HERITAGE LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES: SPEAKERS' PERSPECTIVES

UĞUR ÇAKIROĞLU

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Uğur Çakıroğlu, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Heritage Language Ideologies: Speakers' Perspectives

The present thesis study aims to investigate the language ideologies held by speakers of Western Armenian, one of the heritage languages of Turkey, by means of data obtained through online interviews. Analysis of the data obtained from interview interactions reveals heritage language speakers' lived experiences with and perspectives of their heritage language in respect to the past, present and future of Western Armenian as a heritage language. The language ideology framework sheds light on the ideations of heritage language speakers in relation to their heritage language situated within interview interactions. The findings of the study reveal multiple and diverse language ideologies that span across different time periods, which are in a two-way relationship with the social and linguistic contexts and practices.

ÖZET

Miras Dil İdeolojileri: Konuşanların Perspektifleri

Mevcut tez çalışması, çevrimiçi mülakatlar yoluyla elde edilen veriler aracılığıyla, Türkiye'nin miras dillerinden biri olan Batı Ermenicesinin konuşucularının dil ideolojilerini incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Mülakat etkileşimlerinden elde edilen verilerin çözümlemesi; miras dil konuşucularının, bir miras dil olarak Batı Ermenicesinin geçmişi, bugünü ve geleceğine yönelik yaşanmış deneyimlerini ve perspektiflerini ortaya koymaktadır. Dil ideolojileri çerçevesi, miras dil konuşucularının miras dillerine yönelik, mülakat etkileşimlerinde konumlanmış ideasyonlarına ışık tutmaktadır. Çalışmanın bulguları, farklı zaman dilimlerine yayılan, toplumsal ve dilbilimsel bağlam ve pratiklerle iki yönlü bir ilişki içerisinde bulunan, çoklu ve çeşitli dil ideolojilerini ortaya koymaktadır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Born in Istanbul, I was informed of the existence of an Armenian community in my city during my childhood and adolescence years. An aficionado of languages and non-Roman writing systems, I took to learning the Armenian alphabet at 8th grade after I had seen the Armenian script as handwritten in a notebook by a classmate of mine in an extracurricular course for the high school placement tests. Although I had a number of Armenian acquaintances who could speak Armenian, I had no idea what the language itself was like, and after having self-taught the Cyrillic, Arabic and Greek scripts over the course of years, I had no choice but to appease the curiosity that grew inside me as regards their Armenian counterpart. I continued thus to self-teach the alphabet, thereafter the language, grammar and vocabulary through baby steps in the following years. After beginning my master's degree studies, I decided that I wanted to turn this language learning experience into an academic venture. Thus the present thesis study is a product of this peculiar interest of mine in one of the understudied languages in Turkey, as one of its longtime learners.

From my previous exchanges with a number of speakers of Armenian as a heritage language in the past, I have been aware that, unlike what I expected before, heritage speakers of the language might hold different opinions as regards their heritage language. For instance, a friend of mine refrained from speaking in Armenian, her heritage language, while she would talk about her brother who was a keen speaker of the language. Moreover, thanks to my eight-month-sojourn as an Erasmus+ language intern in Ghent, Belgium, I was made aware of different linguistic practices and language ideologies amongst the speakers of Turkish as a

heritage language in Flanders. With these given, having begun my master's degree studies, I came to the realization that I could design my master's thesis study on the experiences and language ideologies held by speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey. By that means I aspired to give room for participants' own voices and first-hand recounts of their experiences and ideologies they hold in relation to their heritage language. Toward this end, in the present thesis study I will investigate language ideologies held by speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey based on interview data.

Before moving on to the relevant literature and methodology, I will set the background for the present thesis study in the present chapter. In the first section, I will illustrate different cases of heritage languages that have been intensively studied in heritage language studies literature with a focus on two epicenters around the globe. In the second section, I will discuss the case of Western Armenian as an inherently heritage language around the world and in Turkey. In the third section, I will define the terminology that I employ in reference to Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey. In the fourth section, I will discuss the aims and significance of the present thesis study. Finally, in the fifth section, I will present a layout of the upcoming chapters.

1.1 Heritage languages

As of yet, there is no single unanimous definition of a heritage language (Kagan & Dillon, 2008, p. 143). According to Wiley (2005b), for instance, "there is no consensus [on the definition of a heritage language] that it ["heritage language"] can be used as a one-size-fits-all-brand" (p. 595). In fact, scholars have defined heritage languages in subtly, if not substantially, different ways. Rothman (2009), for instance,

defines a heritage language as one that is "spoken at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially this language is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society" (p. 156). Polinsky's (2008a) definition views a heritage language as a "language which was first [acquired] for an individual with respect to the order of acquisition but has not been completely acquired because of the switch to another dominant language" (p. 149). Definitions by other scholars have different aspects as their foci, including "particular family relevance to the learners" (Fishman, 2001, p. 81) and "strong cultural connection ... through family interaction" (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 222). All these definitions make it a difficult task to come up with a generalization of what constitutes a heritage language.

As well as the definitions of the term, the term "heritage language" itself has also been an object of contention. For instance, various scholars have critiqued the term "heritage language" as having a focus on the past rather than on the present and the future (Baker & Jones, 1998; Bale, 2010; García, 2005; McCarty, 2008; Wiley, 2005b). The term "heritage language," in fact, has its origins in the Canadian scholarship (Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Wiley, 2005b). Elsewhere, similar linguistic phenomena have been coined with different terminology, including "Australian" and "Australian indigenous" languages in Australia (Mercurio & Scarino, 2005); "ancestral," "home" and "indigenous" languages in Africa (Brutt-Griffler & Makoni, 2005); "community" languages in the United Kingdom and Australia (Wiley, 2005a); and "minority" languages in Europe with "regional" and "immigrant" minority languages amongst them (De Bot & Gorter, 2005).

Added to the plethora and the concomitant perplexity of theories as to what constitutes a heritage language is the peculiar situation of Western Armenian in

Turkey as well as around the world. Being a pluricentric (thus "Western") language with contentious sociopolitical history, the Armenian language could be better situated within the Turkish context as a heritage language through an informed insight into the general types and manifestations of heritage languages around the world. Toward this aim, in this section I will provide an overview of heritage languages in two epicenters around the world, namely the United States and Europe. My discussion will be based on the different strands in heritage language typologies and research situated in the specific sociopolitical contexts; the different typologies of heritage languages that emerged or were made, as in the case of indigenous and minority languages.

1.1.1 Heritage languages in the context of the United States

Valdés' (2000) definition of heritage language speakers, based on English, is one that would fit well into the context of the United States: "individuals raised in homes where a language other than English is spoken and who are to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language" (as cited in Benmamoun et al., 2013, p. 133). Fishman (2001) defines a heritage language within the context of the United States as a language that has "a particular family relevance to the learners" (p. 81). Elsewhere, Cho (2010) defines a heritage language as a "language associated with one's cultural background" (p. 369). Kondo-Brown (2003) holds that the term heritage language in the United States "encompasses a huge, *heterogeneous* population with *varying* historical and cultural backgrounds" (p. 1; emphasis added). Thus, the sources of one's relevance to a heritage language can be attributed to several factors in the sociohistorical context of the United States. More specifically, language diversity in the United States is a consequence of various phenomena that took place in the

American history (Wiley & Bhalla, 2017): voluntary (e.g. colonizers and current immigrants) and forced (most notably in the case of enslaved African individuals) immigration, expansion of borders (e.g. the 13 British Colonies until 1776, annexation of Texas in 1845, and purchase of Alaska in 1867, among others), and "social transmission" through formal instruction and informal diffusion in the efforts of families and communities. As such, the concomitant heritage languages in the United States were classified into three groups by Fishman (2001, 2006): indigenous, colonial and immigrant languages. Therefore, it is fitting that the heritage languages in the United States should be evaluated in consideration of the communities of people by whom they have been spoken, to which I turn next.

1.1.1.1 Indigenous heritage languages of the United States

The indigenous languages of Native American communities faced a suppressive treatment. In spite of the wish to instruct English to Native Americans at the time, it was deemed crucial by the missionaries to use their heritage (or more specifically "indigenous") languages in order to achieve communication with Native American communities (Gray, 1999). By the 19th century some indigenous communities like the Cherokee had reached a comparably high level of literacy in their native indigenous languages via their schools and press (Lepore, 2002; Weinberg, 1995; Wiley & Lee, 2009). Shaul (2014) recounts that with its standard written form used in governmental, religious and education settings, Hawaiian remained its existence until post-1900 in newspapers, after the seizure of the country by the United States in 1820 and the declaration of English as the official language.

