure is probably because of the psychological effects, hierarchical perception among languages and the language that elder people use to communicate with each other and etc. These reasons will be elaborated upon in the following chapters.

A Girl Who Only Speaks Her Mother Language In A Tent In Karacadağ: Hürriyet

In our interviews in Karabahçe and Xweylin, we came upon a third generation girl who had never come across Turkish in her entire life. Despite there being a few kids who spoke two languages; most of the kids only knew and understood their mother language at best, but they couldn't speak. Some of them did not know. Hürriyet was an exception among them. We met her in a tent in Kızılkuyu plateau over Karacadağ. The little member of the half-nomadic Kejan tribe was 8 years old and had never been to school. She was spending most of the year in this tent with her mother, father, sisters, brothers, grandmother, two aunts, cats, dogs and sheep. They had been going to Ceylanpınar in the winter and when the spring came, they had been going back to Karacadağ with their flock of sheep. She was busy with baby-sitting her little sister, while her mother and aunts were preparing the dinner in the tent where they bake bread and cook. She was shy in responding to questions. Her mother and aunts were hinting that asking her questions was meaningless as Hürriyet did not understand anything. But she was standing next to us and curiously listening to all of the conversations that we had with them. We held interviews in Turkish and Kurdish with her elder brother who was a few

years older than her. It seemed that the reason Hürriyet did not go to school was not their nomadic life on plateau or poverty, but that she had a duty to take care of her younger sisters and brothers as a girl while the women of the family were doing the housework.



3.The Bridging Role of the Second Generation

“Te ji dê u bavê xwe kulturekê ser ziman tu digri. Tu wî zimanî ji, tu îja zarokê xwe, tu kopriyaki, yani kopriya ki xweş çê diki. Waya ji hêzek xweş dide mere. Yani ez tehmin dikim ez pir berketama ez pir ji beeciki, nikaribum ki zarokeme nikari be zimaname biaxive. Ama ewê dawî çawa bibe em nizanin.”¹³
(Züleyha, second generation)

The situation where there are no such transmission channels as education makes the role of parents more important in intergenerational language transmission. As was stated above, it is hard to say whether the second generation is able to play this role. The reasons for this vary from family to family. In general, when examining obstacles to transmission of the mother tongue to the third generation we can see such factors as education having an impact on the Turkification of the second generation and their environment. In situations where Turkish gains importance in everyday life because of education, or a profession accompanied by the current official language policy, the second generation needs to make a special effort to be able to pass the language to their children. As far as it can be seen, the number of people from second generations making this effort is not small. This new trend will be addressed below. If we consider cases when

¹³ “You inherit the culture from your parents through language. Through time, you will do the same to your children. You form a bridge. This gives us courage. I assume that if my kids did not speak our language, I'd be very upset. Yet we don't know what the future will bring.”

the second generations do not play their role as a bridge, the major factors are the ones that had also influenced the first generation and are based on “children not having problems at school” and “easy communication with their environment”. Devran, who had started school without knowing Turkish, commented on this decision to speak with his son in Turkish until he starts his school education so that he avoids the difficulties his father encountered:

“I speak Turkish with children. With my mother and father I speak Kurdish. I will speak Turkish until he starts school. He should know Turkish before going to school so that he doesn’t have problems later. So that he won’t have the problems I experienced. I had difficulties because I didn’t know Turkish. He shall not have the same problems.” (Devran, second generation, 25, secondary education, Ben u Sen, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

For Birgül, whose grandfather is the head of a family living in an eight-room house with a large yard and who was stopping his family from speaking Turkish, the situation changed when she moved with her husband and children, who haven’t started their school education yet, from the family home to a flat in an apartment building in Şehitlik. In contrast to her former neighbourhood, Alipınar, where Kurdish was also the language of the street, the language of her new apartment building and its close environment was Turkish. Birgül explained that her children have experienced some problems with communication in their new environment. As she was worried that these problems will increase when they start their school education, she decided to speak Turkish with them. As her Turkish was not sufficient, she even went to a language course:

“88an de li Şehîdlikê, zarokê cîranê me teva bi tirkî xeber didan yê min nizanibû, wisa li devê wan mêze dikirin! Ji ber wê min got bila zarokê min jî biçin dibistanê. Wan giş bi tirkî diaxivîyan. Zarê cîranan gazî wan dikirin digotin werin em bi hevdu re bilîzin, ê min li devê wan mêze dikirin, nizanibû kaç i dibêjin! Bavê wan got: “gune ne”. (...) Min nihêrî, na nabe wisa. Ez jî çûm dibistanê hîn bûm bila ew jî tirkî fêr bibin. Min nihêrî zarok jî dixwazin, stuyê wan xwar bû.”¹⁴ (At this moment the

¹⁴ “In 88 in Şehitlik all the children of our neighbors spoke Turkish. Mine didn’t know it. They were looking at their mouths. That is why I said my children would also go to school. They were speaking Turkish with everyone. Children of our neighbors were calling them to come and play together, my kids were looking at their mouth without understanding what they were saying. Their fathers said that this is shameful. (...) It was not going well. I went to school and learned Turkish to be able to teach them. My children wanted to learn

doorbell rang. Birgül shifted to Turkish and asked her daughter to open the door. Then she carried on in Kurdish from the place where she had left off.)

Birgül and her husband thought that they would resume speaking Kurdish at home when their children learn Turkish so as not to have problems at school and in communication with environment. However, it did not happen as they expected. Their children completely forgot Kurdish within a few months:

“Zarok, min mêze kir her ku diçe zarok êdî kurdî ji bîra kirin. Yan sê meh an jî şeş meh bûn, çûn dibistanê êdî Kurdî ji bîr kirin.”¹⁵ (Birgül, second generation, 50, primary education, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

Similar situations described above are often experienced. The efforts of a generation of parents who started to communicate with the third generation in Turkish in order to help them avoid exclusion from their peer group and/or facilitate their school life have succeeded in uprooting their children from Kurdish. In other words, there is no place for Kurdish outside of the home or within their education. This is the reason why after acquiring skills in the dominant language, rather than staying bilingual, Turkish becomes dominant. On the other hand, from the example of Birgül we can also see a situation when the dominant language has not been acquired in the proper way. As was mentioned, Birgül went to a language course as she did not know Turkish. In such cases Coşkun, Derince and Uçarlar (2010: 88) actually indicate that this might be understood as the “process of losing a language” (dilsizleşme), which is a form of “monolingualisation”. Selvi, who works as a teacher in an educational support center, compared the attempts of parents, who do not know Turkish well, to communicate with their children to that of a crow imitating the walk of a duck:

“For example families say ‘let’s speak Turkish’ so that child won’t have difficulties when starting school. But we see children that come to us. In the first place parents don’t speak Turkish properly. The Turkish they passed to their child is really bad. This is like the walk of a crow which is trying to imitate a duck. This is one of the main problems that our children experience. Neither can we teach them proper Turkish, nor

it too. They were destitute.”

¹⁵ “I realized my children were forgetting Kurdish with every passing day. It happened 3 or 6 months since they went to school. They forgot Kurdish.”

do we learn Kurdish.”¹⁶ (Selvi, third generation, 28, university graduate, Educational Support Center, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

Selvi refers to the parents who, similar to the second generation described above, continue speaking mainly Kurdish in everyday life and who do not speak Turkish well. The possibility that a child whose parents speak good Turkish will be bilingual is low. This is because many parents who know Turkish well are already out of touch with Kurdish. Factors such as education, getting a profession or communication with the outside Turkish-speaking world have played a role not only in them acquiring a good knowledge of Turkish, but also in the decline of their mother tongue. Because of this, their children come into the world from a predominantly Turkish speaking environment.

We cannot forget that language is not only a tool for communication; at the same time it carries and conveys culture. If we take this into consideration, the fact that the second generation does not act as a bridge in conveying it to the future generations has an impact on the transmission of culture. When we consider the relations of one community with nature, fauna, flora or in general with life; its mentality, the transfer of this feeling of community, the importance of intergenerational transmission of mother tongue increases further. During the interviews issues that can give an idea on the influence that the intergenerational language shift has on culture were also considered. In this context the interviewees were asked questions about fairy tales, popular tongue-twisters, recipes, births, marriage and funeral ceremonies. Frankly speaking, the interviewees' answers to the questions in this part of the interview were the shortest or sometimes even non-existent. The first generation mentioned that in their childhood they had listened to many fairy tales but now could not remember

¹⁶ Katharina Brizic (2010a: 140-157), an Austrian linguist characterized the communication of the parents on Sardinia who know Sardinian language and very little Italian with their children similar to the case of Selvi. According to Brizic, parents whose mother tongue is Sardinian and who come from rather disadvantageous backgrounds decided to speak with their children in Italian, as they believed that growing up in Italian would provide them better perspectives for the future. However the Italian of mothers and fathers was not good. The knowledge of Italian of mothers who had contact with it only for few years at school allowed them only to speak by using the sentences in imperative. Fathers, who have encountered the language more at the bureaucratic level and had difficulties in using it, were trying to communicate with their children more by using gestures and mimics. As a result children were not able to learn Italian. As their parents kept them outside of the Sardinian speaking world, since they did not know this language either.

any. Also the second generation stated that they had listened to fairy tales but could not recall any of them. As we can guess, after television appeared the era of fairy tales ended. Their answers did not go beyond the few typical expressions used during marriage or funeral ceremonies or one or two recipes. Later on, when discussing the findings we focused on the reasons for the deadlock experienced in this area. Sorgûl, a teacher who participated in the discussion panel, said that to get the desired information within this context it is necessary to go beyond the few hours of the interview. This comment of Sorgûl, who has also participated in some interviews and helped as a translator during the interviews conducted in the Zazaki dialect, was relevant. As he emphasized, this kind of information cannot be obtained simply by asking questions. They can only surface during long-term observations or with the sharing of life, even if just for a short time. Because the research process was not long enough to conduct long observations and life sharing, in the evaluation there are no findings on the impact of the intergenerational language shift on the transmission of culture.

We now wish to examine the questions related to the transmission of culture in other studies. Coming back to the subject of intergenerational communication, a lack of transmission of mother tongue between the second and third generations has the biggest impact on the first generation as their communication with their grandchildren becomes very limited. For grandma or grandpa who know only Kurdish or do not speak Turkish fluently, the fact that their grandchildren are monolingual is a serious problem. They cannot communicate with their beloved grandchildren at the level that they wish to.

4. Learning Turkish for the Sake of Grandchildren

“Ez bi wan re kurmancî diaxivim, ew qe bersiva min jî nizanin bîdin, direvin diçin.”¹⁷ (Kibar, first generation)

During the interviews people from the first generation spoke mostly of their love for their grandchildren. According to them, children are the “walnut shell” while grandchildren are the “walnut kernels”. During the interviews with the three generations together, I have not only contented myself with listening about it, I have also observed it. However, the language barrier is an obstacle to sharing this love adequately and in the creation of a satisfying dialogue between

¹⁷ “I speak in Kurdish with them. They don't know how to answer. They run away.”

grandparents and grandchildren. There were even situations when grandchildren became bored with sitting for long periods next to their grandparents who do not understand their language.



“Ew jî ji min re dibêjin; dayê tu bi zimanê xwe, mîna xwe xeber bide! Ez ê çawa xeber bidim! Ez ji wan re dibêjim kefçî bîne nizane, direve diçe. Dibêje tu mîna xwe xeber bide! Ez ê çawa bidim kes nayê cem min ji min direvin. (...) carna zarokên wan tên mala, me ez bi zazakî ji wan re dibêjim ‘Elif kefçî bîne!’ ew diçe metbexê dicemide, disekine. Mecbûr dimînim dîsa dibêjim ‘Elif kaşik getir.’”¹⁸ (Kibar, first generation, 60, illiterate, Gaziler district, interview in Kurdish)

Grandparents are trying to overcome this barrier with their limited knowledge of Turkish. Zülfiye, who I interviewed in Diclekent with her daughter-in-law and grandchildren, lamented that she wished she knew Turkish:

“Dibejim xwezi ez ji tirki bizanibam, serbest xeber dide. Ez pir fehmed nakim ha, ê ka çi bikim?”¹⁹ (Zülfiye, first generation, 70, illiterate, Diclekent, interview in Kurdish)

In general, there is a common belief that if there are old people at home speaking Kurdish, grandchildren will learn it by listening. As a person who in childhood heard a few words from grandma and who only saw the benefit of it later when studying Kurdish in a language course I cannot share this opinion. However, during the interviews I have observed one thing clearly: language transmission between grandparents and grandchildren is not limited to learning by listening. In order to better communicate with their grandchildren, grandparents start using their new language. In other words, the transmission of Turk-

¹⁸ “They tell me, mum, speak your own language. How can I speak! I tell them bring me a spoon and they don’t understand, they run away. They say “speak like yourself”. How I can speak, they don’t come to me, they run away. (...) sometimes children come to our place. When I say in Zazaki “Elif, bring me a spoon”, she goes to the kitchen, freeze and wait. I have no choice and next time I say [in Turkish] “Elif bring me a spoon”.

¹⁹ “I say I wish I knew Turkish. I would speak it freely. I don’t quite understand, but what can I do?”

ish from the third to the first generation takes place.

Ferda would like her 5-year old son to learn Kurdish. She asked her mother to speak with her son in Kurdish. However, Ferda said that she failed to perform this request. Ferda’s mother, who is partly bedridden, did not want to lose the company of her little playmate. As he is not willing to speak Kurdish, she speaks Turkish:



“[speaking of the relationship between mother and little son] They are playmates, they love each other very much. They paint together. They draw. They cut papers. (...) we really wanted this little one to learn Kurdish first. Now mother speaks Turkish with him. I was working, my mom and sisters were looking after him, you see, babysitters. Anyway in this way carers do their best to speak Turkish. For example, I was saying constantly ‘speak Kurdish with the child’. Now when we start speaking Kurdish the kid refuses, he rejects his granny. When it happens, granny starts to speak Turkish and this brings him back. Well, they have become playmates. He understands, understands [Kurdish] but now he doesn’t use it actively. For example my mum says “Can here ji xwe ra avê bine”²⁰. He runs and brings a glass of water. But he doesn’t speak. So, you know this learning by listening is a good thing but I don’t know if it brings about anything more.” (Ferda, second generation, 45, secondary education, Diclekent, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

During the interview we did with Ferda’s older son, I learned that the old women as well as her husband who was still alive at that time, did not have any other choice to attract the attention of the older grandchildren other than to speak Turkish.

“[When grandmother was speaking Kurdish with me] I was able to stay unresponsive. That is why, no matter whether it was grandpa or grandma, they were getting angry and used to continue in Turkish. (...) They were feeling uncomfortable. Our unresponsiveness was the reason of their anxiety. Especially [grandpa] used to get angry. He started

²⁰ “Can, bring yourself water.”

speaking Turkish with swearing. You are educated. You have learned English. How you can't learn Kurdish. He used to say it. It was like that. He would react in this regard." (Bawer, third generation, 23, university graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish)

To what extent can this effort of the first generation be helpful to reach their goal of communicating with their grandchildren even to a limited extent? Bawer's answer presented below suggests that the answer is "partly":

"Well, their sentences were not very complex. They were trying to express what they want to say with basic sentences."

Communication is limited in both directions. When speaking Turkish the first generation is able to make only basic sentences and when they speak their mother tongue which allows them to express themselves easily, they also have to use basic sentences to make it understandable for their grandchildren. In another home in the Diclekent district, 10-year old Nilay, whom I interviewed with her mother and grandmother present, when asked about her communication with grandma she answered "I understand when she wants water":

"With my grandmother... Oh, I know [Kurdish] very little. My grandmother in general speaks in Turkish with me. Well, she speaks very little Turkish. (...) I understand her sometimes when she asked me for water."

So what does Nilay think about the language of her grandmother that she can understand only when her granny asks for water?

"(...) sometimes grandmother... well, as I don't know it, it sounds a bit funny to me. The thing is she speaks fast. This is why it sounds funny to me. (Nilay, third generation, 10, primary school, Diclekent, interview in Turkish)

In general, as Kibar expressed, after "basic sentences" like "bring water", "bring a spoon" or "finish your food" sufficient for minimal communication, the grandchildren run away. As in Bermal's words quoted below, this situation forms an obstacle to the sharing of emotions and thoughts. In the situation when even in everyday life the communication between adults and children is not sufficient because of the workload or other reasons, language gap limits this communication even further:

"As long as youth and children do not join in, all conversations are in

Kurdish. They share in Kurdish. Actually Turkish does not enter their life too much. (...) There is this dimension from our side. This is the matter that has a bit of its roots in the social structure. Children and youth don't share their feelings with adults. In that sense, there is also a rupture caused by the social structure. In a language such a thing also happens; it continued in the dimension of satisfying the needs of everyday life. This is why we weren't using it in the dimension of sharing emotions and thoughts. Because it didn't exist." (Bermal, third generation, 25, university graduate, Toplu Konutlar district, interview in Turkish)

Reşide, who lives with her children and grandchildren in the district of Ben u Sen, does not know any Turkish apart from a few words. But when caressing her grandchildren she tells them she loves them in Turkish; this is because her grandchildren do not know Kurdish. She expresses her love for her children in Kurdish. She expressed how it is difficult for her to caress her grandchildren in Turkish:

"Gelkî nizamın, dikim nav hev. Yanî dibejim, hun çavanın, jî ve sevmiş dikim, hez dikim. Ez eva dibejim. Ê, zor e. çawa ne zor e! (...) Kurmancî jî me ra rehetê. Hez kirina mî, mesela ez Kurmancî daha hez dikim, ev dikim, ev nizani. Diya van ne alimandîye, ne elimine."²¹ (Reşide, first generation, 60, illiterate, Ben u Sen, interview in Kurdish)

At this stage of the interview, Reşide's 5-year old granddaughter, Zehra, glanced at us through a half-opened door. We called her in. The following dialog in Turkish between Reşide and her granddaughter appeared during the interview that was conducted entirely in Kurmanji and Zazaki dialects of Kurdish:

R: Does Zehra love granny? She loves granny, and she loves granny in village, no? She loves me. What about Semiha?

Z: You

R: She loves you. Say I love granny in the village.

Z: I love.

R: My daughter loves granny in the village.

Z: ...

The interview continued in Kurmanji and Zazaki the same as before Zehra entered the room. However, when it becomes necessary to speak with Zehra, her grandmother communicates with her as above.

²¹ "I don't know it too much, I am confused. Well, I ask how you are, I show I love you. I cuddle. I say these things. It's difficult, how it wouldn't be difficult! (...) Kurdish is easier for me. My love for example, I express love more in Turkish. She doesn't know. Mother didn't teach them."

Also Zülfiye was one of those grandmas who was struggling to speak with her 10-year old grandchild during the interview with her poor knowledge of Turkish. Despite the fact that she preferred to have the interview in Kurdish, when her grandchild came for a while during our interview, she spoke with her in the same way as Reşide did.