Following the period between the late 19th century and more than the first quarter of the 20th century when English-only boarding schools were imposed, the

almost ubiquitous adult literacy in the indigenous languages came to a halt in spite of the early promotion of the indigenous languages by some missionaries (Wiley & Bhalla, 2017). A law imposed in 1860 made it illegal for Hawaiians to name their children a Hawaiian name, with the exception of when an English Christian first name preceded it (Niedzielski, 1992). Along with diseases imported from the Old World, the language-restrictive policies induced the eradication of the Hawaiian population and to a large extent the literacy skills of the Hawaiian people in their heritage language (Beckman & Heck, 1998; Wiley & Bhalla, 2017; Wilson, 2014). In effect, Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) argues that indigenous languages have been "the most marginalized category of heritage languages in the United States" despite current efforts by policy makers and communities to better the condition of indigenous languages (p. 212). In general terms, it can be said that within the contexts of "settlement colonization" (Mufwene, 2002), indigenous communities were minoritized and thus their languages were heritagized in the wake of colonizers settling in the native lands and thereby forming majorities.

With the diminishing rates of use, indigenous heritage languages make part of "moribund" languages in the United States (Crawford, 1998). Krauss (1992) defines moribund languages as languages that are used only by adult speakers and are not transmitted to the next generations anymore. In 1995, Krauss predicted that 175 indigenous heritage languages were used by heritage speakers in the United States, and of these indigenous languages, 155 were moribund with a rate of 89% (Krauss 1995 as cited in Crawford, 1998, p. 152). In the 1990 United States Census data, only 15% of the Navajo older than five years of age spoke only English (Crawford, 1998) while in 2010, 87% of all Native American communities (including the Navajo)

spoke only English at home (Siebens & Julian, 2011). The figures indicate the alarming rates of the loss of indigenous heritage languages in the United States.

1.1.1.2 Colonial heritage languages of the United States

Much as people of European descent immigrated to the country around the same time as the Africans during the colonization period, the heritage languages of those immigrants received a different treatment than those of the Africans and Native Americans, given their status as the "colonizers," and thus their languages identifiable as "colonial" languages (Fishman, 2001). Among the first-introduced colonial languages were English, Spanish and French (Wiley & Lee, 2009), as well as German, Russian, Dutch and Swedish (Wiley, 1998).

Many immigrant communities lose their heritage languages in favor of the dominant language of the society within three generations (Wiley & Valdés, 2000), and if they do not lose their heritage language, they are prone to being "English preferent" (Valdés, 2014, p. 28). European colonial languages resisted language shift variably, and eventually they were replaced by the dominant language English. According to Van Deusen-Scholl (2003), "[t]he German language in the United States ... displayed a remarkable ethnolinguistic vitality from the early colonial period through the early 20th century with the language being reinvigorated by new waves of immigrants in the 19th century" (p. 214). In fact, with the German communities having arrived in North America even prior to the foundation of modern Germany, German language instruction and bilingual teaching programs in German had gotten commonplace in the United States by the 19th and 20th centuries (Luebke, 1980; Toth, 1990; Wiley, 1998; Wiley & Lee, 2009). According to Wiley and Lee (2009), German language schools during the colonial period and bilingual

schools in the 19th century were commonly attended by German descending children. Nevertheless, instruction in German was a source of contention in the broader society, and following World War I, German immigrants were stigmatized, which over the years culminated in gradual assimilation of the German language (p. 4). The contention around and stigmatization of German (see Wiley, 1998 for a discussion of Anti-German sentiments in the United States) was part of the commonplace Americanization movement in the general United States, which postdated World War I and was xenophobically motivated, promoting English as the only "patriotic language of authentic Americans" (Ricento, 2005, p. 353. See also McClymer, 1982; Ricento, 1998). Notwithstanding, speakers of German as the home language older than five years of age in the United States, according to United States Census data, leaped from 518,780 in 1940 to 1,460,130 in 1970, an increase of 281.45% (Fishman, 1991, p. 47). It was in the same year, 1970, that speakers of Spanish outnumbered those of German. The figures for German bleakly plummeted to 1,083,637 in 2011 (Ryan, 2013), a 74.21% decrease since 1970.

Like indigenous languages, a number of the heritage languages of European descent in the United States constitute moribund languages (Krauss, 1992). In this sense, categorization of these European heritage languages as moribund denotes the absence of additional immigration waves in contrast to the period of time in the history when they were present (Brown & Bousquette, 2018). For instance, despite the inexistence of continuing migration, Yiddish has been preserved among the Hasidim, as well as Pennsylvania Dutch among some Amish and Mennonite communities. Fishman (2001) asserts that German can be considered as such thanks to their "jealously guarded physical and cultural distance from the American mainstream," and yet the preservation of German is not immune to alterations in time

for him (p. 84). Nevertheless, Dutch, German and Yiddish along with other heritage languages such as, Greek, French and Italian are dramatically plummeting in the broader context of the country (Nagano, 2015).

Another group of heritage languages, e.g. Spanish, on the other hand, continue in cyclical patterns of multilingualism through the reception of new communities of immigrants (Brown & Bousquette, 2018). Therefore, in the case of Spanish, I find it fitting to consider it as a colonial language during the colonization period, and as an immigrant language in the recent decades. Bale (2010) holds that Spanish was introduced to the New World as a colonial language, only to become indigenous to the territories that were to be annexed by the United States in the 19th century, and currently it tops the heritage language list in the country. In this fashion, Spanish shows a shift in its status as a heritage language over the centuries. As Wiley (2005a) asserts, "there is considerable historical variation in the modes of incorporation among [heritage] Spanish-speakers and other language minorities" (p. 596). According to Fishman (2001), immigration is what can profoundly explain the current prevalence of Spanish around the United States as well as in the rural Southwest where the descendants of the recent resident communities arrived hundreds of years ago. Otherwise, he puts forth, Spanish along with the constituents of the trio of "worldwide giants," that is French and German, has been subject to barely any existence of "intergenerational mother tongue language transmission" along with "small language groups" such as Dutch, Swedish, Finnish and Welsh that have already lost contact with their colonial roots (pp. 83-84).

1.1.1.3 Immigrant heritage languages of the United States

The Americanization movement, which suppressed not only the instruction of heritage languages, but also that of foreign languages, was followed by systematic endeavors to develop policies of foreign language teaching in response to national and international crises (Ricento, 1998; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). According to Lantolf and Sunderman (2001), World War II and the Cold War were two international instances that propelled the United States to develop foreign language education policies. Bale (2014) asserts that the post-Gulf War period brought about federal initiatives that underscored advanced proficiency in "critical languages." The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 paved the way for the emergence of heritage language education policy research (Bale, 2010). September 11 also brought about an understanding of "critical need for language competence in *strategic languages*, such as Arabic, Farsi, Pashto and many others" (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 215; emphasis added). As such, heritage language education research had a resource-focused orientation (Ruíz, 1984) in the United States, with heritage languages as resources of national security (Edwards, 2004) and improvement of instruction for language maintenance purposes (Nagano, 2015).

The interest in heritage languages, nevertheless, was not only a consequence of national and international crises. According to Wiley and Bhalla (2017), following the alterations in the immigration policies in 1965 accompanied by changed patterns of migration across the world, increasing number of people began to migrate to the United States from countries, from which migration had once been restricted for a long period of time, including Mexico, Central American and Asian countries. In this fashion, "[r]efugees from Cuba, Southeast Asia, and more recently a wide array of countries," the authors assert, "have added to the current linguistic diversity of the

country [the United States]" (p. 35). The relatively more liberal immigration policies, nevertheless, did not necessarily result in the decline of English-monolingual ideologies and policies, and instead immigrant languages were subjected to a shift into English, the dominant language (Wiley, 1998). Bale (2014) pointed out that between the two world wars, a campaign took place to advocate the teaching and learning of Spanish as a "foreign" language (cf. "heritage" language), and their justification for the need thereof was based upon the economic and political interests in Latin America. In accordance with the English-monolingual discourse of the time, Spanish advocates argued that German instruction was rightfully feared by the Americans and that Spanish instruction was in fact "patriotic" by the means of its support of the political and economic interests of the United States in Latin America (p. 171).

In this regard, what was actually immigrant languages within the context of the United States were once considered "resourceful" languages and treated as such (Ruíz, 1984, 1988, 1990, 2010; Cho, 2000; Wiley & Valdés, 2000). As the so-called foreign language classes were offered, they were taken by learners with non-heritage as well as heritage backgrounds, expectedly. According to Van Deusen-Scholl (2003), the shift in the enrollment patterns also indicated a correlation with "renewed interest by speakers of immigrant languages in studying the languages of their ancestors" (p. 212). It did not take too long for the need to appear to identify heritage learners as a separate entity from foreign language learners (Lynch, 2003). According to Kagan and Dillon (2018), this need to distinguish between the two groups stemmed from the need for abilities to teach both groups of learners in instructional settings, which posed problems for language teachers. Even those heritage learners without literacy skills in the heritage language were observed to

come to the language classroom with comparable oral language competencies, and yet, as their existing knowledge of the language was not based on a classroom or a textbook, their needs were different instruction-wise than those of non-heritage, foreign language learners (p. 486). In other words, a distinctive feature of heritage language learners vis-à-vis foreign language learners is the onset of the learning of the language in the home environment (Kondo-Brown, 2003). Notwithstanding, heritage speakers were also observed to have different, arguably "deviant," competencies in their heritage languages than their first language speaking counterparts do in countries where the language in question is the majority language. Thus, heritage languages came to be situated in relation to their foreign counterparts within the same context by non-heritage speakers and to their native counterparts elsewhere as the dominant language (García, 2005).

In a nutshell, the third way in which heritage languages continue to proliferate in the United States was through immigration in the 20th and 21st centuries, and thus the third category of heritage languages is "immigrant languages" (Fishman, 2001; cf. colonial, e.g. "moribund," languages vis-à-vis the culmination of the colonial period and thereby of the cyclical migration waves from the colonizing mainlands). Immigrant languages, according to Van Deusen-Scholl (2003), "represent speakers from virtually any region in the world" (p. 215). Among these languages are most notably Spanish in the case of the United States, one of the colonial languages of the past, and East Asian languages such as Chinese and Korean, Russian and Arabic, among others (Montrul, 2010a). In any case, Spanish has the biggest share in the field of heritage languages within the country. The field of heritage language studies in the United States has immigrant languages as its "driving impetus for the rapid expansion of the field since the 1990s" (Polinsky,

2018, p. 424) and focuses heavily on Spanish given the fact that it is the language spoken by the most populated immigrant community and a language that is commonly instructed in the United States (Kagan & Dillon, 2008; 2018). In fact, the first heritage language courses offered at secondary and postsecondary levels were in Spanish beginning in the 1960s (Leeman, 2015). According to Valdés (2005), Spanish courses have been profusely participated by heritage learners since the 1970s and the advent of interest in heritage language learners and heritage language instruction took place only in the late 20th century. Following the state efforts to teach the so-called strategic languages, a shift was observed in the 1990s from traditional, that is European languages, toward "critical languages," also identified as "less commonly taught languages" (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 211). Some of the so-called less commonly taught languages were Korean, Chinese, Vietnamese and Tagalog among others. Eventually, these historical developments have resulted in federal support for the teaching of heritage languages, and thus in the study of heritage languages per se (Leeman, 2015).

1.1.2 Heritage languages in Europe

European Center for Modern Languages (2007) provides a categorization of the heritage languages (they employ, however, the term "additional languages" in use in societies vis-à-vis national, official and dominant languages) in the European context: regional or minority languages, non-territorial languages, migrant languages, and sign languages. Given that the present study pertains to an oral-spoken language, the last category will not be dwelt upon in the following discussion. Elsewhere, the third category, "migrant languages," has had the appellation "immigrant minority languages" given (im)migrant communities constitute minorities in host countries

(Jaspaert & Kroon, 1991; Extra & Verhoeven, 1993; Extra & Yağmur, 2004, 2005; Extra, 2009). Rindler Schjerve (2006) refers to immigrant minorities as allochthonous "new minorities" in the face of autochthonous "old minorities," the settlers who have inhabited the European country since long before as language minorities. She maintains that the former group holds a "lesser recognized status" in their host countries (p. 107). "Old minority" languages have also been described as "traditional minority" languages by Marten et al. (2012, p. 5) This sort of delineation is of benefit in order to tell the two minority groups from each other. Nevertheless, for the purposes of the present study, I see fit to reorganize heritage languages in the European context under the general category of "minority languages:" regional minority languages, non-territorial languages, and immigrant minority languages.

1.1.2.1 Regional minority languages

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages defines regional or minority languages with regard to three criteria (Council of Europe, 1992). Namely, for a language of Europe to qualify as such, it must be used by a community of speakers within a given territory in a state, and whose population is proportionately lesser than that of those of the rest of the state. Needless to say, the regional or minority language in question must be different from the official language, or languages for the matter, of the state in question. Finally, a dialect of the official language(s) of the state cannot qualify as a regional or minority language, nor can languages of migrants. The conjunction "or" is seemingly redundant in the nomenclature of "regional *or* minority languages" in that this category denotes a group of linguistic, regional minorities (cf. immigrant minorities). For this reason, I will denote this

categorization as “regional minority languages” without employing the conjunction “or” in the remainder of the present study.

According to Rindler Schjerve (2006), the so-called “old minorities” have been of interest in the field of sociolinguistics since the 1970s. In fact, prior to the European Charter, European institutions worked toward the promotion and protection of regional minority languages, which included *Euromosaic* study in 1984 to obtain information regarding languages in Europe, *Mercator* network in 1987 to research the use and status of regional minority languages and *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* (a former term for regional or minority languages) among others (Commission of the European Communities, 1994).

Regional minority languages are usually the official, or co-official, languages of autonomous zones to which they pertain within larger European states. For instance, a handful of regional minority languages that are listed in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages are official languages in various autonomous communities of the Kingdom of Spain: Aranese in Catalonia, Basque in the Basque Country and in Navarre, Catalan in Catalonia and in the Balearic Islands, Galician in Galicia, and Valencian in Valencia (Council of Europe, n.d.).

Like most regional minority languages, the languages of Spain have gone through “margination and repression” (Corbera Pou, 2004) beginning in the 18th century and through the foundation and solidification of the nation-state on the Iberian Peninsula for the promotion of the Castilian variety only to be made into what is presently known as Spanish. In the country, linguistic diversity was perceived as an obstacle against the unification of the Iberian Peninsula and the repressive acts were motivated by the wish for the disappearance of any language other than Castilian (p. 4). In this regard, they could be compared to indigenous

languages of the United States vis-à-vis English, only less successful in the eradication of languages. Regional minority languages in general have indeed been named “indigenous” languages, yet as Barbour (2002) highlights, the terms “indigenous” and “non-indigenous” are too vague and open to debate. He states that there is basically no answer to the question “How long must a language be spoken in an area to be indigenous?” (p. 21). In any case, the example of Spain is of particular interest given some of the regional minority languages of the country outnumber the average for other minority, and in some cases even majority, languages of Europe (Romallo, 2018). Among the languages of Spain, Catalan presents a sociolinguistically unconventional case for it is embraced and spoken by middle and upper classes too, as a token of Catalan nationalism, thus differing from other regional minority languages of Spain (Mar-Molinero, 2000).

As minority languages, the regional minority languages of Spain are only official in the given autonomous territories and not in the greater country. Aragonese, Asturian and Leonese, on the other hand, are recognized as regional minority languages, but they are not official languages whatsoever. Unique as Spain is in its relatively high numbers of speakers of regional minority languages, it is also peculiar in that except for Andorra where Catalan is the official language, none of these minority languages is a majority language in another state, unlike frequently observed in Eastern and Central Europe (Ramallo, 2018).

Elsewhere, regional or minority languages are recognized as co-official languages in a given greater state. For example, spoken mainly in Friesland, Frisian is the co-official language of the Netherlands (Hilton & Gooskens, 2013). As a national co-official language, Frisian thus can be demanded to be used in the courts in the greater Netherlands (Gorter et al., 2008). Limburgish, on the other hand, is

spoken mainly in the province of Limburg in the Netherlands and in the province of Limburg in Belgium. In both countries, it is recognized as an official regional minority language, but yet to be accepted as a co-official language in both states.

Another notable epitome of regional minority languages is the case of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. Although English is the dominant language, there has been considerable amount of linguistic diversity in both contexts (Barbour, 2002). According to Russell (2007), even prior to 55 BC, when the Romans arrived, Celtic languages were spoken in the British Isles. Celtic languages were in fact spoken throughout Western Europe during the classical period, especially in northern Italy and Spain. Today, Breton is still spoken in Brittany, France. The trajectory of Celtic languages in the British Isles was a retreat toward the west by the 17th century. Cornish and Manx have since gone extinct, both with strong movements of language revitalization as of date. Prior to the 17th century, Cumbric and Pictish languages had gone totally extinct (p. 186).

Accordingly, the regional minority languages in the United Kingdom acknowledged by the European Charter belong to the Celtic language family with the exception of Scots: Cornish, Irish, Manx Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, Ulster-Scots and Welsh (Council of Europe, n.d.). The case of the United Kingdom is eminent as regards regional minority languages in that the rates of speakers of the languages in question in the regions they are spoken are highly limited, despite the majority of the denizens living in minority regions identifying themselves with the regional minority identities.