Needless to say, there is no communication between the first generation and their grandchildren sufficient to provide the transmission of emotions, thoughts and experience. There is no doubt that using different languages is not the only barrier to the transmission of experience between generations. It is known that the increasing misunderstanding among generations includes those such as rural-urban migration, different living standards, technological development or even just the “generation gap”; and that these have negative influences on the intergenerational exchange of experiences and emotion even in situations where the same language is spoken. The fact that these two different generations do not speak the same language is undoubtedly a factor that makes this situation even more difficult. Bermal’s observations of the relationships between the youth and the older generations in the villages where she stayed for rural development projects, reflects this situation:

“The old people speak Kurdish. They don’t even approve when someone speaks Turkish with them or around them (...) it is not only the language dimension, the past culture of life, rural culture, the language also comes into it, their transmission to young generations is really poor. The young generation doesn’t opt for a rural lifestyle. They don’t want to stay [in the village]. They want to move to the city. As they want to move they don’t learn the knowledge transmitted by their parents, grandparents. We were including young people in our talks with old people. Actually very nice sharing of the information about the past used to happen. Young people weren’t listening. It didn’t hold their attention. They didn’t take this knowledge. There is the same thing in the nature of this process as in the language. Life is also changing.” (Bermal, third generation, 25, university graduate, Toplu Konutlar, interview in Turkish)

Life is indeed changing, however the intergenerational language shift makes it impossible to synthesize the knowledge of previous generations, their heritage and experience with the “new” in a changing life; this makes it exceedingly difficult to pass it on to future generations.

5. Which Language Where?

During interviews questions were asked regarding the use of different languages in different spheres of life. According to the answers, there is considerable diversity regarding this subject. Moreover, when considering the language of public institutions or markets in the city center, the shifts can be observed differing not only according to the people but also according to the time period. As an example, the tendency at the beginning of the 80s to speak Turkish at home was in the 2000s replaced by the tendency to speak Kurdish. In the same manner, the use of Kurdish in the public space outside of education has spread since the beginning of the 2000s. Considering the perspective of communication in general, usually the relations or experience continues in the language in which it has started. As an example, if the relation with parents started in Kurdish, the possibility that it will continue in this language is higher. On the contrary, if the communication with younger generations started in Turkish, it is hard to switch to Kurdish.

6.A Bilingual life

If we think of which language is spoken where, it becomes apparent again that in general the bilingual life, or sometimes a multilingual one, continues in the city. This is also visible in the narratives related to the language of dreams. People have dreams in the language that dominates that particular area or that relationship:

“They are not the same at all. When I see my grandma and grandpa I constantly speak Kurdish with them. When I see them it’s like this, but when I see friends it’s in Turkish.” (Delal, third generation, 23, university graduate, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish)

“Turkish but few times [English] appeared. I even stood up and spoke, that’s what my room-mates told me. It was a place related to my work life or just a fantastic one. For some reason I speak English there. Or I express myself in this way, I don’t know, it seems to me that to see something in Turkish is more charismatic.” (Bawer, third generation, 23, university graduate, Diclekent district, interview in Turkish)

“Ez çukanyan, li gûnd bi, aîlera be, ez kurdî diaxivim. Bi hevalêmina em bibejin sendîka ye yan jî sîyasete be, ez tirkî diaxivim. Tî le dinerî meslek, îşe min bi, li ez almanî diaxivim. Yanî her sê ziman jî. Yanî di xwewna mi da şexsê ez dibînim kijan zimanî diaxive ez wî ya dibînim.”²²

²² “If it is about childhood, village or family I speak Kurdish. With friends, whether they

(Züleyha, second generation, 45, university graduate, Switzerland, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

This multilingual condition is considered valid to some extent both for the first generation that uses very little Turkish and for the third generation that does not use Kurdish. For those individuals, television and music constitute the field of bilingualism.

The interview guidelines also included questions on which TV programs and channels they watched. The first non-Turkish speaking generation mentioned that they watched mainly Kurdish channels. However, during the interviews they admitted that they watch not only Kurdish channels, but also Turkish ones. The old women I interviewed in Xweylin village in response to my question 'so which programs on Turkish channels do you watch the most?' answered "wedding programs". The same answer was given also before, in the district of Ben u Sen, during interviews with the Kurdish-speaking first generation.

People from the third generation, who do not know Kurdish, or whose dominant language is Turkish, make connections with Kurdish language through music. Makbule, who migrated to Çorlu from Xweylin and does not know Turkish, said that her son, who understands Kurdish but does not speak it, likes to listen to Kurdish music. Şakire, who is younger than Makbule and who speaks Turkish at home with her children and husband, when asked about the relation of her daughter with Kurdish answered that she likes to watch Kurdish music channels. When we asked children they repeated what their mothers expressed; they said they listen to Kurdish music. At this junction, it should be noted that the third generation who knows Kurdish and uses it in everyday life, when taking Kurdish television channels into consideration, also prefers music channels. It would not be a mistake to say that one of the areas taking the most prominent place in the life of young Kurds is music.

If we are to make a general distinction among the areas where the different languages are used, it can be noted that the second and third generation use

are from the labor union or politics, I speak Turkish. You see, whenever there is my profession or work I speak German. So all in all there are three languages. Whatever language the person speaks in his communication with me, I have my dreams in that language."

the mother tongue more at home and Turkish in the areas of life outside of the home.

"Kurdish is more in family. Outside and in social life unfortunately we speak Turkish. Sometimes I speak Turkish with my father. With my mother Kurdish. (...) when I do shopping, there is this thing. Well, if shopkeeper knows Kurdish, we use Kurdish. But when we go to an ordinary coffee house, we speak Turkish unfortunately. It is because they also approach us in Turkish. Unfortunately, there is general lack of use it." (Delal, third generation, 23, university graduate, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish)

"Zarok ji xwe bi min re nepeyivin. Tê n malê, diçin odê xwe u li ser bilgisayarê. Ez jî naçim derva. Ez tenê diçim pazarê. Pazarê jî kurmancî dipeyivim. Pazarçî jî hemmu kurmancin. Diçim cem wan. Ez kurmancî dipeyivim bes, pere tirkî dibejim, dibem altmış lira, yirmi lira. Wana bi tirkî dibejim."²³ (Makbule, second generation, 50, illiterate, Çorlu, interview in Kurdish)

"In general I speak Turkish. Sometimes customer comes, she doesn't know Turkish. She knows Kurmanji and we speak it, sometimes I also speak Zazaki. (...) Because I study at school I know Turkish. I speak Turkish with my friends. Kurmanji is not spoken a lot. If we were in village we would speak Kurmanji. Outside there is Turkish in general. Sometimes we go to the village and we speak Kurmanji. [With my child] I speak Turkish. My child understands Kurmanji, but can't speak it. Sosyal yaşam tirkî, televizyon tirkî, kurmancî kilama. Film kurmancî bibe wekî İngilizçî alt yazî. Genelde tirkî."²⁴ (Devran, second generation, 25, secondary education, Ben u Sen, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

"With mother Kurdish, with father sometimes Kurdish or Turkish. Both. When playing on the street [I speak] Turkish. In the schoolyard [I speak] Turkish. With my relatives [I speak] Kurdish. With grandma Kurdish." (Samet, third generation, 13, primary school, Hasırlı, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

"Before I had gone to school there was Kurdish. But after I went to school, Turkish became more active. Work life is in Turkish. (...) With mother I speak Kurdish. With my aunts I speak Kurdish but with next generation for some reason we switch to Turkish." (Ferda, second gen-

²³ "Children don't speak with me. They come home, go to their rooms and to their computers. I also don't go outside. I go only to the market. I speak Kurdish at the market. All sellers at the market are Kurds. I go to them. I speak Kurdish but when paying I speak in Turkish. I say sixty liras, twenty liras. These I say in Turkish."

²⁴ In the last two sentences it can be noticed that Devran used both Turkish and Kurdish: "Social life is Turkish, television is in Turkish, songs in Kurdish. When movie is in Kurdish there are subtitles like in English. In general in Turkish."

eration, 45, secondary education, Diclekent, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

“I got used to speaking Turkish. I speak in Turkish with my friends. I didn’t try [to speak] Zazaki.” (Şakire, second generation, 35, literate, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

7. Language of Emotions

The difficulties the first generation experiences when they try as much as possible to communicate with their non-Turkish speaking grandchildren were mentioned above. Even if they can use Turkish, they do not like to express their feelings in a language that they perceive as foreign. During the interviews with members of the second and third generations who are bilingual, most interviewees admitted that the mother tongue is the language of their emotions. Bilingual people from the second generation shift spontaneously to mother tongue when they are happy or when they get angry. They still dream completely or mostly in Kurdish.

Some bilingual people from the second and third generations, who know Kurdish but on a daily basis use Turkish, recall the emotional situations when they spontaneously shifted to Kurdish.

“Well, I guess when I’m happy it’s in Kurdish. For example there are some people who speak Turkish, but when they get angry, they switch to Kurdish. Or when they tell an anecdote. (...) when they get angry when driving a car they swear shouting in Kurdish. When they get nervous or are under pressure, they can translate what they say directly into Kurdish.” (Delal, third generation, 23, university graduate, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish)

“All my quarrels are usually in Kurdish. My angry, aggressive behaviors are in Kurdish. Then when I tell about nice things I speak in Kurdish. For example when I translate to my children or my friends, someone who doesn’t know [Kurdish] I say “ ‘it’s not understandable’, well I can’t translate it. But there is a thing, for example for years I see my dreams in Kurdish.” (Ferda, second generation, 45, secondary education, Diclekent, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

Even people who now continue their lives in Turkish can spontaneously switch to their mother tongue when they are sad or happy. Even for Şakire, who after moving to Çorlu started to speak Turkish at home and to use this language in

communication with her children, switching to mother tongue when getting emotional is “something that comes from inside”:

“I’m also not so into lullaby, but in general when caressing children, I say mother and father. I mean in Turkish. (...) When I’m happy or sad [I speak] Zazaki. It is something that comes from inside. You don’t control it.” (Şakire, second generation, 35, literate, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

Despite the fact that Şakire switches to Zazaki when getting emotional, the language of her emotional relationship with her children is Turkish. It can be related to the fact that from the beginning she built this relation with them in Turkish. Interviewees who started their communication with parents in Kurdish and who later use mainly Turkish in their life admit that they feel strange when speaking Turkish with parents.

“When we came to Çorlu with my mother and father I was speaking Zazaki more. No matter wherever I go, I always feel guilty when speaking other language with my father. Sometimes I try to speak it, but then I can’t and I give up.” (Cemal, second generation, 35, secondary education, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

“Teacher, I can’t speak Turkish with my mother. Well, it sounds artificial to me. I can’t speak Turkish with her. (Metin, third generation, 27, university graduate, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

8. The Last Shelter of Mother Tongue: Secret Talks

For people from the second and third generation whose mother language is Kurdish but who use Turkish in everyday life, one of the rare moments when they feel the need of changing their language to Kurdish is when they want to speak secretly and hide the topic from children or friends:

“Sometimes when doing secret things, when we don’t want others to understand we take advantage of our language. We speak Kurdish.” (Delal, third generation, 23, university graduate, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish)

“We sometimes try with my wife when we don’t want children to hear but, well, they understand.” (Şakire, second generation, 35, literate, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

“When speaking with my brother about the things we don’t want children to understand we speak Zazaki. It’s a good thing. Children sometimes don’t go away from you. Some things can’t be said then. Actually,

having the second language is a nice thing. The one children don't understand. Well, in a situation when you can't speak about everything next to children. (Nihal, second generation, 40, secondary education, Diclekent district, interview in Turkish)

C.MIGRATION AND MOTHER TONGUE: FROM XWEYLIN TO ADANA AND ÇORLU

As has already been mentioned in the introduction, visits to a number of villages were planned within the scope of this research. Among visited villages was Xweylin, in the district of Lice. Our relations with this village were not limited solely to talks and meetings held with its residents. The families we met in Ben u Sen migrated from Xweylin to Diyarbakır, but this was not the only destination for some of them. A number of relatives migrated to Adana and Çorlu. Once we realized that the stories of those who left the village were not only about Diyarbakır, but also about Çukurova in Adana, where many Kurds had also migrated, and other cities that were both physically and culturally distant, we decided to follow migration routes that extended as far as Çorlu. In this manner we expected to be able to understand how intergenerational language transmission could depend not only on migration, but also probably on the demographic and cultural features of the place of migration. Keeping all of these things in mind, in October 2013 in Adana and in December in Çorlu we conducted interviews with relatives of migrants we had met earlier in Xweylin and in Diyarbakır.

1.Xweylin: A Village Concealed in a Multitude of Historical Names

Xweylin's Turkish name is Tuzla and it comes from the salt mines existing around the village. In the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish it carries a similar meaning. There are, however, many other names; one of them is Arî, which comes from the Zazaki dialect widely spoken in the village. This name refers both to very old water mills and fertility of green lands rich in water. In the past there were 5 mills, but in order to meet the demand for water, water resources were redirected through canals to Lice. Other names for Xweylin are Gundê Fille or Armîn. When directly translated they mean Christian village, which gives testimony to the past Armenian character of the settlement since Armîn itself is a name converted from the Armenian language. Not only do the names Gundê Fille or Armîn shed light on the village's past, but so do the visible remains of a church on the slopes reveal information about its former residents. This information makes us think about the necessity for yet another name of the village. There is no one, however, among present inhabitants and migrants who would remember the village's name from its Armenian period.

Since the beginning of the 20th century until today, Xweylin has witnessed three

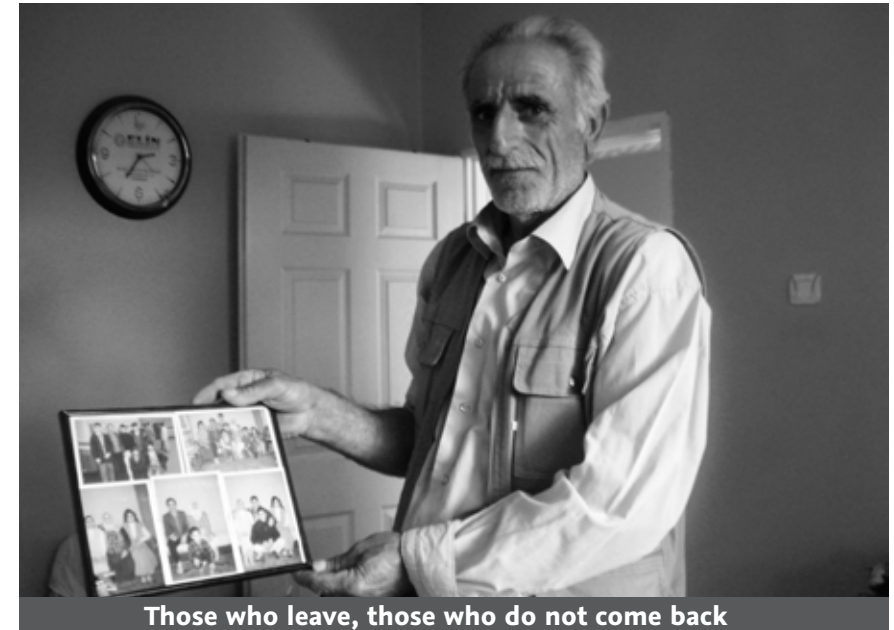
different waves of destruction and migration. The first took place in the wake of Armenian massacre, which paved the way for the wiping out of the village's inhabitants along with its first name. According to the stories we have heard from the youngsters in the area, few families of the Kurds working as farmers for Armenian landowners resettled in the evacuated village. They also told us that some people took part in the Sheikh Said rebellion in 1925 and lost their lives. As far as it can be discerned, however, we cannot talk of any targeted purges aimed at suppressing the rebellion. Therefore, the 1925 destruction is considered as a separate event.

The second wave of destruction occurred during the 1975 Lice earthquake. As a result, all the houses were destroyed and the former dwellings on the slope were replaced with uniform prefabricated houses built at the foot of the mountain.

The third wave of destruction took place in 1994 when all the houses in the village were burnt by security forces. In fact, prior to the burning, people struggled to live among the ongoing skirmishes. During the fighting houses were hit by missiles and lands were bombed to such an extent that some thought the lands had lost their previous fertility. According to the stories, all the houses in the village burned within one or two hours due to some unknown substance being used to ignite the fires. That was the day when the whole village was evacuated and its inhabitants joined their relatives living in Diyarbakır, Adana, Çorlu and other cities.

When in 2001 fighting deescalated and a ban on entering the village was lifted, people started to return. Since they were unable to rebuild burnt houses, returnees stayed in tents and began to grow crops in the summer months. They would move in with their relatives for the winter. At the beginning of the EU accession period in the "positive environment" of the summer of 2004, Günter Verheugen, EU Commissioner for Enlargement together with the governor of Diyarbakır and the governor of Lice district administration, paid a visit to the village and met with its tent-dwelling inhabitants.

In fact, in 2001 when the ban on return was lifted, most of the permanent returnees consisted of the elderly. Those who worked in the cities spent time in the village only on specific occasions while those who stayed with their families



or who started new families in the cities, visited Xweylin only during the summer holidays.

Even though upon our visit the horrendous conflict of the 1990s was a thing of the past, the atmosphere in the village was nothing like the promising climate depicted by the media during the visit of Verheugen in 2004.²⁵ Above all, reminders of the 90s were still omnipresent. Rubble and debris struck one's eyes wherever one looked. Just next to new houses were the ruins and walls of burnt ones. Traces of past experiences and destruction were intertwined with pessimism about the future. It did not seem like there was a future for this beautiful village.²⁶ We went there in the fall, but because of abundant rainfall the village

²⁵ One of the recent events covered by the press was the kidnapping of three soldiers on military leave by the PKK on 7 August 2012. Another one comes from 23 January 2014 when within the vicinity of the village a truck carrying supplies for the construction a new military outpost was burnt.

²⁶ In this place I feel the need to write something about the village. When I was holding interviews along with Şemsa Özar and Ayşe Tepe we would hear them say many times "our village was like a paradise." Despite forced expulsion and hard living conditions in the place of origin they would always associate it with positive memories. Describing the village as a real "paradise" would make us think it can really become one and that it is not just the villagers' memory of it.

had remained green. Vegetable gardens were full of tomatoes.²⁷ From the windows of the house where we were sitting, we could see the swaying branches of pomegranate trees. Roadsides were covered with blackberries. A newly married young construction worker, who had come for a short family visit, told us about the many youngsters who had very recently gone to the mountains [to join the guerillas] along that very same road surrounded by blackberries. Further along that road, just by the entry to the village a military outpost was situated.

I went to this village to talk about their mother tongue, as everyone speaks Kurdish. Instead, from the elderly I heard more about the burnings and migration, while from the youth I was forced to listen to their uncertainty and doubts about the future.