Ball (2007) defines Welsh as the most vivid among the Celtic languages with the percentage of 20.5% in Wales based on 2001 census data. According to 2011 census data in Scotland, 5 million 295,000 people were living in Scotland (National

Records of Scotland, 2012). In the same year, 62% of the population described themselves to be "Scottish only," while only 1.11% thereof reported being speakers of Scottish Gaelic ("Ethnicity, Identity, Language and Religion", n.d.). Over 28.32% of the population reported being able to speak Scots; nevertheless, Scots is a descendant of the Germanic language family along with English, and it is under debate whether Scots is in a dialect continuum (Maguire, 2012). Judge (2007) defines Scots as a "collateral language of English" (p. 149). For this reason, it would be a better choice to take Scots separately while attempting to show the gravity of the shift from the Celtic languages in the British Isles.

In the context of the British Isles, the Republic of Ireland makes a peculiar case in terms of heritage languages. According to Ó Ceallaigh and Ní Dhonnabháin (2015), the constitution of Ireland designates Irish as the national language of the country and the first official language, before English. Although the Republic of Ireland is not on the list of countries denoted by the European Charter, Irish is an "autochthonous (indigenous) language spoken in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland" (p. 179). The Republic of Ireland does not find a place in the European Charter list for no reason; as discussed above, the Charter requires that for a language to be considered a regional minority language, it must not be the language of the majority ethnic constituent of the greater state. Thus, as an independent entity, the Republic of Ireland employs Irish as the national and primary official language. In fact, the majority population of the country regards Irish as a "symbol of identity" (Nic Eoin, 2011, p. 135). Regarding this symbolization, Edwards (2009) states that "the attachment felt by the [monolingual] English-speaking Irish ... to a culture and an ancestry whose language they no longer possess is a psychologically real one, and demonstrates the continuing power of what is intangible and symbolic" (p. 251).

Nevertheless, much as there are well native speakers of Irish, it is not common presently for people living in Ireland to be monolingual in a Celtic language, namely with no language skills in English (Sutherland, 2000). In fact, Irish is at stake in its native country. According to 2016 Census data from the Republic of Ireland, 82% of the usual residents identify themselves as "White Irish" (Central Statistics Office, 2017b, p. 60). Disproportionately, however, only 39.8% of the population reported ability to speak the Irish language (Central Statistics Office, 2017a). Only 4.2% thereof reported they spoke Irish daily, outside of the education system. Although there has been a relative increase in the number of Irish speakers (not exclusively daily speakers), the rates of daily active speakers have yet to arrive at relatively significant levels (> 5%; Houses of the Oireachtas, 2016).

In a nutshell, indigenous Celtic languages in the British Isles were historically replaced by English gradually as a result of increasing prestige of the English language. According to Judge (2007), the imposition of English at different levels, including education, law and administration was at times "with good intentions (in the name of equality and progress), and sometimes bad (in the name of power and control)" (p. 155). Durkacz (1982) asserts that the reasons for the decline of the Celtic languages were multifaceted: education, commerce and trade, and internal migration patterns among others. For him, the decline of the Celtic languages has been a consistent pattern that began during the medieval times, and "[w]herever the languages clashed [in a Celtic-speaking region], English invariably predominated" (p. 214). Various provisions were arranged for regional minority languages by means of legislations such as the *Welsh Language Act 1967* in Wales and the *Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005* in Scotland (Mcdonagh, 2010). Later arrangements provided "equal status" to regional minorities as well. According to Judge (2007), regional

minority languages were suppressed with pragmatic aims rather than achieving high ideals unlike France, where language has been strictly connected to national identity. For this reason, discussions were made regarding the regional minority languages in the British Isles with relatively more ease, and the provisions did not necessarily create a sense of threat. Nevertheless, what damage had been done was done, and as discussed above, statistics show the stagnation, if not decline, in the rates of speakers of the regional minority languages in the United Kingdom. The case of the Republic of Ireland helps demonstrate the gravity of the situation, for even though it is an essential part of the national identity and the primary official language, Irish remains actively used and spoken in everyday life at solely minimal rates in its native country (Ó Ceallaigh & Ní Dhonnabháin, 2015). Sutherland (2000) holds that "the almost complete extinction of Celtic languages during recent centuries has been due not simply to official action but to the choice or acquiescence of parents in the adoption of English by their children" in contrast to "failures of central government policies to impose a language" such as in the Eastern Bloc where Russian was imposed yet reluctantly learned as a foreign language, and later readily deserted after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, in the Republic of Ireland, the Irish language has failed to become the dominant language despite a "clear central policy" in support of its use (p. 208). This shows us that ethnic or national affiliation might not always be enough in revitalizing efforts.

1.1.2.2 Non-territorial languages

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages define non-territorial languages as languages "used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State's population but which, although

traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof" (Council of Europe, 1992). In their definition, European Center for Modern Languages (2007) describe non-territorial languages as "the languages of travellers and historically displaced groups" (p. 7). Two notable examples of non-territorial languages are Romani and Yiddish.

Romani is "a group of Indo-Aryan varieties" (Beníšek, 2020, p. 13). Despite the commonplace belief that Romani is "an array of different languages," and commonplace reference to Romani in the plural as in "Romani languages," in his seminal work, Pott (1844-1845) showed "the diachronic unity of Romani" (as cited in Matras & Tenser, 2020, p. 1). In this regard, Romani stands as a language on its own, with a wide array of varieties as a *non-territorial* language of historically, if not presently, nomadic peoples. Romani-speaking people live across various countries in Europe (Pasikowska-Schnass, 2018). In Europe, the Romani language has been spoken since the Middle Ages (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019). Also named "Romany," "Romanes," "Romani Chib," and "Roma language," Romani is under protection in 16 countries that have signed the European Charter (Council of Europe, n.d.).

Yiddish has been under official protection in eight states that have signed the European Charter (Council of Europe, n.d.). Originally, Yiddish was a "Jewish variety of Middle High German, influenced by Hebrew and later by Slavonic languages" (Törnquist-Plewa, 2002, p. 205). It was a language originally spoken by Ashkenazi Jews (Gasztold, 2015). Like the Roma people, Yiddish speakers (of whom mostly Jews) were the victims of the Holocaust. Having faced "a near mortal blow" during the Holocaust (Shyovitz, n.d.), Yiddish has been defined as "the most famously 'dying' language" (Krauss, 2007, p. 2). According to Hornsby (2015a), the

Yiddish language historically moved toward the east, i.e. Slavic and Baltic states, in the face of repression as a result of expulsions and massacres of the Jewish people. The Holocaust decimated the number of Yiddish-speaking people; at the same time, Yiddish was suppressed in Israel in favor of Hebrew. In the Soviet Union it was suppressed by the Stalinist regime and in western countries, Yiddish faced attrition in favor of national languages (p. 23). Katz (2008) holds that Western Yiddish varieties went extinct from the 18th century on as a result of assimilation of Western Ashkenazim into German and central European cultures. He defines four varieties of Yiddish, two major dialects among them, in contact with various Eastern European languages such as Polish, Belarusian and Lithuanian (p. 194). According to Carmichael (2002), there is a small minority group of Jews who speak the Yiddish language in all post-Soviet Eastern European and Baltic states, which generally corresponds to less than a percent of the population of the country.

1.1.2.3 Immigrant minority languages

European Center for Modern Languages (2007) acknowledges "migrant languages" as a sort of "additional" (i.e., heritage) languages of Europe. Their definition is one that covers "the languages of more recently established communities [in European contexts]" (p. 7). Hence, these "recently established communities" make up allochthonous new minorities in relation to autochthonous old minorities (Rindler Schjerve, 2006). It is for this reason the European Charter for "Regional" or Minority languages exclusively examines regional minority and non-territorial languages, both the languages of the "old" minorities. In other words, immigrant minority languages are at a more disadvantaged position in terms of recognition, legislation, and provisions (Extra & Gorter, 2005).

Various groups of people arrived in Europe through voluntary and forced migration. Guest workers were one part of the story. From the 1960s onwards, Europe received guest workers who were expected to return to their home countries following a short stay in the host countries (Lambert, 2005). According to Broeder and Extra (1999), this was a pattern of "economic migration," succeeded by "social migration" of the families of guest workers whose stay were not as short as expected. Thereafter "second generation was born in the immigrant countries, while their parents often remained uncertain or ambivalent about whether to stay or return to the country of origin" (p. 1). Subsequent generations followed suit and were born in the host countries. Other groups of migrants came to Europe from the former colonies, such as from Algeria to France, India and Pakistan to the United Kingdom and Surinam to the Netherlands (de Bot & Gorter, 2005). As well as for economic reasons, migration to Europe also took place for political reasons and in a forced manner, i.e. refugees fleeing war. According to Bank (2014), refugees fleeing communist regimes during the Cold War were one part of the forced migration, while refugees fleeing active or civil wars, such as in Syria, were another. Nationals of post-colonial countries were also forced to migrate in the wake of turmoil and civil war in their recently decolonized countries. All in all, whether voluntary or forced, migration has substantially increased over time owing to the developments in technology and transportation as well as globalization. In this way, a plethora of languages were introduced to the linguistic landscape of the European countries.