2.Şakirpaşa in Adana: Ben u Sen's Projection in Adana

Walking along the way from Adana's city center towards Şakirpaşa, where interviews took place, multi-story blocks of flats start to resemble more and more two-story buildings with unfinished roofs and the narrow streets of Ben u Sen. The accent of the people we asked for directions gave away information about their common places of origin. Only later, we learned that many of the people from this neighborhood migrated from the areas surrounding Diyarbakır for the same reasons, sometimes even from villages near Xweylin. All the interviews in Adana were conducted under an October sun on the rooftop because the house owner, who at the same time, was in a hurry to cook in a tandoor before the clay dried. And no, my host was not baking bread – that was done early in the morning. With dexterous hand movements she was turning kneaded clay into the spiral shape of a new tandoor. Just like the family in Ben u Sen, the host was baking bread in a tandoor on the rooftop and exactly like in Ben u Sen the first generation spoke Kurdish. The second generation talked to them in Kurdish and the dominant language at home was also Kurdish. Similarly, the second generation was bilingual: school and a part of their work life were conducted in Turkish while in the family and in the quarter Kurdish prevailed. Casual agricultural laborers, who collectively commuted from their quarter to work and spent time working together, were able to maintain Kurdish as a means of communication amongst themselves. Apart from this kind of work environment and life in the

²⁷ Lately it has been given up because of the transportation costs involved, but tomatoes used to be transported from the village to Diyarbakır every morning.

quarter, however, the second generation spoke Turkish and this language had a greater presence in their lives.

As for the third generation, Turkish is the dominant language. After an interview I went to the bus station and along the way I had an opportunity to chat with a third grade student, Şervin, who told me that although she could understand Kurdish spoken at her home, she could not speak it herself. For my young road companion, Kurdish was the language adults would use among themselves and for her own life it was not very important, rather it was something “domestic.” Şakirpaşa is no different from Diyarbakır, where Kurdish is still preserved in the quarter and from the perspective of the first and second generation continues to be the language of their daily lives. It seems, however, that for the third generation Kurdish becomes a language used only to communicate with grandparents since while it does evoke emotions and is understood, it cannot be spoken and thus is thought to be an unnecessary language.

3.Education, Employment, Social Circles and Mother Tongue in Çorlu

In Çorlu only three families were interviewed, but they had many distant relatives. The first striking difference here, compared with Xweylin, Ben u Sen and Şakirpaşa, is that the families had settled rather far from one another and that they were leading rather isolated lives. Upon arrival they initially had closer relations, but through time, when they started to work or to set up their own businesses, their relations began to break apart.

One of the families I talked to runs a small furniture shop. The lady of the house, in her thirties, from time to time would work alongside her husband in the shop. The second family also lives moderately off trade. And the third family's source of livelihood was construction work. All three families own the apartments they live in. The second generation of the families interviewed in Xweylin and Ben u Sen, speak Turkish not only outside, but also at home where it has become the dominant language. According to the women, increased contact with the outside world was responsible for this. Of course women are not as fluent as men and they don't use Turkish for the entirety of their daily communication. At the request of interviewees our talks were carried out in Turkish. Only when visiting the village or speaking to grandparents would they use Kurdish. The third generation, unlike their peers in Ben u Sen, spoke Turkish without an accent.

When asked how they communicated with their grandparents who understand, but don't speak Turkish, we were told that if necessary they do voice their needs. As has been already mentioned earlier, in their lives Kurdish remains present only in music. The youngest person from the third generation with whom I met in Çorlu, was a second grade student. Her mother told us how she got confused when visiting the village:

“The kids ask me what this language is. The youngest one asks if they are speaking English. I say no, it is Kurdish. They answer that the teacher at school tells them that it is English.”

In Çorlu only one woman, Makbule, who was significantly older than the others, spoke Kurdish. She understood Turkish, but could not speak it. She had no relations with neighbors or the wider community. Şakire, on the contrary, by working with her husband in the furniture shop had managed to establish dialogue with her customers, female co-workers and neighbors. Makbule told us that she did not have problems at the market place since sellers speak Kurdish. When her children were in primary school, she would send her brother-in-law's wife to teacher-parent meetings. While telling us all these stories Makbule did not seem to have any problems with her mother tongue. She did not give importance to her not knowing Turkish and was content with her language. Nevertheless, she once told two women at the market that she spoke Arabic. It was in response to them scolding her for not speaking Turkish. It is important to examine the significance of Kurdish at a market place in light of her choice to say she spoke Arabic rather than Kurdish. On the other hand, there were women like her coming to the market. Their circumstances were not the same. As a matter of fact, those two women felt they had the right to question Makbule's inability to speak Turkish. She also felt the need to give them an answer. It's probably something like an interrogation and disclosure mechanism. Makbule, in her attempts at explaining herself said she spoke Arabic, which she must have thought would mitigate the situation. It was speaking Kurdish rather than not being able to Turkish that was probably too heavy a burden at Çorlu's market.

This experience is not unique just to her since anyone who speaks Kurdish outside of their homes is exposed to suspicious looks. Serhat, Makbule's son, when he has to speak Kurdish on the phone with his mother described his experience as follows:

“For instance when some news is out, people don't have a friendly disposition. Let me give you an example: I'm in a crowded bank, waiting in the line and my mother calls. I don't speak Turkish. I have to. The moment I start speaking all eyes are on me. As if I committed a crime. Their attitudes also change. But if somebody approaches me, we chat and there's nothing. Everything changes when they hear it [Kurdish language].” (Serhat, third generation, 20, student, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

Makbule's other children, who are younger than Serhat, grew up in Çorlu so they don't speak Kurdish. That is why her communication with the kids is minimal. When they come home they withdraw to their rooms. She was close to her daughter who could not and did not want to learn Kurdish, but with her oldest son who knows the language Makbule had little contact. Since she didn't have any Turkish knowledge she was the loneliest mother and had the least contact with her children among all the mothers I interviewed in Çorlu.

It isn't difficult to make predictions regarding language use of the future generations that will be born in Çorlu. Makbule's older son, Serhat, was of school age when they migrated to Çorlu and he spoke no Turkish. At the time of the interview he had a job in a company and studied at a university. Turkish was the language of his education, work life and social circles. He spoke Turkish with his cousin who, just like Serhat, had no accent. When asked about the future he stated that Kurdish was part of his identity and that he wished his children would learn it.

“I talked to my present girlfriend – we'll continue. I said that I want to. Let the kid speak, learn – I told her. She was born in Istanbul. She doesn't know it well, but her mother and father do. I want my child to know it. She didn't say anything about it as well. When I visit my relatives I don't want the kid to ask mother about what they saying. Because this language is disappearing slowly.” (Serhat, third generation, 20, university student, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

Cemal, also a male from the second generation, expressed a similar desire to teach his future children Kurdish. In his view he owed it to those “who paid the price”:

“Like I just said, we lived certain things. Some paid the price. We didn't pay such a high price so this is the least we can do to pay back the debt.” (Cemal, second generation, 35, secondary school graduate, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

Cemal's wife was from Çorlu and did not know Kurdish. Among the homes I visited, there was no third generation person speaking Kurdish even if both of the parents' mother tongue was Kurdish. Serhat and Cemal's wish to have their children speak Kurdish as well as their positive attitude towards Kurdish are important, however, the probability of their success still looks rather low.

D.SCHOOL IN ANOTHER LANGUAGE

"What I remember is that I didn't understand a thing." (Berma, third generation)

"I remember I always had a problem with these things: rûn²⁸, flour. I was looking for word harmony. As if they were the same thing. Rûn is butter and flour means arvan. I remember experiencing this dilemma a lot." (Feride, third generation)

"I did everything I possibly could not to speak Kurdish or Zazaki. I was ashamed. For instance, I didn't want my mother to come to school (...). Because she didn't know Turkish. It felt like a very humiliating thing." (Nihal, second generation)

The school experience is not the main focus of this study. This experience was investigated and comprehensively analyzed in another study by DISA (Coşkun, Derince and Uçarlar, 2010). However, as was emphasized in that study, school experience plays a very important role in the creation of positive or negative attitudes towards a mother tongue and, as a result, in intergenerational language transmission. Therefore, interviews also focused on school. I would like to recommend the evaluation of the findings from the interviews together with concepts and approaches discussed in Chapter I. As we recall, in concluding his analysis of successful bilingual education models and its criteria, Cummins underlines that they are not limited to the school environment, curriculum or teacher's attitude. He also lists a number of psychological, pedagogical and class factors such as the importance given to the language in the society and in the family, economic and social value of the language, probability of the future sustenance, willingness to use it, class standing and promotion of written form as well as its place in the curriculum, i.e. whether the curriculum encompasses non-hegemonic languages, and last but not least, the teacher's knowledge of the second language.

From the perspective of these criteria it is clear that Turkey follows a monolingual model imposition instead of affirming bilingualism. The narratives in relation to school experience were not surprising as students were affected by the monolingual model previously discussed in Chapter I. Without doubt, it is impossible to speculate on this model's longterm effects on school success based

²⁸ Butter

only on interviews. Unfortunately, the relation between pedagogy and linguistics has yet to be examined using scientific research methods and techniques. In Turkey, at present, apart from subjective narratives, data about the regional distribution of various exam results suffice. For instance every year students from Hakkari or Şırnak receive the lowest scores at university entrance examinations. The narratives about psychological effects other than school success, however, are similar to the ones described in Chapter I. They include embarrassment when encountering the dominant culture and language, devaluation of one's own culture, rejection of the language as well as perception of the world according to the dictate of the ruling class (Hough, 2013: 230).

On the other hand, the passage of time does reveal many differences in school experience. For instance, a narrative about primary school of a middle-aged second-generation person carries strong feelings of "shame"; while for the third generation, entering schools in the 1990s, "fear" comes to the fore under linguistic identity trauma. Even if in those times Kurdish was banned and there was fear, a positive attitude towards Kurdish developed within the society helping to push away the shame. In the interviews with those third generation people who are still at school there was no mention of either shame or fear. In this age group I did not expect to hear narratives of shame or fear, but I did not even encounter the slightest trace of it. As it can be seen in the chapter about the hierarchy and perception of languages, they experience refusal and the perception in line with the hierarchy of languages.

1. Starting School

Children are certainly not born with those feelings about their mother tongue. They are either fully created at school or acquired from the social environment and reinforced at school. Of course very often this occurs through punishments, scorn and bans:

"When I first went I was very excited. In those days there was a lot of enthusiasm. You are enrolling in a school. Seriously, I had no idea what Turkish, Kurdish or Zazaki were. I failed a class. The teacher was neither nice nor showed any interest. My classmates always showed me contempt." (Serhat, third generation, 20, university student, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

"When I went to school I knew Turkish, but not very well. Most of us

did not know it. Teachers asked us to tell who speaks Kurdish in our neighbourhood. It was 1983, teachers wanted to find out who speaks Kurdish, supposedly in order to work on their Turkish. (...) In the neighbourhood Kurdish was forbidden, and we did not know Turkish either. For example, while playing games we would speak Kurdish. But in those times we were afraid to speak even while playing. We experienced these things. When there were complaints, we got our beatings. Back then we thought that there was no need to lie: if we had known Turkish we wouldn't have gotten the beating. Later, of course we would go to Ofis and try to speak as politely as possible, but we had an accent. This also happened." (Cemal, second generation, 35, secondary school graduate, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

Bermal remembers just one thing about her first day: she couldn't understand a thing; "in my mind I see a crowded classroom and I'm alone. I don't understand anyone," she added. For every child the first day of school is a very exciting experience. New school uniforms, notebooks, books, pencils, all the preparations are like harbingers of a new, exciting life. Selvi, a teacher we met in Educational Support House (Eğitim Destek Evi) told us how she started her first day with a thrill, but when she came home disappointed, with mixed feelings of hopelessness and impatience, she asked her mother when school would be over:

"I was told that the teacher would come and get me from behind the door. (...) In fact I was going really willingly, with an interest, a new uniform and books. I told myself that it is nice to go to school. One week later I understood nothing, and I knew nothing. The teacher would all the time come and get me from behind the door. My parents were saying I was behind the door. They would always denounce me. Well, I felt it. The school I wanted to go to suddenly became my hell." (Selvi, third generation, 28, university graduate, Educational Support House (Eğitim Destek Evi), interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

The fact that Selvi used the expression "they would denounce me" to describe how her parents were telling the teacher she was hiding behind the door, reveals a great deal about her feelings regarding school and being taken there. In Çorlu, the mother of Serhat, who started school without knowing Turkish, recalled her son's hardships in the first grade and to describe them she used the expression "he suffered from torture."²⁹

"Ew lawê min ê mezin salek pir îskence kişand. Öretmena kicix jê di-

²⁹ For more information about ignoring mother tongue in education as a form of violence see: Coşkun, Derince, Uçarlar, 2010: 81-83.

standin, di go tu çira kurmancî xeberdidî. Pir teda lêkirin. Serhat salekî sinifê de ma.”³⁰ (Makbule, second generation, 50, illiterate, Çorlu, interview in Kurdish)

Serhat describes his experience of exclusion and scorn at school both as the result of his mother tongue and as a class issue:

“In the first grade the teacher even broke a ruler on my head. What happens when the teachers behaves badly? Automatically all the students behave badly, too. Three of us were poor. I will never forget that. The others’ economic situation was good. Our books etc. were old. Anyway the three of us sat together. The others sat in pairs. The three of us were sitting at the very back. I would go for the break and when I came back my bag and others’ books were on the floor. It was because of poverty. And I was already not getting along. There was more adversity towards me. Because the teacher scorned us, the students did too. All three of us failed the class.” (Serhat, third generation, 20, university student, Çorlu, interview in Turkish)

2. Curriculum and Teachers

Here, it is necessary to point out that the school and the world outside of it are separated by negative encounters with teachers and their disapproval of and lack of knowledge of the child’s language. As Coşkun, Derince and Uçarlar’s have extensively discussed in the book “Scar of Tongue” (2010), the curriculum ignores children whose mother tongue is not Turkish and from students’ perspectives that paves the way for a number of problems. In addition, it is restrictive for the teachers. Teachers trained according to the assumption that the language of instruction is the same as mother tongue, when appointed, are devoid of understanding and ill-equipped to help students whose mother tongue differs from that of the curriculum. The results of this were simply and strikingly depicted in the movie “On the Way to School”, in which a teacher who does not know the language of the children passes the whole year without establishing any communication. Selvi, who started school without knowing Turkish, is now a teacher. She describes the situation of teachers who are trained according to the fiction of monolingualism and given a curriculum designed in accordance with this fiction like this:

“Well, a curriculum is imposed upon a teacher. In the first term the

³⁰ “My son suffered a lot of torture through one year. His teacher didn’t like him, asked why he spoke Kurdish. He (the teacher) tormented him. Serhat failed one class.”

alphabet will be covered, phonetics will be taught and children will get to reading. This kind of a teacher comes. She enters the class without understanding a thing. Perhaps that’s a fundamental problem. But this curriculum also has to be completed. A child has to learn all new phonemes as well as a new language and on the top of that reading. And for children it takes long time to get over it. In other words, a child studying in the West can memorize phonemes and learn reading in three months, while here they can do this by the end of the year. They can only complete all the phonemes by the end of the year. Understanding, comprehension is what the teacher says, ability to express their wants. For instance, the simple sentence of ‘teacher, I will go to the toilet, I must pee’ takes long time. Establishing this communicative link is difficult, because it’s a stranger [the teacher]. She is really a stranger. Because she doesn’t know your language. She is a stranger. Perhaps that is the child’s biggest problem.” (Selvi, third generation, 28, university graduate, Educational Support House (Eğitim Destek Evi), interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

The following statement belongs to Nihal, a teacher, which makes us think that knowing the student’s language might not be enough to eliminate the difficulties that teachers face:

“I experienced hardship [as a teacher]. Because I’m obliged to follow this plan, program. The kid doesn’t know Turkish. You can’t teach her. Well, in Kurdish you also can’t. You’re unable to explain. It doesn’t work. (...) I asked a teaching assistant for help. Sometimes I just can’t translate some things. So you explain. I may not say. Let me teach Turkish. You tell them in Kurdish how it is. That’s Turkish. To be frank, we were a little bit hesitant. That’s how it is.” (Nihal, second generation, 40, secondary school graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish)

Nihal stated that they were “hesitant” and until recently did not speak Kurdish in the class. But in fact, if in the classroom a teacher even utters just two words in the child’s mother tongue, it will mean approval of child’s identity and will provide a positive effect. Feride, also a teacher, after being forced to migrate to Diyarbakır from desolated Kulp, went to school where her mother tongue was banned and she knew no Turkish. Her school was located in the neighborhood called Ofis, Turkish was the dominant language and the inhabitants enjoyed a good economic standing in this neighborhood. She felt insecure not only due to language differences, but also because of class disparity. She was happy to hear a teacher exchanging a few words in Kurdish with the school janitor:

“In Kulp I spoke Kurdish until 92. With my friends and family. Later

[after coming to Diyarbakır] there was a school in Ofis. We had just migrated and in this sense I had adaptation problems. There were very rich families. Kids of families speaking Turkish very well. I was reluctant to speak. I was ashamed. Rather I listened, tried to learn. At school it was absolutely forbidden to speak Kurdish. ‘Where did I come from? What is this place?’ Absolutely forbidden. We must avoid them. Only once I witnessed a teacher saying two words of Kurdish to a janitor who was lighting a stove. I still remember that day. I was on cloud nine. My teacher spoke Kurdish!” (Feride, third generation, 30, university graduate, Educational Support House (Eğitim Destek Evi), interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

However, this confirms that it is not enough to change the reality of the children who are at the start disadvantaged compared to their peers who speak the language of the school. Moreover, the narratives are not just about positive teacher influences. In some cases the teacher’s attitude towards mother tongue silenced the children or made them invisible:

“Ez van rojna nikarim ji bîr bikim. Em di nav malê de, mehêllê de wê çaxê sirf kurdî diaxivî. Hiç tirkî nizani bûm. Televîzyon jî wê çaxê tinne bû. Yanî îşte 76, 75 wan tarîxna ez çûm mektebê. Gelek telebe wek min, wan jî nizani bû ama hineka ê memûra hebûn ê hinkî bajêr ma bû, tirkî zani bû. Miêlime min jî pir pîs bû. We ya jî bîr nakim. Wê miêlime ji roja ewile de go kî kelîmak kurdî biaxifi deyî cetvel dixwistin destê merî dixist. Bo wê ez hiç nepeywîm. Ez hêya belkî sal mî qedand yanî sinifa ewile jî mi qedand. Carkî du cara belkî ez tirkî peyîvim yan ne peywîm. Ez hiç nepeywîm. Ji ber darsa matematîkê wextê îşlema me hebû di matêmatîkê da ez radibûm ber textê. Texte reş. Min îşlem çêdikir û ez dihatim rûdiniştim. We kî din ez nedipeywîm. Carkî jî meêlim tiştêk se-walkir. Ez texmîn dikim ji wenî ji dîrek hûndirê min derket mî kurdî ax-îfda, min lêxistin xwar. Ji bo mî jê hiç heznedikir. Ez dikarî bûm mektebê jî dîr kêtama ama mî mektebê qey pir hezdikir. Ji bo ez dîrneketim. Û sala duda meêlimekî me pir baş hat. Hebkî em ji tirkî himbûbûn. Dawî wenî derbas bû.”³¹ (Züleyha, second generation, 45, university graduate,

³¹ “I can’t forget those days. At home, in our neighbourhood we spoke only Kurdish. I didn’t know any Turkish. There was no TV in those times. I went to school around 75-76. Most of the pupils were like me – they didn’t know Turkish. There were few children of public officers or others who stayed a while in the city and they knew Turkish. Our teacher was also very bad. I can’t forget him. On the first day he said he would hit with a ruler those who spoke Kurdish. That’s why I didn’t speak at all. Perhaps a year passed like that. I finished the first grade. I spoke once or twice Turkish or not at all. I didn’t speak at all. I would go to the blackboard in math class. I would solve the problem and sit down. Apart from that, I didn’t talk. Once, a teacher asked something. I guess that involuntarily I spoke Kurdish and I got a beating. That’s why I didn’t like it. I could’ve dropped out, but apparently I liked school. That’s why I didn’t drop out and in the second grade a really nice

Switzerland, interview in Kurdish/Turkish)

“When I was in secondary school there was a classmate who just learnt Turkish. It was because he went to primary school in a village and it was a village very close to Diyarbakır so he was just learning. He was very shy, withdrawn, embarrassed to talk and never participated in the class, but in fact for his age, he could write amazing poems. Well, he was a smart kid, but with a language problem. He sat at the very back of the class. We had a Turkish language teacher. He was originally Zaza, from Dicle. With a rosary in his hand he would walk around the class and come from my friend’s back and hit him on the head saying: “you’ll never become a man.” He would walk around and do this every single lesson to this kid, to such an extent, that he didn’t speak at all during that lesson.” (Nalan, second generation, 30, middle school graduate, Umut Işıği, interview in Turkish)

It cannot be expected that humiliation is limited to the shame of a child’s mother tongue. The whole world related to the mother tongue is affected; starting with the family – mother and father. Naturally there is no need to say how it influences the child’s perception of their personality and self-esteem. Now a middle-aged teacher, Nihal, gives a descriptive narrative of her time in secondary school, where for years, she experienced a lot of shame because of her mother tongue:

“I didn’t have problem with the language because I knew Turkish very well. In fact, I was doing all that I could not to speak Kurdish and Zazaki. I was ashamed of my languages. That’s how it was at that time. For instance, I didn’t want my mother to come to school. I didn’t want my father to come. I even went to school alone on my first day. I told my sister to take me, then drop me off and go back. All that so they didn’t come. I didn’t call them for parents-teacher meetings. I told my sister to come because they didn’t know Turkish. Well, it felt like a very shameful thing. (...) Kids of public officers and military officers –those walks of life. I was living in Ofis. When you were like that they were belittling you. I remember it very well. When I was talking to my mom they would laugh. See, I don’t forget those days.” (Nihal, second generation, 40, secondary school graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish)

Among the most frequently repeated words in the interviews were “shame” and “silencing.” Children who left their mother tongue at home and started school in an unknown language were made to feel that their language was worthless, dysfunctional and even a disability. Regardless of the details, their common re-teacher came. We also learnt some Turkish. That’s how it passed.”

action was to keep quiet. For some, like Züleyha, it lasted a year, for others, a few months.

As mentioned above, there is a need for long-term research on how such a start affects school success. However, respondents' subjective assessment points towards a negative impact:

“So you start school frustrated because of not speaking your own language. You're behind others already. Rather than spending all energy on understanding if I had studied in my own language, I would've been more successful. Because all the time there is an effort being made to understand. There's an imbalance to be able to understand at the expense of learning itself. During secondary school I was the best, but I wasn't good at social sciences. By not good I mean I had to study for hours. But I was more interested in quantitative subjects. In quantitative subjects there are numbers. Working only with those numbers was much more fun.” (Bermal, third generation, 25, university graduate, Toplu Konutlar, interview in Turkish)

“I experienced some serious problems regarding success. In the first year I couldn't learn reading or writing. I did in the second year thanks to my sisters. (...) I felt like a moron. I couldn't learn or know anything. Now I can understand the reason. It's something coming from bilingualism. If I had been educated in my own language perhaps in no time I would have learned reading and writing. That was the impact of it on my school success. Once I learnt Turkish there was a great progress with my lessons. But I could've got over it earlier. In the first year I could've gotten over it. But many students don't speak Turkish until the fifth grade for example. And their school performance is low. The time when you don't know Turkish well creates very serious obstacles for success. In this respect I lost a lot of self-esteem. Over and over we tried to learn, but of course not everyone could succeed.” (Feride, third generation, 30, university graduate, Educational Support House (Eğitim Destek Evi), interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

“I started speaking after the third grade. I think this might be a psychological reason why nowadays I sometimes cannot express myself in some groups or places.” (Nermin, second generation, 40, secondary school graduate, Umut İşığı, interview in Turkish)

The above narratives focus more on the first years of school and on primary school students. Children in this age group still have not fully developed criteria for self-evaluation, thus they are more susceptible to being influenced by the attitudes of their teachers or friends (Değirmencioğlu, 2010a: 124). Therefore, we can assume that the teachers' attitude towards Kurdish can be very in-

fluential for youngsters in this age group. Thus, the same fragility in secondary school might not be seen in the narratives about the attitudes of Delal's classmates. We should not overlook the fact that this narrative, unlike the previous ones, refers to more recent times, when Kurdish had already gained legitimacy and value:

“I knew both languages. That's why I didn't have much trouble in primary school. But there was something else, in high school we had one teacher: the math's teacher. At the back there were two boys who always spoke Kurdish. The teacher once, while explaining the lesson, stopped and said: 'don't speak in that language.' Yes, I encountered something like that. They insistently continued. Because they were from Bağlar.³² They were brave. The teacher told them that if they pushed too much he would call the police so they stopped. They stopped after being threatened. That really shocked me. Because if a person from the East does that... Because his parents' mother tongue is Kurdish. We knew it very well. We thought that if he had reacted so harshly, then it would make the reactions of strangers more acceptable. Someone else is a different thing. If you don't accept your own language, you keep quiet and you got to teacher's level, you say to be quiet, threaten with the police. Well, I mean I was really shocked. I still dislike this man. If I see him on the road, I avoid him. So that response creates “a feeling” in people. (Delal, third generation, 23, university graduate, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish)

As stated at the beginning, school experience was not a focal point of this study, however, since education plays an important role in forming one's attitude towards a mother tongue it did become one of the subjects discussed during the interviews. From the findings presented above it is clear that the school period is significant in terms of a negative perception of not only the mother tongue, but also the whole universe related to it; it can even cause one to be ashamed of one's mother. Individuals, who had that experience, developed negative attitudes towards their mother tongue. It was even hard to accommodate their mother tongue later in their lives. According to the narratives about the 1990s, humiliation was replaced by fear, which denotes other kinds of traumas that will be discussed in the next chapter. In recent years, although shame is less present, the confusion caused by differences between the language of the home and school remains the same. Besides, even if a child did not feel shame because of

³² It is a relatively poor neighborhood of Diyarbakır where many Kurdish people live. In this area Kurdish identity plays a central role in political formation of the residents.

their mother tongue or identity, it could still distance itself from the language due to the fear of social exclusion. Language and identity oriented political struggle and oppression has had complex effects on the children's perception of the language.

E. LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, TRAUMA

As evident in the quotations cited above, the difficulties that children face due to the difference between children's language at school and the languages spoken by the family or close circles become even more incisive when their language is stigmatized as worthless or ridiculous. They may reach a traumatic level in a way as to affect the perception of the self and hence the process of acquiring identity. Here is an example of a child's alienation of his/her name and his/her desire to change it:

"The kid's name was Serxwebun, or something like that, if I'm not wrong. He was going to primary school. Just started. One day he came home and said that his name was Ahmet and from now on he should be called like that. At home they laughed and said his name was not Ahmet. 'You see! My friends make fun of me. They can't say my name. They mock me. Let my name be Ahmet.' Most probably he must have had many friends named Ahmet. There was Ayşe too. But there was no Serxwebun or any similar name. That's why they were making fun of him or because of his mispronouncing of words. Until the age of four a kid speaking Kurdish may confuse Turkish and Kurdish words. The kid said *kutik*³³ at school. His friends mocked him. The kid disliked the environment. In fact, alienation begins. That is the fear of exclusion." (Selvi, third generation, 28, university, Educational Support House (Eğitim Destek Evi), interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

In the following interview some insights into the worldview of children prior to school as well as inactivity in the class and being ridiculed were shared with us. In this case we can consider the youngsters' tendency towards abandoning their mother tongue as an approach to avoiding exclusion:

"The teacher asked us to write the names of animals starting with letter 'M.' So the kid started: she wrote *masî*³⁴, *mişk*³⁵ etc. At the primary school. The teacher smacked her. 'Is that what should be written?' teacher shouted. Classmates laughed again. (...) Those kinds of students really alienate kids from Kurdish. Teachers, environment, fear of being ridiculed. We also experienced it now and again. Perhaps that's the reason why we speak such a perfect Turkish. We force ourselves so much so that the teacher would appreciate us, would like us. So we want to attain the same level as him. We reach the same position. Let's abolish all the differences between us." (Selvi, third generation, 28, university)

33 dog

34 fish

35 mouse

graduate, Educational Support House (Eğitim Destek Evi), interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

The age at which the third generation started school coincided with the 90s, which makes their narratives about the emotional confusion regarding Kurdish truly stunning. As stated above, shame was not the source of this confusion. On the one hand, they were born into this language and used it naturally. On the other hand, there was a perception that the language was under the spell of a combative, violent environment, which might have been a very heavy burden for children to bear. They were, at times, torn between a fear of the language and love for it, at some point even they could forget their language in an instant!

1.To Fear and Love

Delal developed both a dread and love of Kurdish during primary school stems from the trauma and the losses in her family. In her view, her younger uncle died in the struggle for Kurdish. She gave a lot of consideration to her uncle, but at the same time was frightened at the thought of Kurdish. This also led her to love this language:

“I was very young. During my childhood my family, actually my mother, experienced very difficult things. This had effect on us. When my uncle died I was very little. I think I was six. I got scared. I panicked because of death and because my mother was crying. I will never forget that. ‘Mom, what happened?’ ‘Your uncle died,’ she said. They placed him in the middle of the yard. It was the first corpse I had seen. In my lifetime I hadn’t seen a coffin. It was wrapped in a green cloth. I learnt then what death was and sometimes I asked: ‘God, you bring these things upon us because we are Kurdish?’ because I knew how my uncle struggled. I didn’t understand much. They didn’t send us away from the room when they were talking. It was very interesting. As I talked with my friends I knew that their families would tell them that they were just kids and asked them to leave the room. But my uncle let me stay in the room. They would talk about everything in front of us. I think it was then that I first got scared of what death is. I was trembling. Because of Kurdish such things happened to us, and such a short time passed between two uncles. Perhaps things could’ve been different. I don’t know, actually that was the first time I winced. Later, I went to school. It was an intense period. The nineties. I loved my uncle a lot. In a strange way, there’s probably something that is a precondition for liking or disliking Kurdish. I loved my younger uncle, I admired him. I remember that when he entered a room, I’d sit on his lap. I wanted him to love me the most. With him I also loved the language. But after his death I was

afraid. Then I understood what a loss means. I liked Kurdish. I guess because it was something he loved. It wasn’t conscious. He loved, he fought. He loved speaking Kurdish so I liked it more and more. Then you will learn. Because he and his life went like that. It was etched in our heads. To speak the language in question with love. Perhaps, if my uncle hadn’t liked it, we wouldn’t have. If I hadn’t had an uncle, things would’ve been different. Suddenly, I was scared of [dying]...because of what happened to my uncle...I was frightened. I remember we washed his clothes. I saw the blood. I was little, probably I got scared. Of death, loss. Later, when I grew up a bit, and slowly, I realised there must be a reason why he loved it was so much. I loved him so much. (Delal, third generation, 23, university graduate, Şehitlik, interview in Turkish).

When listening to Delal and how the feelings of fear and love were constantly ebbing and flowing within her, it is hard to decide which one was the more dominant. She was moving from one feeling and its background factors to another. Playing the recording again helps to better understand how those opposite feelings became intertwined. In the end, both emotions had a similar impact on Delal and in her emotional world both of them were a heavy burden.

2.To Forget and Come Back to the Forgotten

Bawer was born into a Kurdish community in Kulp, but once he reached school age he had to migrate to Diyarbakır due to the harsh conditions and house raids he faced. When he started school in Diyarbakır, emotionally Bawer suffered from complex and traumatic childhood experiences because of his name, mother tongue as well as from his identity:

“Now, our situation [he means not being able to speak Kurdish] was caused by the thing that I moved to Diyarbakır at the age of 5-6. (...) We are alone as family. I would go to school and back. I speak Turkish very well, but in daily conversations I would sometimes use Kurdish words. Then at school they were doing that thing: they would glare at me. Actually, I’ll never forget: one friend asked me what my name meant. I said that in Kurdish it’s a belief, it meant to believe. The teacher did that thing. He protested. He said no, no it’s Arabic. I mean Arabic. (...) After that I didn’t speak Kurdish. More or less until secondary school I had no interest in or link to Kurdish. There was this kind of situation: we came from the village to the center. It was also a very complex period. The nineties. I didn’t do this. Ask questions, that is. Because not many things were talked about at home in those times. If I say I spoke Kurdish it would be a lie. Because I don’t remember. (...) mostly because I was scared. There is such a thing: you see people have things happen to them because they spoke Kurdish. From that fear I didn’t speak.

Perhaps I couldn't speak. That was the main thing. Because mother and father were personally in it, our house was one of the raided ones. Father told this story: we were at the coffee shop and the pharmacy was burning. In other words, when I was a kid, the soldiers all the time would enter our garden. They entered my grandmother's garden and so forth. They hinted don't speak Kurdish. Speak Turkish. They were always in harassing mode. They observed us all the time through binoculars. People were afraid." (Bawer, third generation, 23, university graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish)

When Bawer was recounting all these things, his mother wanted to share her thoughts about the period Bawer talked about. What she said shed light on the significance of traumas related to Kurdish use experienced at the start of the school as well as it bore honest traces of questioning related to the protectionist approach Bawer undertook by forgetting Kurdish:

"I'm going to say here a very obvious thing. When we came here Bawer was 4 – 4,5 years old. The next day he got a fever. The kid could not go out. All the time there were panzers, this and that. In fact, he threw coke bottles and cans on the panzers. They would nearly indiscriminately shoot. He got ill. He had a fever and at night he was delirious: 'why are we Kurdish?' he asked. 'Why are they trying to kill us?' and so on. She asked: 'are we bad?' Bawer didn't experience them directly, but as we did experience it I wonder if it was us who sheltered him from all that." (Ferda, second generation, 45, secondary education graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

A very long time has passed since the nineties when Bawer experienced his traumas with his name and language. However, as an adult, when he started education at a university in Istanbul he felt frustrated that, as a Kurdish youngster from Diyarbakır, he didn't know the Kurdish language. As a child, out of fear or as a result of family's protective attitude, he abandoned Kurdish. This time he felt the need to take up a Kurdish language course because he saw it as an important part of his identity:

"I wanted to [speak Kurdish]. Why did I want to? Because, seriously, language is a part of your identity. I realized that the most. Here, perhaps you can't notice, but when you go to Ankara, there are many people like you and the first thing they ask is where you are from. You are from Diyarbakır. If you are from Diyarbakır then right away they start speaking Kurdish. Because it means being more comfortable and they immediately want to share things with you. Not answering that in Kurdish is very bad. Our mothers and fathers know very well. There

are many friends around who speak. (...) it's of course your identity. Nowadays Diyarbakır is a cradle for many cultures and civilizations. So you take pride in your identity, in my thing. My lack of knowledge of my mother tongue is my shortcoming." (Bawer, third generation, 23, university graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish)

For the youth of the third generation starting school in the 90s, fear, escape from mother tongue and identity as shared in the narratives, turned into a story of return under the impact of developing political awareness. Even if fear and avoidance of the mother tongue belonged to the past for them, nowadays nursery teachers, volunteers working with kids from very poor neighborhoods or social workers linked to municipal educational support houses have to deal with primary school children who still tend to forget and avoid using their language. Narratives about Kurdish today refer to fewer incidences of violence and fewer problems, but they are still present. It is fair to argue that nowadays the perception of language hierarchy comes more to the fore.

F. PERCEPTION OF LANGUAGES AND HIERARCHY

When we went to speak to employees of a nursery under the administration of a local municipality, the perception of children and who would speak Kurdish in the future was one of the topics discussed. In their opinion, Turkish was more important for the children and well-dressed people spoke it. As we moved on to discuss the topic of Kurdish publications, I wanted to share an observation from Hasanpaşa Hani from the day before the interviews. Two young women dressed in rather smart and modern attire stopped in front of a bookstore with Kurdish children's books and asked their son aged 6 or 7 to choose any book he wanted. When I was recounting this experience to the nursery employees, along with comments about the books and kid's choices I placed an emphasis on the looks of these women, i.e. they were wearing smart and modern clothes which, apparently, I must have found very surprising. Then, one of the employees said: "even you find it surprising that someone wearing nice and modern clothes speaks Kurdish". I had blown the gaff. He was right. I also have certain ideas as to who can speak Kurdish.

Certainly, the visibility and value of Kurdish in society today are incomparable with the stories we hear about the past. The situation in terms of a city's intellectual and political atmosphere is obviously different. It is clear, however, that it is not yet manifest in the feelings of primary school children. Likewise, interviews with the children, along with the observations of their teachers, point to the fact that youngsters have a certain understanding of language hierarchy. One of the factors affecting language hierarchy is the perceived functionality of a language. For instance, it is impossible for the youth to imagine that books can be published in Kurdish, a language that is not, and cannot be, the language of instruction at school.