1.2 Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey

A language belonging to the Indo-European language family, the earliest records of Armenian date back to the fifth century (Martirosyan, 2018). It was in the 19th

century that Modern Armenian was canonized into two branches (p. 46). Thus, being pluricentric language, Modern Armenian has two written standard forms: Eastern Armenian and Western Armenian (Cowe, 2012; Dum-Tragut, 2009). The official language of the Republic of Armenia, Eastern Armenian is also spoken in the former communist bloc countries as well as in Iran and India (Sakayan, 2007; Panossian, 2006). Based on the Istanbul dialect, Western Armenian is predominantly spoken in such contexts as Middle East, the Americas, Europe and Australia. The differences between Eastern and Western Armenian range across phonetics, orthography, vocabulary and grammar (p. 17).

Unlike Eastern Armenian that "has validity as the official language of a nation-state" and the "power to maintain the language adaptive and vital through its institutionalized infrastructure," not being used as an official language, Western Armenian is a "state-less, exilic language facing the threat of assimilation [...] from other languages" in the contexts where it is spoken (Chahinian & Bakalian, 2016, p.47). In other words, as it is used more actively in daily life as a first and official language, Eastern Armenian is at a relatively safer position in terms of vitality in comparison with Western Armenian (Der Matossian & Der Mugrdechian, 2018). The situation of Western Armenian as an inherently heritage language under threat is also reified by the fact that it has been defined as a "definitely endangered" language in the Atlas of the World Languages in Danger by UNESCO (Moseley, 2010).

As mentioned above, Western Armenian is based on the dialect spoken in Istanbul. In effect, Istanbul has remained its status as an important city for the language to this day. Of around 60,000 people of Armenian descent in Turkey, 50,000 live in Istanbul today (World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, 2018). All of the 17 functioning Armenian minority schools ranging from

kindergarten to high school as well as 35 of the 41 functioning Armenian churches are in fact located in Istanbul (Türkiye Ermenileri Patrikliği, n.d.).

Western Armenian stands out amongst the non-majority, heritage languages spoken in Turkey in that it is, thanks to the Lausanne Treaty, one of the few languages that have been granted the right to conduct religious and educational activities in (Yağmur, 2001). In other words, compared with many other heritage languages that are not officially recognized and used in official settings, Western Armenian can be thought to be at a relatively safer position with schools and churches running in that language. Nevertheless, due to competing with dominant languages around the world as well as in Turkey, the existence of settings of this kind might not necessarily indicate fully-fledged security of Western Armenian as a heritage language. In fact, Manoukian (2017) warns that Western Armenian-medium institutions such as school, churches and press available to varying extents around the world obscures the endangered status of the language and leads to false feelings of relief and security (p. 197). The endangered state of Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey can also be attested in numbers. The Armenian population has decreased from two million during the Ottoman Empire to somewhat more than 60 thousand today (World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, 2018). Moreover, in 2015, there were only 2,858 students enrolled in Armenian minority schools in Turkey, making up slightly less than half of 5,796, the capacity that those schools could provide education to (Kaplan, 2015).

1.3 Establishing the terminology

As discussed in the previous section, Western Armenian has a specific situation as a heritage language around the world. Not being used as a first and official language

anywhere, it has an inherently heritage language status unlike its Eastern counterpart. Added to this is the complexity of the description of Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey. Elsewhere, it could be possible to categorize the language under the different heritage language classifications discussed in the first part of the present chapter. For instance, in the United States Western Armenian could well be described as an immigrant heritage language; likewise, in Europe it could be defined as an immigrant minority language. In the context of Turkey, nonetheless, it does not seem to be an easy task to classify Western Armenian as a heritage language. For one thing, it is not an immigrant heritage/minority language as the existence of Armenian population in the territories of what is now the Republic of Turkey dates back to the Byzantine Empire as well as being rooted in Anatolia (Weitenberg, 2002, p. 141). Nor does Armenian qualify as a colonial heritage language by any means.

Being a language spoken by an old minority group (Rindler Schjerve, 2006), Western Armenian definitely makes a minority language. Nevertheless, it is not so easy to classify it under the category of regional minority languages as it is not a language that is used in a specific territory within Turkey. Moreover, Western Armenian does not meet the requirements to be called a non-territorial language either, as it is not a language used by nomadic people or by people who were displaced from elsewhere to the territories of Anatolia. Lastly, although the language exhibits indigenous characteristics, it cannot be easily named as an indigenous heritage language as Western Armenian has lived in Anatolia and Istanbul alike as one of the languages actively used. With all the complexity that pertains to the categorization of Western Armenian as a heritage language in the context of Turkey, I will henceforth use the term “heritage language” as an umbrella term to describe

Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey in the remainder of the present thesis study.

In the previous section, I have discussed pluricentricity of the Armenian language, in other words, there being two written standard forms of the language. Because my interest in the present thesis study is in Western Armenian, for space concerns I will use the term “Armenian” in order to refer to Western Armenian interchangeably in the upcoming sections and chapters, unless otherwise stated. When referring particularly to Eastern Armenian, I will denote it by specificying it as “Eastern Armenian.” There will also be times where I will refer to Armenian as a language in its totality, including the Western and Eastern forms alike.

1.4 Aims and significance of the study

Employing an interview study design with 20 participants who are speakers of Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey, the ways in which the present study aims to contribute to the applied linguistics literature are threefold. Firstly, considering Western Armenian is one of the understudied languages as a heritage language, I aim to contribute to the heritage language studies literature by the present thesis study. As I have discussed above, heritage language studies predominantly focus on the European and United States contexts. By the present study, I aim to contribute to the now established field of heritage language studies by introducing Western Armenian, one of the underrepresented languages in the field that also happens to be one of the significant and ancient languages as well as an intrinsically heritage language all around the world.

Secondly, the present study aims to provide insights into the situation of Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey given that as one of the

languages that are institutionally recognized in Turkey it has a special place in this context and yet it is at the brink of being endangered. In order to gain these insights, the present study looks for language ideologies and gives importance to the perspectives of the speakers of Western Armenian with a postmodernist lens, acknowledging differences amongst speakers of a given language and heeding into the actual, lived experiences and voices of language speakers. By looking deeply into interview data, it aims to reveal what the speakers of an endangered and complex language have to say about their heritage language.

Finally, many studies that focus on heritage languages adopt a structural standpoint by focusing on lexicon (Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan, 2008; Kagan, 2005; Kondo-Brown, 2003) or grammar (Montrul, 2008, 2009, 2010b; Montrul & Bowles, 2009, 2010; Polinsky, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2011), and sociolinguistic aspects of heritage language studies have been less attended to (Kagan, 2012). By allowing room for heritage language speakers' voices, the present study aims to contribute to the field of heritage language studies with a sociolinguistic focus.

With these aims, the present thesis study that employs semi-structured in-depth online interviews with 20 adult speakers of Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey as its data seeks to investigate answers to the following research questions:

> Research Question 1: How do Turkish-born speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language construct their language ideologies with respect to Western Armenian as a heritage language?
>
> Research Question 2: How are these constructions manifested in the interview discourse?

In the venture that I have set out for by means of the present thesis study, I adopt a holistic approach to the lives of the participants as speakers of Armenian as a

heritage language. In other words, unlike studies that specifically focus on a given period of time in the lives of their participants, I aim to gain a holistic insight into their experiences with their heritage language focusing on their experiences in the past, in the present and the envisionings in relation to the future. To put it another way, just like Armenian having a long history in Anatolia, each participant also has a personal story with their heritage language in their micro-worlds too. Likewise, their relationships and experiences with Armenian at present must manifest in different ways, and with their heritage language being on the decrease as discussed in the previous sections, their envisioning of a future for Armenian may differ too. With these in mind, not only did I prepare my interview question guide with a holistic approach to the lives of my participants, but I did also conduct analyses of the data and render the discussion thereof in the same line of thinking.

In the endeavor to achieve these goals, the present thesis study can be said to adopt a postmodern approach to interview methodology (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003; Borer & Fontana, 2012). In other words, trying to illustrate the diversity of experiences and ideologies in the accounts of the participants, the present thesis study distinguishes itself from structuralist, modernist attempts at constructing the speaker of Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey as a single static entity. In so doing, the present thesis study adopts a social interaction view of the interview methodology (Warren, 2012), where the participant and myself as the interviewer-researcher engage in mutual dialog to work toward co-construction of meaning during the interview process. In this process, the role of both parties differ from traditional methods of interviewing. The participant no longer acts as a “vessel of answers” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 12), but rather as a “vessel of topics” that directs the flow of the interview as a social interaction (Warren, 1996, 2012). In the

process of interview as a social interaction, my role as the interviewer-researcher is also different from that in the traditional view of the interview methodology. Rather than a “highly trained instrument” that is “detached from the situation and the respondent” (Borer & Fontana, 2012, p. 47), I assume the role of an “active interviewer” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 1997, 2003) that engages in the active construction of meaning together with the participant, bringing and putting forth my personal background in the matter of discussion during the interviews as a longtime learner of Western Armenian. My personal background in Armenian plays an important role in the whole of the present thesis study, from the stage of design to implementation and write-up, which I will further discuss under the section Reflexivity in Chapter 3 (Methodology).