"I have a niece. She's a seventh grader. I think it was in the fourth grade, when we talked about Zazaki and she would always reject it. When we asked her to learn she would say "uhmmm" and stop, but one day she visited us and my husband brought for our son a picture book from Kûrdî Der. She had a look and read. She said: 'Awww, auntie, here are things, I mean words written.' I told her that they are indeed, in Kurmanji and that they will also publish in Zazaki. (...) then she turned it around and in one place saw a picture of a dog. She looked and under it was written 'kutik.' 'Awww! Kutik means dog. My grandma always calls me kutik when she's angry,' she said. This was over and later school was over and summer holidays started. She came to me with some change

and said: 'Auntie, you buy this, I got you some money from my piggy bank, buy me one of those books.'" (Nalan, second generation, 30, secondary school graduate, Umut Işığ, interview in Turkish)

One of the factors leading to youngsters' rejection of Kurdish is exposure to Turkish through TV and the outside world:

"Families developed some kind of sensitivity and they prefer their children to speak Kurdish, but after a certain period of time, children reject it due to the hegemony of Turkish in movies and cartoons on TV. For example, Neriman had a son Ajer. He openly rejected it, even if he understands he pretends not to know it. I have nieces and nephews, and I know that my sister's daughter knows very well, but she says: "Oh, I don't understand Kurdish, what does it mean" as if it were a curse for her. For example, mothers know neither good Turkish nor Kurdish. Fathers the same, but (...) they prefer to speak Turkish with the kids. With time kids subconsciously understand that despite all those "political things" i.e. kids throwing stones, political kids it's all very different. Yes, kids are politicized, say slogans very well, but when it comes to the issue of language (...) there's always the language of the other, the language of the poor. Well, it's not the language of education. Not a language of books, stories, tales or poems!" (Nermin, second generation, 40, secondary school graduate, Umut Işığ, interview in Turkish)

As part of my visits to the houses where I conducted interviews, I also talked to children. I wanted to know how they perceived people speaking Turkish and Kurdish. "How do people speaking Turkish/Kurdish dress?", "Are people who speak Kurdish or Turkish poor?" were among some of the questions I asked them. Here are some of the questions and answers:

- Are people who speak Turkish poorer than those who speak Kurdish?
- Kurdish speakers are poorer.
- How do people who speak Turkish dress?
- They dress well. Their hair is well combed.
- They wear jeans and a shirt. Their clothes are nice.
- How do people who speak Kurdish dress?
- They wear long skirts. Hair is gathered up.
- Heads are covered. Hair is messy.
- And those who speak English?
- They are very beautiful.



Without a doubt, these perceptions are not limited to children. Subconsciously the city probably still bears traces of these stereotypes just like those of nursery employees or my own observations from the bookstore:

“I do this in the car I get in. I speak Kurdish. If I feel blue or bad and wear some average clothes speaking Kurdish suits me. There’s no problem here. But if I wear high heels and a bit of noticeable lipstick, everybody turns my way when I speak Kurdish. As if I came from space.” (Selvi, third generation, 28, university graduate, Educational Support House, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

For those who experienced the privilege resulting from knowing Turkish and being able to more decisively use such services as hospitals or municipal facilities, knowledge of Turkish still signifies status for the bilingual second generations. Nermin’s older relatives still perceive knowing Turkish as a token of status.

“We tell them to speak Kurdish so that the kids can learn, but he stubbornly kept speaking Turkish. It [speaking Turkish] denotes status. For my father’s uncle’s wife it was the same. Once, my friend came from Şırnak. He was talking to my aunt in Kurdish. At some point she suddenly turned and got angry and said: ‘Son, I know Turkish, why are you speaking Kurdish to me?’” (Nermin, second generation, 40, secondary school graduate, Umut Işıği, interview in Turkish)

Bermal indicated that a similar perception of the relationship between a language’s function and its prestige to be true for the villages she visited while working on rural development. Her comparison between her own childhood attitudes and her observations from the villages she worked in is especially important:

“(…) as I spoke Kurdish I got replies in Turkish. (..) at first I thought there was no mutual understanding, I thought that it was lacking due to differences in accent. So I thought as time passed we would overcome it. Yet, time passed and I realized that women, men and children use this language. In Turkish they really struggle to explain something, they simply can’t. To communicate to me what they want, they speak Turkish, but when instead they want to talk about problems they tell it to someone around in Kurdish, and then go, ‘you tell her.’ I said what I understood, but it doesn’t do a thing – as if they didn’t hear. But later I observed that speaking Turkish is seen as a privilege. Because of their past experiences, especially in the whole the region in the 90s, despite being fully Kurdish, those who moved from villages to the cities had to speak Turkish. If they went to the hospital they had to speak Turkish. During shopping everywhere there’s this thing with speaking Turkish – only later I made the link. In every case they were subject to oppres-

sion. I started from myself, and me too, after all felt different when speaking Turkish. I mean, I know Turkish. Someone came from the village, ‘we need to take him to the doctor,’ there I would speak Turkish. In fact, he showed me respect. This respect gave me a different feeling. The situation there is similar.” (Bermal, third generation, 25, university graduate, Toplu Konutlar, interview in Turkish)

Before closing the topic of language hierarchy and its perception, I should state that it is possible to see which language is considered as possible to learn. It is certainly a very new phenomenon to have speakers of Turkish as the first language show interest in learning Kurdish. It is worth looking at a teacher who spent many years working in a village speaking Kurdish, but he only learnt one or two words.

“Both of my teachers didn’t know a single word of Kurdish. It’s very interesting because they stayed in the village for many years. Except for ‘Çavani başi?’³⁶ they didn’t learn a single thing. As people they really had a very humanistic approach. When I think about it now – as a kid you don’t think this way – why did they keep themselves away from it. Seriously, did they despise this language so much that they didn’t want to learn it? (Selvi, third generation, 28, university graduate, Educational Support House, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

Here, I would like to share an anecdote about one experience from field observations. My field observations led to the impression that there is a difference between Kurmanji and Zazaki dialects. Zazaki was a mother dialect for some of the interviewed families. All the members of those families apart from Zazaki also knew Kurmanji. However, as a matter of fact, users of Kurmanji who also spoke Zazaki were an exception. In Xweylin I spoke to a woman from the first generation whose first language was Kurmanji. Everyone in the village spoke Zazaki, but in spite of this, since she came as a bride she has not learnt it. Moreover, when she talked to me she stated that with pride. The reasons for Kurmanji users not learning Zazaki and for Zazaki users learning Kurmanji might be different. Among them, the most explanatory seems to be related to the function of the language. The Kurmanji dialect is common in the city centers and at market places as opposed to Zazaki, which continues to be a language mostly used in villages. Being the language of the market place renders Kurmanji a more functional dialect. In addition, it is valuable to note that interviewees speaking

³⁶ “How are you? Are you well?”

Zazaki as their mother tongue believe that those who learn it are more talented or that learning Zazaki is more difficult than learning Kurmanji.

In order to return to our topic, we should leave aside the open-ended discussion of people speaking Kurmanji and Zazaki in Diyarbakır. The above quoted observations and narratives specify the role of perceptions related to prohibitive attitudes towards use of mother tongue and intergenerational language transmission as well as school experience, teachers' approach and language hierarchy in terms of function. Negative official attitudes towards Kurdish create negative attitudes at various social levels. In this respect, we should especially emphasize education. Nonetheless, it can be stated that through time political sensitivity developed in regard to the Kurdish language and the Kurdish identity and negative social attitudes were subject to change. This shift might still be limited only to adults keeping up with the political agenda because children continue to look at languages from the perspective of official hierarchy.

All of the above mentioned factors are very important for shaping attitudes towards one's mother tongue. Furthermore, in order to find an explanation as to how Kurdish is used in everyday life and the degree of intergenerational language transmission, there is a need for additional research. Within its scope, a language's functions as well as other matters already discussed should be investigated in another context. Here, context means economic and political aspects of language as well as power relations between social and economic uses of the language. Observations made during interviews and field work indicate the importance of the relationship between the degree of language transmission from generation to generation and access to socio-economic opportunities, but these are not independent of factors such as prohibition and oppression.

G.SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LANGUAGE

1.Three Neighbourhoods, Two Tendencies

In the chapter about methodology, it has already been said that families for these interviews were carefully selected from areas thought to have a diverse socio-economic and class character as well as families with various socio-economic structures. We expected that there would be a possibility to gauge whether there is a relation between attitudes and behaviors depending on families' socio-political/class structure and the languages that they use in their lives. It can be said that our projections were confirmed through interviews and observations. Without doubt, making a generalization always carries risks. Moreover, it is even more risky to arrive at conclusions based on findings from in-depth interviews conducted with a relatively small group that doesn't create a broad enough sample survey. However, it is important to discuss here why it is unacceptable to generalize the findings of in-depth interviews.

Meaningful relations and what they refer to in terms of socio-economic structure are seen in two similar neighbourhoods of Ben u Sen and Hasırlı as opposed to Diclekent. If something has to be said about these neighborhoods, then to begin with, Ben u Sen and Hasırlı are very poor compared with Diclekent. Diclekent's residents are not from Diyarbakır's highest class, but they can be described as upper middle class. Diclekent developed in the last ten years within the district of Kayapınar. Despite great uniformity in terms of income, it can be said that culturally this area is very heterogeneous. As a matter of fact, people who sold their lands in the village and moved to the city with this money now live in gated communities that are less than ten years old, surrounded by high barbed wired walls. They share this living space with middle class families.

Some families used to live in the old centers, but once their economic situation improved, they moved to this area. Women became "housewives" and men continued to work as tradesmen in their workplaces in Suriçi and Bağlar. They are neighbors now with families where both men and women work as doctors, teachers or engineers. Among those gated communities exist shopping malls and markets as well as big parks and green areas. On the contrary, Hasırlı and Ben u Sen are close to the old city center and their streets are too narrow for two cars to pass at the same time. Lining their streets are regular adjacent houses

with inner yards. There are no parks, no green areas and no shopping malls in those quarters. Little grocery stores offer products similar to those in the market, but often not seen anywhere else. In all of the families I visited in Hasırlı at least one person spent most of the year working as a seasonal farm worker. This includes those secondary school students who took me. Men from the first and second generation of the families I met in Ben u Sen, worked for many years either as construction or farm workers. Some of them still earn a living this way. Sometimes they work in the old center as tradesmen. From the people I met, only one second generation couple had a secondary school diploma. In each of the two neighbourhoods families shared the same feature, i.e. stories of their migration from a village and that they still maintained relations. Two families from Ben u Sen who were relatives had limited contact with their burnt and evacuated villages for some time. However, when some relatives returned to the villages once the ban was lifted, they re-established a connection to their villages.

Some of the interviewees from the second and third generations I met in Diclekent were university graduates, and among them a few also have Master's degrees. In terms of profession, thanks in part to their university education, they are teachers, engineers, doctors, or social workers.

Socio-economic and class differences between families from Diclekent, Ben u Sen and Hasırlı show clear differentiation in regard to the language used at home. Both in Ben u Sen and in Hasırlı upon the request of the interviewees we held our conversations in Kurdish. It was a natural result of the fact that Kurdish was the basic language in their lives. Without doubt, in these neighbourhoods a large portion of the second generation was bilingual and, as mentioned earlier, spoke Turkish to their children. However, that didn't change the fact that families living together with the first generation spoke Kurdish. Even though the third generation used Turkish to talk among themselves, in some families they used only Kurdish to communicate with the first and second generation.

In Diclekent, however, except for the first generation, we held interviews in Turkish. In the families I visited Kurdish was spoken by the first generation and was limited to that group. Turkish was essentially the language of the house. The second generation spoke Turkish among themselves and with their chil-

dren. Unlike bilingual third generations in Hasırlı and Ben u Sen, here they were monolingual. Some of them knew only a little bit of Kurdish. In brief, even if in Hasırlı and Ben u Sen the third generation knew Turkish, they could understand and speak Kurdish and that was the language of the house. For the third generation in Diclekent, however, Turkish was their daily language and they perhaps could understand a bit of Kurdish, but could not speak it.

For the families from Hasırlı, Ben u Sen and Diclekent, apart from their socio-economic/class standing and the language spoken at home, there is a third issue differentiating them: learning of Turkish/Kurdish by third generations and their behavior and attitude towards using Turkish/Kurdish. Poor families from Hasırlı and Ben u Sen spoke Kurdish at home and wanted their children to learn Turkish. In the chapter about language use between generations an interview with Devran from Ben u Sen was mentioned. She, for instance, said she would speak Turkish to her little son until he goes to school. She attributed it to problems she had when starting school, which she didn't want her son to face. However, the only reason why parents wanted their children to learn Turkish was not limited to preventing social exclusion at school. In Hasırlı, Saliha, with whom I talked in Kurdish, explained that all four parents wanted their children in primary school to learn Turkish because they really wanted their children to receive an education. Her husband worked as a temporary worker for the municipality and she wanted her children to live in better conditions. She believed that those conditions could be achieved through an education and good job for each of her kids:

“Em dixwazîn gede bixwînin. Doktor bibin. Eylem pir baş dixwîni. Okul, bi kurmançî vebe, em jî gedên xwe bişînin mektebê kurmançî. Bes niha tirkî ye. Ê em çibkin, mecbur em bişînin.”³⁷ (Saliha, second generation, illiterate, Hasırlı, interview in Kurdish)

A grandmother living with this family did not know any Turkish. When a teacher from Eğitim Sen, who helped me get in touch with secondary students in Mardinkapı, went with me for a visit to her house, she thought we worked for health services. She could not see well and she was ill. It took us a long time to explain to her that we were not with health services. We asked her about lan-

³⁷ “We want kids to get an education. To become doctors. Eylem is a very good student. If a school in Kurdish opens, I'll send my kids. But now there's Turkish. What can we do? We're forced to send them.”

guage, but she told us only about her health problems, her diabetes or her children getting ill from work on hazelnut farms. For the mother of these children the most important thing at the moment of our meeting was how to educate them with the salary her husband could earn from his precarious work. The biggest problems for the old woman were her diabetes and the illnesses of her children who worked with nuts. For these reasons answers to our questions about Kurdish did not go beyond short responses. I noted similar problems with the relatives of families from Ben u Sen with whom I met in Xweylin.

In Diclekent there were stories about house searches, forced exile and disappearances in custody, however, except for the first generation, interviews were in Turkish and matters of mother tongue, i.e. its importance and need to speak Kurdish, were extensively discussed. Bilingual second generations using Turkish in daily lives believe that Kurdish is an inseparable part of their identity. They also spoke about how they make efforts to use more Kurdish and to teach it to their children. For instance, Nihal, a teacher, admitted being angry with herself for not teaching her children Kurdish. As it shall be seen below, there were individuals considering taking up Kurdish language courses together with their children or those who would try to speak Kurdish at home all the time, or signing their children up for a Kurdish speaking nursery.

For Ben u Sen and Hasırlı mother tongue is a natural extension of their lives, therefore for them it was not an extraordinary matter to talk about it – it was natural. As for Turkish, it was a necessary tool for their children to receive an education, a good job and to find opportunities for a good life. Therefore, we did not encounter elaborate answers for our insistent questions about language. In Diclekent, on the contrary, for the families speaking Turkish, language was an inseparable element of their identity and they talked about the ways in which they could insert Kurdish anew into their lives based on cultural or political grounds.

Clearly, the poverty of families in Hasırlı and Ben u Sen cannot be reduced to the fact that they speak Kurdish, just like the socio-economic opportunities of families from Diclekent cannot be linked solely to the fact they speak Turkish. Nevertheless, from the perspective of Diclekent residents, there is certainly a relationship between the departure from Kurdish and the process of getting a profession. The hope that children from Hasırlı and Ben u Sen place in the con-

nection between better living conditions and education is not all that unrealistic (despite gradual commercialization of education and gradually less promising start in terms of social mobility). In this context, in terms of the place occupied by Turkish/Kurdish in their lives and the socio-economic opportunities that the language presents/promises, instead of differences between these quarters we have talked about until now, some potential similarities can be illustrated. There is a correlation between education, attaining an occupation (including other factors) and better material situation in the sense of living conditions and, on the other hand, departing from the use of Kurdish in daily lives. A link between Turkish entering the lives of the third generation and their education, profession and better economic opportunities was assumed to have been found. In other words, past stories of the second generation from Diclekent can be defined as a projected or at least the desired future scenario for their children (third generation) in Hasırlı and Ben u Sen.

2. “Language That Comes in Handy”

Nursery staff members and teachers I met from educational support centers that are voluntary institutions providing educational support to children, talked about families’ hesitation towards initiatives to provide support services to the poor in Kurdish. Narratives confirmed this hesitation and in the future scenarios. According to one of the teachers working in educational support house, families do not see a future for this language nor any economic benefits which cause their reluctance to embrace it:

“But this [Turkish] is the language which is useful for them. This is our biggest handicap. We can make as much of an effort as we want to. During the time when we don’t move to education in the mother tongue, the tendency towards forgetting [Kurdish] will continue. Even if we have this awareness, we have already gotten an education in Turkish. A kid knows that the moment they start school their relationship with Kurdish will end, there’s no job opportunity. She doesn’t know where to use Kurdish. Family is very eager, but there’s no place, I mean, the circumstances do don’t occur or create job options. They don’t see a future. Turkish comes in handy in many more workplaces. (Zelal, 30, university graduate, Educational Support House, interview in Kurdish/Turkish)

In Diclekent I met with Ferda and her son, a university graduate. Until very recently, she worked with a civil society organization as a health care provider for

mothers and children in poor areas of the city. Ferda's experience with mothers who did not speak Turkish, but wanted their children to learn it, corresponds with the above mentioned assessment:

“When you talk to women they say for example: ‘tomorrow or another day this one will go to school so they have to learn Turkish.’ Because when a kid goes to school without knowing the language she doesn't like the school and doesn't become very successful. So is that assimilation? Perhaps it is, they will be taught Turkish by force. Perhaps there's no other alternative. In your own language you have to go somewhere, I don't know, that's what I'm saying. What I want for my child I'd like for the others too. Because we don't have any other alternative. In any case he will go to school in this language to learn it. But if there was a school in his own language, he would prefer it. There he'd be successful. But it's a systemic thing. It's something that can be prescribed or accepted by the system. That's why I'm not speaking on behalf of mothers or children, I say for myself, because what I want for my kid I want for other kids. I experienced it, I mean; I don't want my kid to experience it. Well, this way goes through Turkish or through school. Otherwise, the kid will be like his father: porter or construction worker or something else. For them it is important. (Ferda, 45, second generation, secondary school graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

Observations of the staff of Umut Işıği providing educational support to children in Saraykapı align with the above mentioned evaluation. Saraykapı is a neighborhood in Suriçi and has a similar socio-economic structure to Ben u Sen and Hasırlı. At first, a proper place in Saraykapı could not be found, so Umut Işıği was established in Diclekent, but since the beginning they did not regard themselves as permanent there. From the start, when thinking about a place to rent in Saraykapı for Umut Işıği, the staff expected the families to demand more education in Kurdish. But the situation they ended up facing was not what they had expected:

“Well, the balance in Diyarbakır has changed a bit. For example in Diclekent we worked on language for three years. Kid doesn't know Kurdish, so mother grabs their hand and brings them because she wants them to learn Kurdish, but here it's way different. Here, the biggest problem is to teach the kid Turkish. They think that if you can express yourself you can be successful, so they think that Turkish is a way to everything and if a kid can express themselves in Turkish, they will be successful in life.” (Nermin, second generation, 40, secondary school, Umut Işıği, interview in Turkish)



Boycott and Participation in Demand for Education in Mother Tongue

It has already been mentioned that in the 2013-2014 school year the Diyarbakır branch of Eğitim Sen organized a boycott during the first week of school to demand education in their mother tongue. Normally there is a high rate of participation in political actions and events in poor neighborhoods, although this time this did not occur. Many factors were listed as reasons for such low participation: too long of a period, too frequent of an occurrence of this type of action etc. In my opinion, observations presented above can be considered additional factors. Children from families with background of a burnt village or forced migration, poverty, inability to provide for basic needs are influenced more by tangible, immediate things than by language. Moreover, poor families might have established a connection between school and the dream of a life offering good economic opportunities for children. One of the teacher's opinion about the boycott participation supports this assumption:

“Families in good positions continue to send their children to private schools. None of them boycotted. Well, what do you expect from families in Sur or Bağlar?... What these families have gone through are already obvious. There they have very bad living conditions. And rightfully, like every mother and father, parents want their children to be better off than themselves. That's why there are so many reservations, justifiably. (...) for example I insistently say to learn (Kurdish) but they will go to school and continue in Turkish. I know that.”