1.5 Thesis layout

Before moving on to the literature review, I will illustrate the layout of the thesis in this section. The present thesis study comprises eight chapters, of which the first is the present one. In the present chapter (Chapter 1), I set the background of heritage languages around the world as well as Western Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey and the aims and significance of the present thesis study. In Chapter 2, I will discuss relevant literature on language ideologies. In Chapter 3, I will portray the methodology that I adopted for the implementation and analysis of the interviews in the present thesis study. From a chronological standpoint, as I discussed in the fourth section of the present chapter, I will illustrate the findings that have emerged from the interview data in relation to the past, present and future of Armenian as a heritage language in the lives of the participants in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, respectively. Chapter 7 will include a discussion of the findings of the present thesis study. Finally in

Chapter 8, I will examine the limitations of the present study as well as its implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In my introduction chapter, I set the background of Western Armenian as a heritage language around the world and in Turkey. As the present study takes language ideologies as its theoretical basis for the analysis of the data, I open the present chapter with a review of research in language ideologies and move on to research in the field of heritage language studies. In the remainder of the chapter, I will focus on literature on Armenian heritage language ideologies.

2.1 Language ideologies

Rooted in the field of linguistic anthropology, language ideologies as a concept was first defined by Silverstein (1979) as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). Unlike Boas (1911), one of the forerunners of anthropology in the United States, who disregards what he calls "misleading and disturbing factors of secondary explanations," (p. 69), Silverstein calls for the awareness of the speakers of a given language in understanding structural changes that take place in time such as the loss of T-V distinction in English (Kroskrity, 2016, p. 95).

Although there has been plethora of research that deal with language ideologies (Woolard, 1998), "there is no particular unity in this immense body of research, no single literature, and a range of definitions" (Kroskrity, 2006, p. 495). Rumsey (1990), for instance, defines languages ideologies as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (p. 346).

Nevertheless, this definition is not sufficient in describing language ideologies as it neglects their dynamic nature (Kroskrity, 2006).

Rather than being "static" and "uniformly shared," language ideologies allow for an investigation of "variation in ideas, ideals, and communicative practices" (Kroskrity, 2006, p. 496). From this point of view, Irvine's (1989) definition of language ideologies as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests," is one that tends more to the social aspects of language ideologies (p. 255). After all, the beliefs that we hold regarding language "are never neutral," but they instead "provide a window to investigating how individuals and groups make sense of their own language activity, how some languages, language varieties or linguistic forms are more valued than others and how ascribed values may be accepted or resisted" (Lytra, 2016, p. 135).

Kroskrity (2016) defines three key aspects of language ideologies in a condensed version of his previous definitions toward the same goal (Kroskrity, 2000, 2010), informed by language speakers' subjective experiences in given sociocultural settings. Firstly, language ideologies are positional given language speakers' perceptions of that which "is 'true,' 'morally good,' or 'aesthetically pleasing' about language and discourse are grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to their political economic interests" (p. 98). For instance, attitudes toward multilingualism display differences in the language ideologies of defendants of the Americanizing, only-English stance (Schmidt, 2007) and heritage language speakers like Puerto Ricans living in New York City (Urciuoli 1996; Zentella 1997). Both communities discussed in these studies regard their own language as threatened in the face of the other, that is, the heritage and the dominant language respectively.

In her study examining “standard language ideologies” (Milroy & Milroy, 1999), Lippi-Green (1997) shows that ideologies of Standard English as a preferable accent does not depend on its structural features or intrinsic value as an effective way of communication, but rather stems from economic and social mechanisms which are reinforced institutionally where non-standard varieties are instilled as less worthy of respect. In other words, language ideologies do not take place in a vacuum, but are shaped and in interaction with the social settings one may find oneself in. As Kroskrity (2016) puts it, positionality “refutes” the “myth of the sociopolitically disinterested language user or the possibility of unpositioned linguistic knowledge” (p. 98).

Secondly, language ideologies are multiple owing to “the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that can produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership” (Kroskrity, 2016, p. 99). For instance, in her study on the language ideologies of speakers of Nahuatl in Mexico, Hill (1998) found that it was rather older men that were successful in life who vocalized ideologies of nostalgia by drawing on the shift from linguistic practices that signal respect such as honorific marking in Nahuatl in their lifetimes. Female speakers of Nahuatl, on the other hand, are not so keen on turning back to such practices, seeing the improvements they had in their lives during their lifetimes (pp. 78-79). It is possible to see multiplicity of language ideologies as affected by the positionality of male and female speakers of Nahuatl.

In another study, Jaffe (1999a, 1999b) investigates language ideologies surrounding the translation of literature in French into the Corsican language, one of the regional minority languages of France. She demonstrates ideological contestation

between those who embrace translations of this kind as a way to uphold Corsican as an asset in the face of language shift and loss that it has faced, and those who view these translations as reinforcing the Corsican identity as a colonized rather than a unique one. These instances of multiplicity not only render language ideologies as "appropriate for studying cultural contact and social transformation," but also "ideological contact, contention and transformation" rather than "identify and describe a single dominant ideology" (Kroskrity, 2016, p. 100).

In a study of speakers of Gaelic as a native, heritage language and adult learners of the language in Scotland, McEwan-Fujita (2010) shows that conflicting ideologies held by these speakers lead to different affective stances, which hinders interaction between the two groups and thereby comprimising of efforts toward the revitalization of Gaelic as a heritage language. Likewise, in their study on "native" speakers and "new speakers" (Robert, 2009), that is adult learners, of Galician as a heritage language in Spain, O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) argue that the clash of ideologies of these two groups of speakers results in the problematization of ownership, legitimacy and authenticity as regards Galician as a heritage language. What these studies show is that as well as being shaped by the different positionalities in different sociocultural settings, language ideologies in conflict might further contribute to divergent sociocultural structures and practices, as well.

The third aspect of language ideologies is the awareness of speakers. In other words, speakers of a language might exhibit varying levels of awareness of language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2016, p. 101). Language ideologies can be embedded in the actual use of language as well as being explicitly articulated by speakers as per Silverstein' (1979) definition. Kroskrity (1998) suggests that discursive awareness negatively correlates with awareness of language ideologies. In other words,

speakers of Tewa language in Arizona that he conducted his study on reject that they engage in code-switching practices although they in effect do so. Thus, ideologies can be hidden with linguistic practices that are “taken-for-granted” (Kroskrity, 1992, p. 307).

According to Kroskrity (2016), awareness of language ideologies can also show difference in different “ideological sites,” which Silverstein (1998) defines as “institutional sites of social practice as both object and modality of ideological expression” (p. 136). In other words, formal social contexts where language is used ritually might have an effect on the level of awareness of language ideologies. For example, one of the ideological sites where language ideologies are institutionally reproduced is courts, as illustrated by Mertz’s (2007) study on court rooms and law schools in the United States, Richland’s (2008) study on Hopi Tribal Courts and Philips’ (2000) study on Tongan courts. Elsewhere, ritualistic religious ceremonies are portrayed as ideological sites for language ideologies such as Puebloan kivas (Kroskrity, 1998) and other similar, situated realizations of religious speech (Keane, 2004). In Tanzania, the state is shown to have reinforced language ideologies that uphold Swahili and the development of indigenous literary forms as well as exclusion of non-indigenous literature (Blommaert, 1999). Having the total control of the press, the Tanzanian government allowed publications that comply with these ideologies in the media.

In contexts where language revitalization is aimed for, revitalization programs take language ideologies as an integral element in order to raise the awareness of language speakers (Kroskrity, 2016). For instance, Loether (2009) draws on the need for the handling of local language ideologies in the effort to revitalize the Shoshoni language, by eliminating ideologies that relate Shoshoni to

the past, to the feelings of inferiority and to having a Shoshoni roots. Likewise, Gomez de Garcia et al. (2009) found that indigenous heritage language speakers in the Southwestern parts of the United States have developed ideologies where they attach more value to their heritage languagese as well as re-thinking English to be a dead language. All in all, level of awareness in the language ideologies of speakers of a given language may show a great range of difference. More importantly, not only does tending to awareness in language ideologies re-legitimize the long-neglected layperson's takes on language, but it also opens the door for changes in the use of language by means of rationalization in the minds of speakers (Kroskrity, 2016, p. 102).

Language ideologies have been investigated from different aspects in sociolinguistics. For instance, ideologies of racism have been studied as embedded in linguistic practices in different settings. In her study on "Hollywood Injun English," a form of fictional Indian American English found in movies, Meek (2006) shows how fictional realizations and representations of the English spoken by Indian American individuals in ways that are subtly pejorative stereotypically reproduce the Native American identity as the other. In another study on the effect of language ideology on the interactions between Anglophone employers and monolingual Hispanophone employees in a Mexican restaurant in Texas, Barrett (2006) demonstrates how the employers' use of English with elements from Mock Spanish and the ideologization of Spanish as a language of resistance and solidarity results in racial segregation and inequality in the workplace (p. 163). In an extensive study, Hill (2008) shows that even well-intended uses of Mock Spanish reinforce negative stereotypes of Hispanic Americans and contribute to covert racist discourses by means of language ideologies held by speakers of American English. In these cases,

it is possible to see how language ideologies and language use are intertwined with each other. In other words, not only do language ideologies affect the ways in which people use language, but language use itself contributes to the solidification of certain ideologies that surround languages and uses of language as well.

Language ideologies have also been examined from the perspective of media. As it holds an important place in affecting a wide range of audience as well as it has the ability to filter what is to be represented, mass media is a significant site in language ideologies research (Kroskrity, 2016, p. 104). In a study on the Spanish print press, Paffey (2010) shows how the media serves as an ideological site whereby the Spanish Language Academy can instill and reinforce Panhispanic ideologies of "global standard Spanish" in a globalizing world. In her study on Corsican, one of the regional minority heritage languages of France, being introduced into the discursive space of mass media, Jaffe (2007) demonstrates how discourses of language shift from Corsican to French are represented in the media. In the study, she shows how representations of the bilingual heritage community in the media might serve monolingual and plurilingual ideologies concurrently to serve different purposes.

2.2 Heritage language ideologies

Language ideologies have been investigated in heritage language studies as well. They have been examined from different aspects, such as heritage language identity, linguistic practices and language shift, loss and revitalization. In the remainder of the present section, I will discuss studies on heritage language ideologies.

Intrinsically marking the identities of minority members of given communities, heritage language ideologies have been studied with a focus on identity.

In a study on the indigenous Kaska language in a Northern Athabaskan community in Canada, Meek (2007) found that as the authorities liable for the transmission of knowledge to the younger ones, the knowledge elder members of the community was confined to practices traditionally and indispensably held in Kaska. As a result, Kaska turns into the domain of elder members of the community, and this ideological shift in linguistic discontinuity, in other words language shift, across generations. Makihara (2007) shows that purist ideologies of the indigenous Rapa Nui language in Chile constitute an essential part of the re-emerging Rapa Nui identity following the end of the junta regime in the 1990s. Although purist uses of Rapa Nui take place in the face of non-Rapa Nui and Chilean audiences, Spanish-Rapa Nui syncretic speech is dominant in everyday life. In other words, the Rapa Nui language serves as a symbolic unifier and signaller of ethnolinguistic identity toward outsiders (p. 64). Likewise, DiGiacomo (1999) reflects on the contentious language ideological debate on Catalan, one of the regional minority languages of Spain in the autonomous community of Catalonia, and illustrates the ways in which newspapers as well as other media contributed in the dissemination and reproduction of divergent language ideologies regarding Catalonian as inherently emblematic of the Catalonian identity during the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona and in the following years. All these studies show how heritage languages play an important role in the construction of linguistic minority identities in the middle of dominant, non-heritage wider contexts where heritage languages are located.

In addition to research on language ideologies that hold language as central to heritage language identities like the ones discussed above, other studies show language ideologies that embrace linguistically hybrid practices in heritage language contexts. For instance, in an ethnographic study on Puerto Rican Spanish-English

bilingual children in East Harlem, New York, Zentella (1997) shows how various conversational strategies and language choices positively contribute to the construction of the bilingual Nuyorican (Puerto Rican New Yorker) identity. In another fieldwork in a public high school in Silicon Valley, Shankar (2008a, 2008b) demonstrates how linguistically hybrid practices by South Asian American immigrant children shape the construction of divergent Desi identities as a "model minority" and an identity that is "fresh off the boat." From these studies, it is possible to see that heritage languages are not always recruited as an intrinsic marker of identity, but they are also employed in the linguistic repertoires of heritage language speakers along with other languages and linguistic resources in their everyday speech, including the dominant language. In other words, there may be more subtle ways to construct one's identity as a member of a ethnolinguistic minority group. Moreover, heritage languages might not always be fiercely assumed fiercely as pure, intact varieties of speech in order to protect one's own ethnolinguistic identity, but they might be instead integrated into linguistically hybrid practices in different ways.

As heritage languages exist in contexts where they are in contact with dominant languages, studies on heritage language ideologies can also be carried out with a focus on language shift, loss and revitalization. In a study on language shift in Bergamo, Italy, Cavanaugh (2004) discusses how changes in socioeconomic situation are reflected in the discourses of heritage speakers of the Bergamesque (Bergamasco) dialect of the Lombard language. On the one hand, the heritage dialect is associated with poverty in the past in contrast to abundance in the present day, and on the other it is longed for in a similar discourse of nostalgia. These discourses, moreover, "reduce the linguistic and socioeconomic complexities of the past and present, and are perhaps better described as refractions rather than reflections of

reality" (p.36). In another study on language shift from the heritage Javanese to the dominant Indonesian language in Indonesia, Smith-Hefner (2009) illustrates how changes in the opportunities in educational, professional and social domains lead to changes in traditional Javanese language ideologies and concomitantly result in language shift into Indonesian, the dominant language. Moreover, she shows discrepancies between the ideologies and uses of language across genders as new opportunities for social mobility are projected in different fashions for men and women. In her ethnographic study on indigenous heritage Nahuatl/Mexicano-speaking communities in Mexico, Messing (2007) shows language ideologies in competition with each other in the community. She analyzes the discourses in which these ideologies are circulated in three levels: *salir adelante* which aims for development and upward social mobilization, *menosprecio* that implies belittling of indigenous identities and *pro-indígena* that upholds indigenous identities. Instead of being strictly distinct from each other, these three ideologies are shown to be converged in the recounts of a single participant. All in all, these studies show that language ideologies that surround language shift are multiple and situated within social contexts and across time. Moreover, in regards with language shift and loss, heritage language speakers themselves might hold different ideologies that are in conflict with each other concurrently given different situations and positions they might find themselves in their life trajectories.

In her ethnography in an Apache reservation in Arizona, Nevins (2004) illustrates that Apache language education programs are perceived as a contributing factor in language shift from the indigenous heritage language. For some, school outdoes family where learning of the heritage language is to occur, and for others, non-Apache components of instructional institutions do not only hold non-Apache,

White language ideologies but they also bring about the teaching of linguistic elements that do not comply with the uses of language by native speakers in daily life. Thus, it is possible to see that language revitalization efforts are not always taken for granted by speakers of endangered languages, but instead they can be contested given the existence of different realities and points of view.

In her paper on "language ideological debates" (Blommaert, 1999) in the public and political discourses, Connor (2019) illustrates that the practice of bilingual signage in France, in French above and in the regional minority language Occitan below, which was subsequently banned in a given town, was met with different responses. On the one hand, translation of city signs into the regional minority language undermines the authenticity of the heritage language as speakers of Occitan had been always living in the districts where bilingual signage began to be practiced and "baptismal moments" make the language into an "emblematic display" (p. 259). Meanwhile, Connor argues that regional minority languages have come to be emblems of the French nation in general. In other words, it is not the speakers of the regional minority language Occitan itself, but many others from other parts of France who are not necessarily the speakers of other heritage languages that support the installment of bilingual signage as regional minority languages have become a part of the unity of the French nationality. By drawing on discourses of "authenticity" in the heritage language speaking community and "universal ownership" in the wider society in France (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Hill, 2002; Gal, 2006), she shows how language revitalization efforts can be perceived differently by different groups in ways that subvert expected language ideologies.

In line with the discussion and studies mentioned above, the present thesis study regards language ideologies as positional and multiple, embedded in social

practice and interaction as well as linguistic. Taking into consideration the role awareness has on language ideologies, the present study seeks to "make the implicit explicit" (Philips, 1998, p. 222). In so doing, by means of interviews amongst other methods listed by Kroskrity (2016) such as participant observation and person-centered ethnography, the attempt will be at gaining insights into the language ideologies that the participants hold thanks to questions that explicitly interrogate the values and feelings that relate to them as well as those that do not directly call on such concepts, but tacitly reveal their ideologies (Gal, 1989). Thus, the present study sets out with the assumption that language ideologies will be embedded in the accounts of the participants relating to their experiences with their heritage language throughout their lives much as they do in their explicit statements. Moreover, the present study sticks with the term "language ideologies" because although scholarship has called the concept of "language ideologies" in different terminology such as "linguistic ideology" and "ideology of language," these do not indicate "major differences in conception" (Irvine, 2012, para. 1). Having discussed some of the previous research on heritage language ideologies, I will move on to studies on language ideologies of Armenian as a heritage language in the next section.