One can try to ask here why families in Diclekent, as they are more sensitive about their children's Kurdish, did not show a greater participation in the boycott? Certainly, it is impossible to give an answer encompassing all of the factors. It might be possible, however, to base an interpretation on the observations. First of all, in this context, Diclekent is more heterogeneous in comparison with other quarters and even if there is any partici-

pation in such actions, it cannot be as visible as in other neighborhoods. More importantly, the fact that families here want their children to learn Kurdish, does not mean that given the existing circumstances discussed below, they want their entire lives or education to be in Kurdish.

Another factor that must not be ignored is that parents thought that keeping children away from school for a week would have a negative impact. At the time of the boycott, those second generation middle-class families that I interviewed explained that they wanted to take part in the boycott, but they could not do this to their children who were impatiently awaiting the start of the school. They did not want to sadden their children.

Following observations and interviews discussed here, a variety of interpretations are possible. First of all, it is important to emphasize that the approach of poor families towards Kurdish cannot be understood as a lack of interest or as voluntary assimilation. As a justification I would like to recall from the Chapter I, Skutnabb-Kangas' (2013:430) evaluation of a forced choice related to mother tongue and personal material living conditions. The attitude of poorer classes is not consistent with voluntary assimilation, however, the issue of language and its socio-economic structure is not unrelated to class standing and it is clearly an important indicator in this context.

Starting with the presented observations, it can be said that some sections of the society have ideas and requests in terms of cultural and intellectual needs related to the city and have established more ties with language and identity. Sections of the society that did not use Kurdish outside the house due to penal and administrative restrictions, in the periods of education, urbanization or getting a profession turned towards Turkish, as the language of the house. It is possible to say, however, that with time, the political and cultural atmosphere of the city as well as language awareness have affected a return to the mother tongue in the form of a yearning. Those, who as a result of a ban on Kurdish and/or privileged role of Turkish steered away from Kurdish in the 70s and 80s, started to make efforts to re-introduce Kurdish into their lives in the 2000s. The second generation, especially those who during time needed to attain a profession and quitted using Kurdish, now try to speak it with their children. Due to the effect the language of instruction had on mother tongue in everyday life, the second generation steered away from Kurdish and were unable to play the role

of a bridge for their children to facilitate language transmission. For each social group it is difficult to present any optimistic comment.

Since poor sections of society have to first cope with more immediate problems and they also see Turkish as a necessity for a better education, it is unrealistic to expect them to experience anxiety related to children's departure from Kurdish in their daily lives. In case given circumstances persist, it might be anticipated that their children will experience the same period of shift as today's second generations have. On the other hand, although middle classes express a desire for their children to learn Kurdish, very simple reasons for steering away from it and given current conditions do not lead towards any realistic result. In the interviews, parents spoke of efforts to reflect political awareness about mother tongue in their daily lives. Yet, future choices about their children's school are clear. Moreover, even if these are small groups, there are some middle class families who want their children to learn Kurdish not so much because of its functionality, but rather as element of folklore, an as an "oriental ornament". Particularly, if the dominant language of the home continues to be Turkish, this course can hardly yield any results. There is an array of approaches families have towards learning Kurdish. However, it is worth emphasizing that some just do not want their children to learn Kurdish. The approaches of families demonstrate a gradual consistency and decisiveness in efforts to maintain their lives primarily in Kurdish. The general attitude can be specified as falling between these two extremes.

3. "Bazara Ziman"

In the socio-economic context, it is worth briefly mentioning that the value of Kurdish has increased and it will probably be seen as a benefit due to the emergence of new employment areas. Since the establishment of the Republic until today, Kurdish has played a disadvantageous role in access to socio-economic opportunities. As areas promising benefits emerge, though not yet at the stage of sprouting, it is possible to talk about their effects in regard to learning Kurdish. It is a reality that Kurdish in education became promising in terms of employment even if the demand for education in mother tongue has not been given an inadequate response i.e. Kurdish was allowed as a selective course in secondary school. The opening of new university undergraduate and graduate programs in Kurdish has been met with great interest. The increase of inter-

est has not been limited only to university Kurdish language departments or Kurdish classes, but has also extended to such organizations offering language certificates like *Kurdî Der* and is incomparably higher than in previous years³⁸. Professionals outside the field of education can now work in courtrooms. In practice, even though Kurdish is not a required language in the local institutions offering bilingual service, they do see it as a needed one. These are employment areas that are openly known. For instance, in the health sector, in recent years in the city (and probably in the entire region), the number of Kurdish speaking staff has visibly increased. Although we do not possess any statistical data that would confirm it, we must not simply ignore it.

Along likely employment in the public sector, economic relations with the Kurdish Regional Government in Northern Iraq have continued to develop creating new jobs. Young engineers looking for good employment conditions in oil or construction sectors are attracted to this area. In order to achieve that goal they have to again learn their mother tongue because, as they say: “I understand, but cannot speak.” As the ban on using Kurdish experienced by previous generations has been lifted, language transmission has affected the socio-political opportunities discussed above, as well as the sustainable use of the language.

For many years different sanctions were aimed against the use of their mother tongue. Those who took the risks and fought, with the emergence of promising employment opportunities related to Kurdish, started to see its prestige and value. It is necessary to briefly present their reaction to this new situation. One of the staff members, who worked in various civil society organizations or local administration units, shared the problems he had experienced with bilingualism in the past:

“When we look, we say this: ‘bazara zımên çebiye.’³⁹ That means, *niha bazara kurdî jî çebiye.*⁴⁰ People who until now didn’t know Kurdish, didn’t care, didn’t have an identity problem, are starting Kurdish courses. Because finally they think that Kurdish can earn them money. (...)”

³⁸ Similar courses are not just opening in Diyarbakır, we can talk about a wider and general increase in interest. For instance, courses in İstanbul Bilgi, Koç, Sabancı and Bosphorus universities, in Ankara Bilkent or such organizations as *Kurdî Der* have been met with interest.

³⁹ A language market has emerged.

⁴⁰ Now the market for Kurdish has emerged.

in the last two or three years Kurdish is really, I mean, education in mother tongue is a matter of discussion. (...) It is not any more surprising for our people, no longer young girls as academics at universities or from Diyarbakır are uninterested in Kurdish. They are interested. They learn Kurdish because tomorrow or another day it will become useful. (...) Learning it is not a loss. In fact, it is a win. In the past additional foreign language knowledge would have been profitable, today Kurdish is the second language.” (teacher, Educational Support House)

Until very recently Kurdish was banned and learning it was subject to penalty, but actually along with the gradual lifting of the bans it could be noticed that the language has gained value in the society. Therefore, this can be considered as a sign of normalization. On the other hand, the abovementioned reactions are not at all incomprehensible. Yet, rather than just a reaction, it seems that mother tongue as it is potentially financially profitable, can be learnt like a foreign language. It should also be considered that based on many years of repressive policies, the link between identity and language has been greatly sentimentalized.

Having shown how in today’s political atmosphere knowing and speaking Kurdish well can be a source of status on the socio-political level, and how it can generate employment/economic input, we can move to the evaluation of the findings in the context of gender.

H. GENDER AND MOTHER TONGUE

“I don’t like my village and Kurdish.”
(Halise, 18, Karabahçe)

In the practice and ideology of nationalism, women are assigned the task of “de-lineating the limits of national culture, protecting and keeping it alive through the passing of it on to new generations.” Based on that, women are placed at home by necessity of their gender roles and both in a biological and a cultural sense are identified with reproduction, creating the state of motherhood (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989). At the beginning of the 20th century, during many anti-colonial struggles and modernizing nation building processes, women’s gender roles, tasks and position in the family, were not only placed at the heart of the building process in question, but also behind this phenomenon⁴¹. Family and the domestic sphere were important spaces where socialization into new political concepts and subordination of the society to a new disciplinary regime took place.⁴² From the perspective of the oppressed communities, it has become the main place to show solidarity, resistance and sustain their cultural identity.

In terms of the subject matter we examine here, the domestic sphere was undoubtedly one of the spaces where language was kept alive and passed onto successive generations, because in the public sphere it was banned and repressed. This was true for Kurdish during the long years of the ban on its use. During the period when it was directly subjected to penalty, use of Kurdish was largely limited to the domestic sphere.

In that period, my language was not spoken only by women. But identification of women with the domestic sphere and mother-child relations, however, gave birth to the possibility of preserving Kurdish and owes passing it onto new generations against the bans to the mothers. These convictions are not commonly shared in Kurdish political movement and ideological publications. In those publications, women are referred to as the protectors of social and political roles, not as transmitters of culture in the private sphere. To keep the culture alive,

⁴¹ For post-colonial critical perspective of building processes in question, see Abu-Lughod, 1998.

⁴² See Nükhet Sirman’s excellent article about family model transformation as a result of change from imperial regime to a nation state. Sirman, 2002.

women should not stay in the private space of the house, but should be called to the public space to build a new social and political culture⁴³. Nevertheless, this attitude at the ideological front has not prevented the widespread opinion that there exists a special tight link between mothers and mother tongue. As a matter of fact, there is some truth to this view.⁴⁴

As a result of unequal gender relations, women more often stay at home and female children less frequently attend school in comparison with male children.⁴⁵ On the other hand, men can establish more relations with the outside world. Because of obligatory military service or job opportunities in different cities, men are exposed to Turkish more. Therefore, at least women who did not experience long periods of education, maintain in their daily lives more Kurdish when compared to men. In addition, the theoretical discussions and findings about school experience presented in earlier chapters confirm that the absence of mother tongue in education leads to negative attitudes. When we take into consideration such matters as the shame of one’s language, women who at school or in another place did not encounter hegemonic language, hold much more positive attitudes towards mother tongue in comparison with the men. However, the fact that Kurdish is passed on owing to mothers cannot be taken as a general rule and needs further examination.

Even if we assume that it is true that Kurdish has been preserved until today owing to mothers, we shall not ignore that in the background of this situation lies in gender inequality. As all the obstacles in public domain have been removed, an important question arises whether protection of Kurdish can take place not at the expense of women who until now were less exposed to Turkish due to gender inequality. Leaving aside the multilayered struggle for issues of

⁴³ For an article analyzing gender in this article, see Çağlayan, 2013.

⁴⁴ One can guess that focus on schooling of Kurdish girls and forcing mothers to learn Turkish in the entire period of the Republic is related to such a standpoint. For more on the topic see: Avar, 1986; Yüksel, 2012; Yeşil, 2003; Akşit, 2005; Akşit, 2009; Akşit, 2010a.

⁴⁵ If we recall observations from the chapter about school experience, the longer period of education lasts, the more Turkish becomes present in daily lives. Generally speaking, we can assume that female children experience less education, i.e. spend less time at school. Male students, on the contrary, spend more time at school and they start to use much more Turkish. However, Derince’s proposal, that education might have different impact on girls’ and boys’ attitudes towards language shall not be ignored (Derince, 2012:34). Derince’s proposal and its grounds will be discussed further in this chapter.

equality and justice, we shall return to our findings. Research findings indicate that contemporary conditions lead towards the erosion of the validity of the aforementioned hypothesis.

To start with, in order to be exposed to hegemonic language it is no longer necessary to leave home or to go to school. Because dominant language and ideology are carried through media and communication technologies, they have already entered houses. In the chapter about general tendencies in language use among different generations, an example of a child speaking Turkish with Pepe's accent from a house with Kurdish predominantly spoken was given. Whether a girl or boy, children learn Turkish from cartoons long before going to school. Even if a child speaks Kurdish with her mother, it is doubtful that Turkish will not become the daily language used among peers.

Moreover, we shall remember from the same chapter that contemporary urban second generation parents are bilingual. In communication with previous generations they use mother tongue, but in relations with the younger generations and children they speak Turkish. This means that, as mentioned before, the second generation plays the role of a bridge; they use mother tongue with their parents and pass on the language onto children.

Without doubt, this cannot be extended to all parents. There is still a high chance of encountering a mother who mainly speaks Kurdish. But is it enough for mothers to continue speaking mother tongue to stop changing language transmission in existing circumstances? In addition, the emphasis on the roles and responsibilities of mothers, but lack of similar demands from fathers is another matter worth discussing.

1. Mother Tongue, Father Tongue

In her panel⁴⁶ with interviewees, Sorgul, a teacher, presented research findings and pointed out that until now mothers' roles in preserving mother tongue has always been discussed, but she also expressed the need for problematizing fathers' roles. The father's role as an authority figure was a reason given by Sor-

⁴⁶ As mentioned in the chapter about methodology, findings of the research were presented to the participants and opened for discussion on 22 February 2014. Interviewees were also invited to the panel and shared their insight into the results of the research. Their insights contributed to the final text of the report.

gul.⁴⁷ In general, participants also supported this approach. From the children's perspective fathers speaking Turkish, while mothers use Kurdish, plays an important role in reinforcing directly or indirectly state policies and language hierarchy leading to a negative attitude towards mother tongue. Whereas if a father speaks mother tongue, it can have a positive influence on the child's perception of the language and its place in the language hierarchy. If we use Büşra Ersanlı's words to express what Sorgul hinted at, then we would say that in the context of a father using patriarchy as a tool (Ersanlı, 2010a: 311-12) the "father" language characterized as dominant, can be compensated by the language used at home by a father, the authority figure.

2. Zımanê Malê Cilê Malê⁴⁸

In this context we can examine the effects of a division between private and public space. Feminist critique has shown that the differentiation into private and public space is an artificial one. It exposes that our perceptions and attitudes are being influenced by a hierarchy (Çakır, 2009). However, exposure did not lead to the abolishment of the conviction that the public space is more important than the private one. Public space and everything that it evokes continues to be seen as more respected than private space and the things associated with it. If we look at this from the perspective of our subject, we might see that the hierarchic differentiation into private/public perpetuates the hierarchy of values created by the state, i.e. between language used in private and public.

At the panel with the participants, a woman during the presentation used the striking comparison of "home language, home clothing."

"House clothes are generally unkempt. Nobody cares about them. Whereas, before leaving home everybody pays attention to clothes. They care to wear something decent. Language of the house and the outside is approached in a similar manner."

Taking the last participant and Sorgul's opinion as a point for departure, from now on the matter of language transmission onto new generations in given circumstances must go beyond the discourse of the mother's role/duty. This ne-

⁴⁷ For an ironic evaluation of the comparison between "mother tongue" and "father tongue", dominant language and use of other languages as tools of patriarchy, see Ersanlı, 2010a: 311-12.

⁴⁸ Home language, home clothes.

cessity must be emphasized in regard with youth under patriarchal supervision. In the chapter about theoretical debates we have referred to Baker (1992) and Gardner (1985); just like it is possible to take pride in language, it is also possible to be ashamed of one's language or to think that it is vulgar and backwards, which leads to negative attitudes. During the interviews, attitudes that could be considered as negative were encountered. In particular, attitudes towards home among interviewees in their 40s demonstrated shame of one's language, which was previously discussed in the chapter about education. Association of the language with backwardness can be pointed out as well. As will be seen below, for young women this negative attitude is related more to gender inequality.

During interviews with women who live in the city center and who have secondary or university education and/or work and have a social life outside the house realm, no negative attitudes were discovered. On the contrary, a positive attitude towards Kurdish at the political level came to the fore. Young women in the villages, however, had a natural negative attitude towards Kurdish.

3.Village, Patriarchy, Kurdish

Xweylin, as has already been mentioned, was one of the villages subjected to expulsions. In recent times it was one of the first villages re-inhabited, but most of the youth continued to stay in the places of migration. Those who returned were men and women of the first generation. Therefore, observations of young women are limited to the village of Karabahçe. Everything in Karabahçe except for school, seems to be in Kurdish: homes, children's games, neighbor relations. As also noted earlier, interviews took place in Kurdish. During interviews with parents and young siblings young women served tea or coffee, but did not participate in the conversations and kept themselves at a distance. Later, however, when we interviewed them individually, we realized that they spoke Turkish not only with us, but also with their peers.

One of the women we met admitted speaking Turkish with her cousins and her dislike of speaking Kurdish. She also did not like the village and the work she had to do. For her, Kurdish was a language she identified a bit with these works. At the panel presenting research findings and this observation, one of the participants made a complementary remark about the narratives. The participant worked in the abovementioned village as a teacher for many years. In his view

the main reason for a young women's dislike of the village is the still quite common practice of "berdêl"⁴⁹.

Whether young women disliked the village and rural life because of the heavy workload or from being swapped without being asked for consent in marriages like berdel, or for both of these reasons, the most striking fact was that they associated village living conditions with Kurdish. Dislike for the village proportionally harbored negative attitude towards Kurdish. Even if it is difficult to measure the degree to which Kurdish and village life were identified with negative perceptions, it is not difficult to guess⁵⁰ that the language hierarchy created through various means by the state has played a role in stigmatizing Kurdishness and Kurdish. As a result, this negative attitude might affect use of Kurdish among young women and consequently language transmission to next generations.

In "Gender, Education and Mother tongue" analysis report (2012) Derince shares observations that lend support to this hypothesis. Among four specific groups of interviewees for "Scar of Tongue" (Coşkun, Derince and Uçarlar) Derince had no problems finding male teachers who knew Kurdish, but she did, however, struggle to find female teachers who spoke Kurdish. While men were able to maintain bilingualism in both education and the public realm, women strikingly were not, and became monolingual, i.e. with Turkish as their language. Students experience similar hardships, especially Kurdish girls going to school who, in comparison with Kurdish boys, become alienated from Kurdish. External imposition as well as internal pressure are the two basic reasons for this occurrence. As Derince points out, external imposition encompasses dominant monolingual policies and practices and cannot be seen as isolated from school experience as well as from media representations and indoctrination. Internal pressure for the girls originates in their families, where they are exposed to discrimination and patriarchal control. Derince (2012:33-34) considers this situation as supplementary to the concept of "imitation" put forward by Homi Bhabba, precursor of critical post-colonial feminism. In the context of this research, as indicated in many places, sudden forgetting or a sense of shame because of the language were also seen in boys. Thus, Derince emphasizes that "imitation" of the he-

⁴⁹ Bride exchange (translator's note)

⁵⁰ Derince (2012) drives attention towards the role of tacit implications harbored by such campaigns as "Come on girls! Go to school!" or "Dad, send me to school."

gemon is certainly not limited to girls. However, imposing monolingualism on the girls who continue their education, as seen in the example of young women from Karabahçe, results in the identification of gender inequality with language, the village and the environment where it is used.

4.TV Series, City Image and Turkish

Identification of Kurdish with village and patriarchy comes along with the identification of Turkish with the city and the good prospects attributed to the city. Elements of hierarchy based on the longstanding state language policy can be seen here. In this case, however, the role of TV and TV series has to be highlighted. Interviewed young women, who did not like their village, dreamt of living in the city. Desire to live in the city is by all means not peculiar to young women. Independently of the language matter, youngsters want to live in the city, not village. Bermal, who for many years lived in the village due to her job in a development center claims that this is valid for all youth, but is more manifest for young women. TV series shape rural women's perception of the city. In other words, their ideas about the city are based upon a fiction inspired by TV series. As to Turkish, it is a language desired as a part of the fictional TV universe.

Within this framework gender roles have influenced attitudes of young women and men. On the account of lack of freedom of movement, young rural women, when not working, are forced to stay at home where they watch TV series. Young rural men, however, are freer and have relations with the city. For them though, the city as they know it, is nothing like the virtual wonderland presented in TV series. It is a real city with inequalities, contradictions and exclusion. Young men's ties with the city are related to the labor market. Since they perform the worst jobs, for them Turkish is both tough and mandatory. Therefore, just as ties with the city differ among young men and women, men's attitudes towards Turkish may not be as positive as women's.

Another observation was shared at the research evaluation meeting: it is possible that the city and what it offers, when compared with reality, can influence attitudes towards language. Sorgul, a teacher in a boarding school, where many female students come from rural areas, has observed that although at the start girls steer away from Kurdish, as time passes and they move on to higher grades, they abandon this approach.

By all means it is impossible to arrive at assertive conclusions about attitudes towards language and gender based on the limited number of interviews and observations shared here. However, another issue can be raised in addition to the questionability of the emphasis on mothers' role in language transmission and preservation. In the sections on political economy and education it was already mentioned that when evaluating the effects of mother tongue repression and/or developing demands and agenda related to mother tongue, justice and equality, class and gender (including sexual orientation, sexual identity, sect etc.) based inequalities must not be ignored. Inequalities, as seen here one more time, are interwoven. Gender inequality affects attitudes towards language and intergenerational shifts in language transmission.

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE REVERSAL, CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

“There is always something to express;
why don't we speak Kurdish with our children?”
(Bermal, third generation)

Reflections on her own childhood and the reasons why families in the village did not teach their children Kurdish led Bermal to such words. This situation is not peculiar just to them. Even though struggle for use of Kurdish identity recognition and use of Kurdish first in education and later in public institutions was short, it has started to bring results. One of these was the gradual lifting of the ban on Kurdish and the “normal”ization of its use. In general, it seems that social awareness about Kurdish has been created. The influence of the political atmosphere is clearly reflected in the narratives about re-introducing Kurdish into daily lives:

“In the last few years entire communication among our friends, I mean during the time when there was no official bureaucratic environment, we spoke Kurdish. We can express ourselves better. (...) And what has changed, well, in fact we realized we were marginalizing ourselves, we

developed awareness. Such a thing for us, I mean, when we started asking where are we, what are we doing, we thought we need to finally freely express ourselves and our language. To be more precise, we think. (...) Moreover, having talked among ourselves, with my son I'm going to a language school to improve even more." (Ferda, second generation, 45, secondary school graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

It needs to be stated, however, that this sensitivity and whether it can lead to tangible results are two different matters. Above all, to re-introduce into daily life a language that has partly or entirely been removed, it might not be sufficient to only have such a wish, although it is important. Especially, at best, the second generation that only understands but does not speak can make this language a tool to communicate with the third generation, but even if they genuinely want to, it is not easy (Crystal, 2010: 128). Furthermore, a linguist, Teresa McCarty based on her observations of efforts to strengthen local languages by indigenous peoples in America pointed out that not only efforts and desires at an individual level, but also institutional efforts are unlikely to give any results once tendency to shift languages starts (McCarty, 2013: 187-205).

The discrepancy between daily practice and will was noticeable during interviews. Those who preferred to hold interview in Kurdish or both in Kurdish and Turkish claimed to speak Kurdish with their children. Bilingual second generation persons at various occasions underlined their sensitivity towards the issue of language, but I have witnessed during or after our interviews that they spoke Turkish with their children. I believe that the difference between declarations and actions derives from simple inconsistency or the fact that there was a guest at home questioning their attitude towards language, so they gave answers they believed the interviewer wanted to hear. This case is rather related to the abovementioned discrepancy between daily practice and wants. Although they have departed from Kurdish, they have also formed sensitivity towards this matter so they think it is necessary to re-introduce Kurdish into their daily lives. However, to go beyond an "oriental ornament", the language has to gain functionality. For that to happen, besides intentions and wants, there are many other obstacles that need to be removed and it does not seem they will easily go away.

When it comes to obstacles, the first and foremost attention needs to be drawn to bans on the use of Kurdish. This led to its restricted functionality further limiting its social value and its ability to develop. These are the most obvious

obstacles. While carrying on the political struggle to abolish these obstacles, other impediments existing at a social level cannot be ignored. For instance, the second generation does not speak this language fluently. Those who after completing education continued to speak Turkish nowadays, make short-lived efforts to return to Kurdish due to increased awareness, but eventually go back to using Turkish. Because of thoughts flowing in Turkish and their level of Kurdish allowing only for simple dialogues, they struggle to continue conversations in Kurdish. In this case, however, with a determined sense of duty they continue conversations:

"We are bilingual. I mean Kurdish and Turkish. Now we want to use Kurdish more intensively. Frankly, we struggle, we get stuck. The other day we sat and chatted. We checked the time. I told Sidar we talked in Kurdish for two hours. 'Are you aware?' I asked. We didn't use any Turkish. Sister said we're making progress. But Turkish goes on." (Bermal, third generation, 25, university graduate, Toplu Konutlar, interview in Turkish)

The struggle to speak Kurdish beyond short and simple sentences is one of the basic reasons hampering parents' efforts to teach their children the language.

"My neighbor told me until my kid is 2 or 2,5 years old, until she learns to speak, I should speak to her in Kurmanji, no problem I also had to learn the language myself. But once the kid got to the level that could speak, I started to struggle. I forget all the words, don't know what to say. I mean, I can't tell the kid to wait until I check something in a dictionary. I really realized that, well, it's a nuisance for us, but now my Zazaki developed while talking to my kid. I mean, I speak more fluently." (Nalan, second generation, 30, secondary school graduate, Umut İşığı, interview in Turkish)

This kind of effort to speak Kurdish, from the perspective of the second generation, like Nalan, while having a positive effect and bringing Kurdish to a more fluent level is still dependent on many other factors in terms of the ability to make Kurdish a mother tongue for the third generation. The reaction of a child to their parents' efforts is one of those factors.

A trend to reject Kurdish is observed among children. Children of second generation parents, who themselves rejected Kurdish, present an inclination towards resistance against the language, but rather due to environmental factors. According to the parents I spoke with, children who do not know Turkish struggle

to establish relationships with friends and as a result become introverted or aggressive. When a Kurdish speaking child goes out to play on the street or goes to nursery, they realize that Turkish is the language of majority and they reject Kurdish. Those kinds of children's behaviors harm parents' determination to speak Kurdish.

"My granddad for example tries to speak Kurdish with grandma. They are not able to, but persistently try to communicate in Turkish. Despite my request 'mom, dad speak Kurdish with them.' But because with all the previous grandchildren they spoke Turkish, there's no kid knowing Kurdish. Mine started first. But my older daughter when she turned three started showing a reaction. She shouted: 'Don't speak Kurdish to me!'[Because] that decreases kids' communication. It strains the kids. In general, kids don't know Kurdish so they can't play games in Kurdish. Just kids that know Kurdish and go among Turkish speaking ones, experience difficulties and become aggressive, introvert. It gives rise to self-confidence problems. That's why the effect of TV or parks on kids is very big. Turkish is always the language of communication. Baby sitters hired by working mothers and fathers are preferred to speak Turkish. All these create a thing in the kid, alienate it. There's no Kurdish nursery to send the kid. Can a mother send there her kid? No. Just like her kid, there are no kids speaking Kurdish." (Zelal, second generation, 35, university graduate, Diclekent, interview in Turkish)

"My daughter was at home until the age of 4. With her grandma she spoke Zazaki. She would speak Zazaki with us. I didn't experience any problem. She would speak as if it was her own language. After she was 4 she started nursery. In the first few days we didn't encounter any serious problems. Then she came and we realized that slowly she stopped speaking Zazaki to us. I would ask in Kurdish and she'd answer in Turkish. In the end I asked why she became like that. I asked why she spoke like that. She said: 'I no longer speak your language.' 'When I speak there they mock me and ask what kind of a speaking is that. From now on I'm gonna speak like them.' She said it at the age of four. Afterwards she didn't speak." (Axîn, second generation, 30, secondary school graduate, Municipality PR Unit, interview in Turkish)

Nalan, who just like Axîn spent her youth influenced by the urban Kurdish movement and who developed sensitivity towards the issue of mother tongue, was one of those who tried to speak Kurdish with her child. The dominant language was Turkish, however, and she struggled. When she noticed that her child had trouble communicating with peers, her husband continued to speak Kurdish while she started speaking Turkish, also to learn herself. Like in other cases, here the child eventually also rejected Kurdish:

"Because my son didn't understand Turkish, he couldn't keep up with them and would lose his temper. Then we said it couldn't be like that. We got to it and said Turkish. I would speak Turkish and I told my husband to persistently continue in Zazaki. The moment I started speaking Turkish he abandoned Zazaki. Now he understands well, but has problems with pronunciation. But in Turkish he can express himself very well. (...) my teacher friends say that some time we shall teach the kids reading and writing. Well, it's such an easy language, but Kurmanji is so hard. I thought that at least he'll learn something by listening and in the future if the kid is curious, he can learn on his own, but without learning through listening it can't happen." (Nalan, second generation, 30, middle school graduate, Umut Işıği, interview in Turkish)

As stated in the introduction, children are capable of learning more than one language at the same time. Therefore, it is clear that here the question which language is easier to learn is not vital. Children who acquire mother tongue at home and at the age of 3-4 start another language can become bilingual. It was possible for children to speak both languages perfectly. Whereas the stories of all the educated and working parents describe children rejecting Kurdish once they learnt Turkish. Children's perceptions of the language and its functionality, as already discussed, might be determining factors. The extent to which language is used at home and how well parents who try to pass it on know the language, are other factors to focus on. Lack of a sufficient command of their mother tongue prevents parents from continuous and consistent efforts to speak it with children. Whereas, Değirmecioğlu (2010a: 115) underlines that in children's relationship with the language regularity, continuity and consistency occupy an important place.

Families where children reject Kurdish are not the families from Ben u Sen. In other words, these are not the families that maintain Kurdish in their daily lives. Parents who lead their lives in Turkish, as seen in Zelal's story, force themselves and grandparents too, to speak Kurdish with children. Although their mother tongue is Kurdish in professional life and in other circumstances it becomes insufficient. Parents who speak Turkish in daily life and mostly also think in Turkish struggle to speak Kurdish with their children, even though this awareness is rather recent and with older children or with guests they are very likely to speak Turkish too. Observations confirmed this tendency. In such a case, children who are asked to speak only Kurdish and do not speak Turkish, do not need to go to nursery to experience exclusion.

Since parents do not speak a fluent and rich Kurdish, it may result in a meager and superficial communication with children. In such a situation it seems highly likely that children will not speak properly, mixing forms from both languages as a result of parents' insufficient command of Kurdish. Then, as a child realizes that Turkish is the language spoken by majority, on TV and in social environment, understandably starts to see it as the more valuable and functional of the two.

In the course of interviews we have encountered examples of children who acquired mother tongue in their families and at the same time successfully learnt other languages and managed to use all of them in various circumstances. In fact, the most outstanding example comes from a time before the research had been started. I met Züleyha on various occasions in Switzerland, and then I also met her during a research period in Diyarbakir. During the interview I witnessed the multilingualism of her family and asked her to talk about her experience. Züleyha's narrative, though perhaps long, illustrates a different example and possibility of multilingualism so I decided to present it without interruption.

Example of Multilingualism

"With all of my siblings we grew up with Kurdish. I can say that until the last kid or two none of us knew Turkish before going to school. Well, because mothers, aunts, granddads spoke Kurdish, I learnt Turkish in primary school. Later of course my siblings' wives and husbands entered our family. (...) Once they entered the family they together learnt Kurdish. They of course also spoke Turkish, they were public officers. But together with us they learnt Kurdish. (...) One of the brides spoke with children only in Turkish. The father spoke only Kurdish and we spoke Kurdish. That's why children learnt both languages. Of course for children who played on the street or joined pre-school program German entered the picture. Kids with other youth speak German. With us, family and adults, they speak Kurdish. Whichever language mother speaks, they speak that language. I mean, children can easily speak three languages. (...)

Children have a different psychology. They always play games in terms of imposing their wishes. Now, which language seems easier to them, which one they hear more, they go for that language. We saw it with our own children, our own experiences. I mean, in times when Turkish is a little bit more spoken, they turn towards it. (...) Because everyone speaks Turkish [children] nearly reject Kurdish. Then members from the other side of the family with determination continue in Kurdish, children again give up and accept this language. So there's a transition period in languages. We've experienced that with German too. When children learnt German they

started replying in German to our questions in Kurdish. We told them we didn't understand that language. Although we used German at work and children knew that, they didn't do anything and they again started speaking Kurdish with us. If the language is not present in the family, I mean is not spoken, then a child brings home the language of the school. Because in its view the language of reading is the master language of all. It is widespread and functional, but when a child sees that another language is also functional then it will start using it as well.

What's functional is the language that family members use to communicate and that's the language a child will start using. If it's not used, then it's just a language from language school or a fashion and a child will never learn it. Language is such a thing. (...)

I guess that was our advantage. We are a crowded family. Grandfather and grandmother are still alive. Because uncles still talk in Kurdish among themselves and with siblings we speak it, it makes the language functional for some of the children. I mean, when more than just one person speaks this language around them, they can accept it as their own language. (...)

German is the language outside the house. Not just outside the house: at school it's a language for those who speak German, Kurdish for Kurdish speakers and for those who don't know any Kurdish, there's Turkish. I mean not just with family, with other friends too. Those who know Kurdish and who don't. This difference is drawn. Well, even a three-year-old child can differentiate between those who speak Kurdish, Turkish or German.

In addition, children see it also at school. For the question about languages they know they add language of the house. They say 'I know Kurdish, I know Turkish.' And they say it with pride. They say they know two more languages, it's perhaps self-confidence given by the family, I don't know, but they are not ashamed. (...)

When I moved abroad, my child was just about to start school and didn't know a word of German. Without any knowledge of the language she started school. There were people telling me to talk with her in German so she can develop it faster. I spoke my language, because in this language I can express myself. I can only bring up my child in my own language. Then there was this, a meeting with school psychologist. She met with my child and also called me. She congratulated me. For speaking at home to my child in my native language. All the foreigners especially there, foreigners in Europe make this huge mistake. Talk with one another in language they don't know enough to express themselves. This kid will never feel attached to her country. Neither does she belong to your culture, because you speak a broken language, nor does she belong to the host country's culture. This kind of broken language resembles a broken culture. The psychologist at the school advises all the families.

Later I saw broken dialogues between my nursery friends and their parents. Let's say that when the child is young you can easily say 'sit, do this or that,' but after a certain age vocabulary develops. You start discussing with children the world, their worldview. You'll discuss something deeply. At that moment I saw that language is a big problem and that children are unable to establish communication in any way with their parents. A child, for example, rushes into the kitchen, 14-15 years old child, only asks for bread or food. Mother asks where would she go, but there's no answer. Child doesn't tell parents where's she going, what for. I mean, doesn't tell in detail. OK, they say 'I go somewhere' but what for or what happened they don't say in that language. Parents don't know German well. And the child doesn't know Kurdish or Turkish very well. A terrible breakdown starts." (Züleyha, second generation, 45, university graduate, Switzerland, interview in Turkish/Kurdish)

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to analyze the place and role of Kurdish in daily life as well as the changing tendencies of its use among different generations. Research findings point to the language hierarchy created during the Republican period as a partly successful tool of assimilation policies. The results of face-to-face interviews and observations done in three-generation families support our hypothesis that there is a language shift from generation to generation. In the daily lives of first generation interviewees' Kurdish has a strong position, however, second generation interviewees are bilingual. Third generation interviewees mainly use Turkish in their daily lives.

Factors such as urbanization and education are limiting the use of Kurdish on a daily basis. Second generation parents who are educated and work in occupations requiring a command of Turkish could not fully play the role of a bridge in terms of transmitting the language and culture. However, since the 2000s the awareness of and the sensitivity towards this issue has been increasing. Parents are trying to communicate with children in their mother tongue.

Migration is another factor that accelerates the language shift, but we should

underline the mandatory character of monolingual education. Education is important as it envisages better social and economic opportunities. An even more important aspect is the psychological effect of the devaluation of non-dominant languages. Language hierarchy enforced by different means and through various channels, played and continues to play an important role in school age children's development of negative attitudes towards their language as well as the experience of language shift. It can be noted that policies shaping attitudes and perceptions are more effective than direct prohibitive policies such as banning the mother tongue.

Above middle-aged interviewees spoke more of shame in reference to their school experience. Since the 1990s, the socializing effect of language and identity based politics has decreased this feeling, but during the violent environment of this period, people experienced both sympathy and fear of the language. Nowadays, we cannot speak either of fear or shame, but especially among primary school students, language hierarchy is clearly influential.

Exclusion from education as well as long-term prohibitions of Kurdish in the public space, have reduced this language to a "home language." With regard to new generations, research findings demonstrate that the "home language" status is eroding. In addition, they are exposed to both languages at the same time through TV and cartoons, even before going to school. Lack of Kurdish at school or in other media gives them a hint that their mother tongue is not functional.

On the other hand, this is clearly not the only tendency observed. Even if children are exposed to hegemonic language at home, Kurdish is certainly no longer just a "home language." Kurdish political and social movement have started bringing today, especially in the 2000s, visible results in terms of political and socio-political awareness in regard to language and identity. In many realms bans are no longer enforced or existing bans have lost their utility. Kurdish gradually becomes commonly used in media, politics as well as in cultural and intellectual spheres. The conviction, based on longstanding assimilation policies, that Kurdish is useless and worthless in the public space has, to a large extent, lost its effect on the society. Kurdish is the one of the languages of the city's cultural, artistic and political life, for some it is the primary language.

In the chapter about theoretical debates, in sustaining the language and passing it onto new generations, society's view of the value and level of ownership of the language play a great role. In this context, the situation of Kurdish presents many opportunities. Even if Kurdish started creating limited employment prospects, these new developments have positively influenced, what Bourdieu calls, the "linguistic market."

On the other hand, in terms of the "linguistic market" on a macro level, access to economic opportunities is made available through education, and that requires the fluent command of Turkish. Therefore, the poor believe that through education their children will gain access to more economic opportunities and for them, learning Turkish is desired and important. This desire, however, does not derive from the negative attitudes towards one's own mother tongue. It entirely comes from the constraints of existing life predicaments.

Gender is another variable in mother tongue analysis. Research findings suggest that the assumption of the mothers' key role in language transmission is questionable. Media and communication technologies seem to play a more important role in children's language acquisition. On the other hand, as hierarchically structured public sphere and family are based on power and power relations in terms of gender, it enforces, both symbolically and in reality, the perception of the language of the "father" tongue to be more important.

When it comes to mother tongue and gender, it should be noted that gender inequality affects young women's attitudes towards language due to severe oppression. Kurdish language and culture are predominantly considered to be "backward" and "primitive" etc., especially in rural areas. Young women are exposed to these stereotypes as well as to patriarchal oppression and control and as a result, they identify language with gender inequality. Media representations, TV series as well as language, subtle insinuations and the content of the campaigns aimed at promoting schooling of young girls, are all conducive to this process. Such identification and the change of the negative attitudes, fiction and representations that it paves the way for, can be impeded when faced with reality.

Diyarbakır is not just a place where research took place, but it is also a subject

of its own, since the city, just like in the past, is multilingual. In the interviews inhabitants' bilingualism/multilingualism clearly came to light. Certainly, there are differences as to how bilingualism is transmitted between generations due to already discussed variables. Existing differences are not sufficient, however, to change the bilingual reality.

The optimism that might be evoked by the above paragraph is partially overshadowed by the character of existing bilingualism. In the current model, the fact that people use both the official language and a mother tongue and perceive them to be equal, does not equate to, however, a positive bilingual conjuncture. From the perspective of the society, each and every language is given the same value and is used in the same manner. However, within the legal framework and the official political approach, the situation is different. Obstacles preventing education in mother tongue still exist. Such practices as selective courses do not mean education in mother tongue. In addition to that, hierarchies that prescribe the official language as the dominant one are still protected and reproduced. Therefore, in terms of state policies the current situation resembles a deduced bilingual state of affairs.

To conclude, there exists the tendency and effort to overcome language hierarchy and to create equal value while preserving bilingual potential. On the other hand, official policies aimed at imposing monolingualism continue to be practiced. The risk of a shift from bilingualism to monolingualism in favor of the hegemonic language must not be ignored. Nevertheless, there are more reasons for the development of bilingualism in a positive way. It is necessary not only for the forbidden languages, but also for the entire societal peace and justice. Prohibitive policies in regard to language and culture or shaming a child and her whole universe on the first day of school because of her mother tongue are in no way acceptable.

Free use of languages and the abolishment of language hierarchy are of vital importance not just for an eco-biological balance, but also to sustain cultural heritage. Fundamental rights and social justice are equally vital. In particular, there are several examples of practices, academic sources and memorable experiences that rather than dividing up a society, unite it. Among them are DISA's publications regarding mother tongue.

It seems that the future of existing language hierarchy and bans on mother tongue use will be clear as result of negotiations/struggle among macro political actors because, as it is known, demands related to mother tongue are currently on the agenda of the Kurdish political movement.

Speaking of continuing political negotiations/struggle and daily life, it is worth mentioning a few final observations and implications. It needs to be emphasized that in particular, while macro actors negotiate/struggle, assimilationist policies targeting children continue to be perpetuated. In terms of intergenerational language transmission this emphasis is important. Once children internalize language hierarchy it is very hard to undo it. Theoretical debates and examples from various localities show that, once new generations shift from bilingualism to the monolingualism of the hegemonic language, reversal of this process is not easy. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to negative attitudes towards mother tongue created by the TV, media representations and school that are already observed in children. Positive attitudes towards language present in adults and children are the result of the current political agenda and are more visible in daily lives. Nonetheless, negative attitudes among children are less discernable. These attitudes bear undercurrents that although they are less obvious, are no less important.

There is a possibility to change those kinds of children's attitudes for the good along with a change in the dominant approach. But, at this point, some measures have to be taken at a societal level. For instance, increasing numbers of publications for children and cultural products would lead to a greater sense of purpose and value attached to the languages, to the level comparable with school language(s). Nevertheless, in order for the children not to reject their mother tongue and to see it as a more widespread and functional, adults' attitudes and behaviors are important. As the research findings demonstrate, adults' attitudes are not sufficiently consequent and determined so prospects for results are meager.

On a broader level, political discourse about mother tongue should be paired with practices increasing the functionality of the mother language in daily lives.

On the other hand, as mentioned in the chapters examining education, socio-

economic conditions and gender, this topic is important enough to mention again. This issue, which can be evaluated within policy development processes, should be considered together with other inequalities and they should not be ignored during policy-making processes. Demand and policies with regard to mother tongue can lead to social justice only when they are developed with a perspective that aims to overcome inequalities as well as gender and class based discrimination. The last issue we will tackle is not a suggestion, but rather a positive phenomenon. It is observed that awareness about mother tongue is not limited just to the Kurdish language, but also includes other mother tongues. Both individual attitudes and institutional practices observed in the city, multilingual past of Diyarbakır and current way of living in the city confirm this observation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Lughod, Lila (ed.), *Remaking Women, Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Akçura, Belma, *Devletin Kürt Filmi: 1925-2004 Devletin Kürt Raporları*, İstanbul: Ayraç, 2008.
- Akşit, Elif Ekin, "Kız Enstitüleri, Modernleşme ve Türkleşme", *Eğitim Sen Anadili Sempozyumu 2 Bildiriler Kitabı*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010a.
- Akşit, Elif Ekin, *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005.
- Akşit, Elif Ekin, "Anadilinde Eğitim ev Kadınlar", *Fe Dergi*, Issue 1, 2009.
- Alpay, Necmiye, *Dilimiz, Dillerimiz*, İstanbul: Metis, 2007.
- Alpay, Necmiye, "Dil Kültür İlişkisi", *Eğitim Sen Anadili Sempozyumu 2 Bildiriler Kitabı*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010a.
- Ayan Ceyhan, M., Koçbaşı, D., *Göç ve Çokdillilik Bağlamında Okullarda Okuryazarlık Edinimi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University, 2011.
- Baker, C., *Attitudes and Languages*, London: Multilingual Matters, 1992.
- Benson, C., "Çokdilli Bölgelerde En Etkili Eğitimin Tasarlanması: Çift dilli Modellerin Ötesine Geçmek", In T. Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Bernreuter, Michael, "Anadilde Eğitimin Düşünsel Gelişme Etkileri", *Eğitim Sen Anadilde Eğitim Sempozyumu 1*, Ankara: 2010.
- Beşikçi, İsmail, *Kürtlerin Mecburi İskânı*, İstanbul: Komal Publishing, 1978.
- Beşikçi, İsmail, *Bilim, Resmi İdeoloji, Devlet-Demokrasi ve Kürt Sorunu*, İstanbul: Alan Publishing, 1990.
- Beşikçi, İsmail, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası'nın Programı ve Kürt Sorunu*, Ankara: Yurt Publishing, 1991a.
- Beşikçi, İsmail, *Türk Tarih Tezi, Güneş-Dil Teorisi ve Kürt Sorunu*, Ankara: Yurt Publishing, 1991b.
- Beşikçi, İsmail, *Kürtlerin Mecburi İskânı*, Ankara: Yurt Publishing, 1991c.
- Brizic, Katharina, "Dillerin Ölümünün Eğitime Etkisi: Göçte Dil ve Okul Başarısı", *Eğitim Sen Anadili Sempozyumu 2 Bildiriler Kitabı*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010a.
- van Bruinessen, Martin and Boeschoten, Hendrik (ed.), *Evlüya Çelebi Diyarbekir'de*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2003.
- Van Bruinessen, Martin, "Diyarbekir Nüfusu: Etnik Yapı ve Diğer Demografik Veriler", In Martin van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evlüya Çelebi Diyarbekir'de*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2003.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Edited by John Thompson, Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1999.

- Coşkun, V., Derince, Ş., Uçarlar, N., *Dil Yarası*, Diyarbakır: DİSA, 2010.
- Crystal, David, *Dillerin Katli: Bir Dilin Ölümü Bir Millet'in Ölümüdür*, (translation) Gökhan Cansız, İstanbul: Profil, 2010 (1st Edition 2007).
- Cummins, Jim and Merrill Swain, *Bilingualism in Education: Aspects of Theory, 155 Research and Practice*, London: Longman, 1986.
- Cummins, J. "Immersion Education for the Millennium: What We Have Learned from 30 Years of Research on Second Language Immersion", www.iteachilearn.com/cummins/immersion2000.html.
- Cummins, J. "Dilsel Azınlık Öğrencilerinin Eğitim Başarısının Altında Yatan Temel Psikodilsel ve Sosyolojik Esaslar", In T. Skutnabb-Kangas(ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Çağlayan, H., Özar, Şemsa and Tepe-Doğan, Ayşe, *Ne Değişti?: Kürt Kadınların Zorunlu Göç Deneyimi*, Ankara: Ayizi, 2011.
- Çağlayan, H., "Kürt Kadınları Açısından İfade Özgürlüğü", *Kürt Kadınların Penceresinden Milliyetçilik, Resmi Kimlik Politikaları, Barış Mücadelesi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2013.
- Çağlayan, H. "From Kawa the Blacksmith to Istar the Goddess: Gender Constructions in Ideological-Political Discourses of Kurdish Movement in post-1980 Turkey: Possibilities and Limits", *The European Journey of Turkish Studies*, 2012.
- Çakır, S. "Feminizm: Ataerkil iktidarın Eleştirisi", In H. Birsen Örs, *Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Publishing, 2009.
- Darder, Antonia, "Dil, Pedagoji, İktidar: Dilsel Soykırıma Karşı Çıkma", *Eğitim Sen Anadili Sempozyumu 2 Bildiriler Kitabı*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010a.
- Değirmencioglu, Serdar, "Anadilinin Gelişimsel ve Toplumsal İşlevleri" *Eğitim Sen Anadili Sempozyumu 2 Bildiriler Kitabı*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010a.
- Demircan, Ömer, "Öğretim Dili ve Anadilde Eğitim", *Eğitim Sen Anadilinde Eğitim Sempozyumu 1 Kitabı*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010.
- Derince, M. Şerif, *Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Eğitim ve Anadili: Önce Anadili Analiz Raporları 2*, İstanbul: DİSA, 2012.
- Derince, M. Şerif, *Dil ve Eğitim Modelleri ve Ülke Örnekleri*, İstanbul: DİSA, 2011.
- Derince, M. Şerif, *Dilsel ve Kültürel Farklılıklar Açısından Öğretmen Yetiştirme*, İstanbul: DİSA, 2012.
- Derince, M. Şerif, *Tekdilliliği Yeniden Düşünmek ve Çokdilliliğin Geleceği*, İstanbul: DİSA, 2012.
- Derince, M. Şerif, *Çokdilliliğe Siyaset Penceresinden Bakmak*, İstanbul: DİSA, 2012.
- Derince, M. Şerif, *Anadili Temelli Çokdilli ve Çokdialektli Dinamik Eğitim*, İstanbul: DİSA, 2012.
- Derince, M. Şerif, "A break or continuity? Turkey's politics of Kurdish language in the new millennium", *Dialectical Anthropology*, 37, 1, s. 145-152, 2013.
- Diken, Şeyhmus, *ŞehrAmed*, İstanbul: Heyamola, 2014.

- Edwards, J. *Multilingualism*, London: Penguin Books, 1994.
- Eğitim Sen, *Anadilde Eğitim Sempozyumu I*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publications, 2010.
- Eğitim Sen, *Anadilde Eğitim Sempozyumu II*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publications, 2010a.
- Eğitim Sen, *Eğitimde Anadilinin Kullanımı ve Çiftdilli Eğitim, Halkın Tutum ve Görüşleri Taraması*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2011.
- Ellis, Elizabeth, "Monolingualism: The unmarked case", *Estudios de Sociolingüística*, 7 (2): 173–196, 2006.
- Erdem, Tarhan, "Türkiyeli Kürtler ne kadar?", *Radikal*, 17. 04. 2013.
- Ersanlı, Büşra, *İktidar ve Tarih*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2003.
- Ersanlı, Büşra, "Türkiye'de Anadil Algısı ve Siyaseti", *Eğitim Sen Anadili Sempozyumu 2 Bildiriler Kitabı*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010a.
- Ersanlı, B., Göksu Özdoğan, G., Uçarlar, N. , *Kürt Siyasetinde Kürtler*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2012.
- Gardner, R. C., *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning. The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*, London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1985.
- Gök, Fatma, "Eğitim Hakkı Bağlamında Anadilinde Eğitim", *Eğitim Sen Anadili Sempozyumu II*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010a.
- Gürsel, Seyfettin, Uysal-Kolaşın, Gökçe and Altındağ, Onur, Anadili Türkçe Nüfus ile Kürtçe Nüfus Arasında Uçurum Var, *BETAM Araştırma Notu 049*, 13 Ekim 2009. www.betam.bahcesehir.edu.tr, xa.yimg.com/kq/.../ArastirmaNotu40.pdf (access on 02.02. 2014)
- Haig, Geoffrey, "The invisibilization of Kurdish: the other side of language planning in Turkey" in Conceman, S. and Haig, G. (eds.) *Die Kurden: Studein zu ihrer Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur*, Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 121–150, 2003.
- Hasanpour, Amir, *Kürt Diliyle İlgili Devlet Politikaları*, (translation) C. Gündoğan, İstanbul: Avesta, 2007
- Hough, D. A. vd. "Yerli Bilgisine Öncelik Verilmesi: Nepal'de Çokdilli Eğitimin Güçlendirilmesi", In T. Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince içinde, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2013.
- İHD, *Kamber Ateş Nasılsın?*, İstanbul: Human Rights Association (İHD) Diyarbakır Branch, 1991.
- Kirişçi, Kemal and Winrow, Gareth, *Kürt Sorunu, Kökeni ve Gelişimi*, (translation) Ahmet Fethi, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 2007.
- KONDA, Toplumsal Yapı Araştırması 2006 Biz Kimiz? www.konda.com.tr/.../2006_09_Toplumsal_Yapi.pdf.
- Krauss, Michael, "The world's languages in crisis", *Language*, 68: 1, 1992.
- Liebe-Harkot, K. "Anadil-Çokluk ve Birlikteliği Olanaklı Kılan Bir Konu", *Anadilde Eğitim Sempozyumu 1*, Ankara: Eğitim Sen, 2010.
- McCarty, Teresa L., "Yerli Halkların Dillerinin Güçlendirilmesi – Amerikan Yerlilerinin Deneyimlerinden Hangi Dersler Çıkarılabilir?", In T. Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Mohanty, Ajit K. "Çokdilli Eğitim: Çok mu Uzakta Bir Köprü?", In T. Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Oran, Baskın, "Kendini Kürt Sananlar" Raporu", *Radikal İki*, 27. 1. 2008. www.baskinoran.com, r-38_Kendini-tr...27-01-2008_.rtf, (access on 05.01.2014).
- Öpengin, Ergin, *Reuşa Kurdî ya Sosyolinguistik li Tirkîyeyê*, İstanbul: Avesta, 2011.
- Pavlenko, Aneta "L2 influence on L1 in late bilingualism.", *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 11 (2): 175–206, 2000.
- Phillipson, Robert, *English-only Europe? Challenging language policy*, London Routledge, 2003.
- Phillipson, Robert, "Is there any unity in diversity in language policies national and supranational? English as an EU lingua franca or lingua frankensteinia?" in Stickel (ed) *National and European Language Policies: Contributions to the Annual Conference 2007 of EFNIL in Riga*, 2009.
- Phillipson, Robert, "Dilsel Çeşitlilik ve Egemen İngilizce Arasındaki Gerilim", In T. Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Pinter, Harold, *Bir Tek Daha Dağ Dili*, (translation) Aziz Çalışlar, İstanbul: Kavram, 1989.
- Romaine, Suzzane, *Bilingualism*. Wiley-Blackwell, 1995.
- Sirman, Nükhet, "Kadınların Milliyeti", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasal Düşünce, Milliyetçilik Cildi*, (4. cilt), İstanbul: İletişim, 2002.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. *Bilingualism or not: The Education of Minorities, Multilingual Matters*, Cleveland, 1981.
- Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. "Küresel Adalet için Çokdilli Eğitim: Meseleler, Yaklaşımlar, Olanaklar", In T. Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, vd. "Çokdilli Eğitimle İlgili Kavramlar, Hedefler, İhtiyaçlar ve Harcamalar: Herkese İngilizce mi Yoksa adaleti Sağlamak mı?", In T.

- Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Şahin Fırat, Bahar, *Burada Benden de Bir Şey Yok mu Öğretmenim? Eğitim Sürecinde Kimlik, Çatışma ve Barışa Dair Algı ve Deneyimler*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2012.
- Taylor, Shelley K. "Kanada'da Çokdilliliğe Karşı Kast Sistemi Yaklaşımı: Fransızca Çokdillileştirme Programında Dilsel ve Kültürel Azınlık Çocukları", In T. Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Çokdilli Eğitim Yoluyla Toplumsal Adalet*, (preparation of Turkish publication) F. Gök and Ş. Derince, (translation) B. Yalçınkaya, G. Duman, Z. İnanç, Ankara: Eğitim Sen Publication, 2013.
- Tigris, Amed and Çakar, Yıldız (preparation of publication), *Amed, Coğrafya, Tarih, Kültür*, (translated from Kurdish) Amed Çeko Jiyan, Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality.
- Tochon, F. V. "Dil İkilemini Çözmek: Okullar Neden Uyum Sağlamalı", *Eğitim BilimToplum*, sy. 22, ss: 130-147, 2008.
- Uçarlar, Nesrin, "Kürtçenin Direnişi ve Siyasalın Geri Dönüşü", *Türkiye Siyasetinde Kürtler* (der.) B. Ersanlı, G. Göksu Özdemir, N. Uçarlar, İstanbul: İletişim, 2012.
- Üstel, Füsün, *Türk Ocakları (1912-1931)*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1997.
- Yeğen, Mesut, *Devlet Söyleminde Kürt Sorunu*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1999.
- Yeşil, Sevim, "Unfoldung Republican Patriarchy: The Case of Young Women at 158 Girl's Socational Boarding School in Elazığ", unpublished master thesis, ODTU, 2003.
- Yıldız, Ahmet, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2007.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira and Anthias, Floya, A. (ed.), *Women-Nation-State*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1986.
- Yüksel, Metin, "Dengbej, Mullah, Intelligentsia, The Survival and Revival of Kurdish-Kurmanji Language in the Middle East, 1925-1960", unpublished master thesis, The University of Chicago, 2011.
- Yüksel, Metin, "Hayatta Kalma ve Diriliş: Kürtçenin Yakın Tarihine Bakış", *Kürt Tarihi*, Issue 1, June 2012.
- 78'liler Vakfı, Diyarbakır Cezaevi Gerçekleri Araştırma ve Adalet Komisyonu Raporu, 78'liler Vakfı web sitesi, www.78li.org , access on 08.02.2014.