2.3 Armenian heritage language ideologies

To my knowledge, there has not been conducted much research on language ideologies pertaining to Armenian as a heritage language. In the present section, I will discuss some of the previous studies in the field that I have been able to access. Although most of them are on Western Armenian, there will be one study that was conducted on Eastern Armenian as a heritage language. Moreover, not all the studies that I will discuss in this section were specifically carried out with a focus on

language ideologies, but they include them in their discussions within a more general framework. With that given, in my review below, I will include studies that tangentially include language ideologies in their discussions. Moreover, not all of the studies refer to Armenian as a heritage language as they are rather rooted in sociological frameworks; nevertheless, I have preferred them to include in my study as the contexts in which those studies were conducted definitely seem to be ones where Armenian exists as a heritage language.

In a study on language shift within the Armenian community in Jordan, Al-Khatib (2001) shows that although his participants attribute to the use of Armenian as a marker of heritage identity, as well as to Arabic as a communicative tool in the wider society, the results indicate declining rates of regular use of the Armenian language in the lives of the participants. Despite the perceived usefulness of Arabic in daily life and from socioeconomic aspects, Al-Khatib claims, drawing on Gardner and Lambert (1972), that the value that his participants attribute to Arabic is more instrumental than integrative in that the participants express their belief that Armenian is a "better" language than Arabic. Moreover, in his analysis of the names of the 110 participants in his study, Al-Khatib (2001) found that only 22 of them have Arabic or "neutral" names while more than 80 percent have Armenian names, which he holds supports the integrative position of Armenian in the face of the Arabic language that is approached more instrumentally (p.165). It can be said that the integrative value attached to the heritage language is outdone by the instrumental value attached to the dominant language. In other words, ideologies that speakers hold in relation to a given language might not always match the linguistic practices they engage in due to a variety of reasons, such as socioeconomic factors and

usefulness of other languages in comparison with the heritage language as discussed above.

Likewise, Al-Nahar (2009) found that Jordan born Armenians hold positive attitudes toward their heritage language and deem Armenian as an integral part of their heritage identity of which preservation they aim at. As such, it is evident in the recounts of the participants of the study that families, Armenian schools, social events organized and participated by Armenian members of the community as well as Armenian media are important sites in the maintenance of Armenian as a heritage language in Jordan.

In a comprehensive study on the construction of the Armenian identity in immigrant Armenian communities in the United States, Bakalian (1993) distinguishes traditional Armenianness, of first-generation immigrants, and symbolic Armenianness, of second-generation immigrants, as two separate forms of identity amongst Armenian-American commnities. She holds that the language ideologies surrounding Armenian as a heritage language are distinctive in the differences between the two identities. While the former group regard proficiency in the heritage language as pivotal to the Armenian identity and thus advocate full immersion in the language by such means as all-day Armenian schools, the latter group take ethnic identity as an individual, voluntary choice. In other words, although they also have high esteem of their Armenian identity, holders of symbolic Armenian identity are proponents of less extensive means of ethnolinguistic transmission such as extracurricular programs, activities and Sunday schools instead of fully-fledged Armenian language dayschools for the sake of integration into the wider society of the United States (pp. 395-396).

Investigating Armenian heritage language ideologies, Cunningham (2005) conducted interviews with 10 speakers of Western and Eastern Armenian alike that reside in Chicago and Dallas, United States. He concludes that although the positive attitudes that Eastern Armenian speaking participants hold for both varieties of the language are not always reciprocated by the speakers of Western Armenian, all the participants hold similar language ideologies that pertain to the Armenian language as a general category. For instance, as illustrated in the data, linguistic purism appears to constitute the core of Armenian heritage language ideologies. Moreover, the participants hold ideologies of Armenian as an inherently difficult language. In addition to the structural properties in such domains of language as phonology, grammar and lexicon, Cunningham connects this attitude to Armenian's "lack of global popularity" (p. 35). In other words, unlike English which is widely studied by non-native speakers as a global language, Armenian has a limited scope of use around the world, and the fact that it is not as widely studied, as a foreign language contributes, he concludes, to the ideology of inherent difficulty in the minds of his participants.

With a view to investigating Eastern Armenian heritage language ideologies, Karapetian (2014) conducted interviews with residents of Los Angeles who were speakers of Eastern Armenian as a heritage language. The results indicate existence of language ideologies that are divergent and in competence with each other. On the one hand, the participants regard their heritage language as an inseparable part of their identity. On the other hand, they concurrently hold language ideologies that deem Armenian not as favorable, comparing it with such languages as English and Spanish that are purportedly more useful in the wider American society. Added to these divergent ideologies, Karapetian argues that the perceived lack of proficiency

in the heritage language while they regard proficiency in Armenian as the ultimate characteristic of an Armenian identity results in “a state of cognitive dissonance among speakers in their attempt to reconcile the competing attitudes and ideologies” (p. 226).

In a case study of families who are speakers of Eastern Armenian as an immigrant heritage language in Kazakhstan, Turgaleyeva (2017) found that Armenian has an integral role in the construction of ethnic identity in the families. Nevertheless, in the multilingual context of the country, parents deem higher priority to the three languages circulated in the wider community. That is to say, they attribute the utmost importance to Kazakh as the official language, which also happens to begin to be revitalized after the fall of the communist regime, to Russian as a resourceful language by which economic and professional gains can be made and to English as the contemporary lingua franca around the world. Armenian means to them, on the other hand, a language to which they feel connected emotionally, and they do not attribute the qualities that they do to the other languages mentioned above. Hence, they make do with the oral transmission of their heritage language to their children. In other words, ideologies that surround the three dominant languages override those that pertain to their heritage language, which is projected in the family language policies.

Filian (2018) illustrates that Western Armenian makes an integral part of the Armenian identity as their heritage language for Lebanese-born Armenian adolescents while on the other hand most of them also express a sense of belonging to the Lebanese identity. Moreover, he found that the participants of his study who reside in a predominantly Armenian-inhabited district and in districts which are not predominantly inhabited by Armenian citizens in Lebanon differ in their attitudes

toward schools run in Armenian. Filian explains the rather negative attitudes of the latter group in comparison with the former by opportunity of geographical access to Armenian schools. Despite their negative attitudes and the fact that they express their intention not to send their future offsprings to Armenian schools, these participants nevertheless identify themselves with Western Armenian and believe in the importance of transmission of their language to the coming generations. In addition to ideologies around Armenian schools, the researcher illustrates that the difference in the Armenian population in the districts where the participants reside do not translate into the ideologies of Western Armenian as central to the Armenian identity. Although the participants who live in not predominantly-Armenian areas regard Arabic, the dominant language, as more functional and thus deem abilities in Arabic to be more significant, Filian (2018) found that "emotional attachment to W[estern] A[rmenian] persists amongst the two groups of participants" (p. 382).

Similar studies were conducted in the Turkish context, as well. For instance, Baykal (2011) investigated the construction of the Armenian identity in one of the districts of Istanbul which has a considerable Armenian population. The results of her study indicate that her respondents associate their heritage language with the Armenian identity closely. She illustrates that her participants deem a high level of importance to Armenian minority schools in the maintenance of the Armenian language. Nevertheless, not all of participants have high levels of self-acclaimed proficiency in their heritage language, nor do all of them share the belief that sending children to Armenian minority school is necessary due to the lack of resources learning the Armenian language brings with it compared with other dominant languages such as Turkish, English and other foreign languages.

Like Baykal (2011), Barış (2017) studied Armenian Armenian minority schools and the construction of ethnic identity amongst students of Armenian descent in Turkey. Barış (2017) reiterates the case that the Armenian language is an integral part of the identity of many members of the Armenian minority community. She reveals that Armenian minority schools are significant sites of language maintenance and transmission for them. Much as many families prefer to send their children to Armenian minority schools for the maintenance of their heritage language, the results also show that many others prefer not to do so because the language is not as useful in the high school and university placement exams which are held in the dominant language, added to the fact that students prefer to avoid the perceived difficulty of their heritage language. In return, Barış argues that Armenian minority schools opt to change their instruction policies by tending to accommodate to learners' and their parents' needs.

From the studies that I have discussed above, it is possible to see some parallelities as regards language ideologies that are held by heritage speakers of Armenian in different contexts. For one thing, Armenian seems to be an intrinsic part of their identities. More importantly, linguistic practices and ideologies that are sometimes in conflict with each other are evident in the research that has been discussed above. Just like much of the (heritage) language ideologies research that has been discussed in the previous sections, Armenian heritage language ideologies are multiple and situated within different social contexts. Language ideologies of speakers of Armenian as a heritage language not only compete across different groups of speakers of the language but also within the individual themselves at times as well.

The studies that I have discussed above also indicate that language ideologies of Armenian as a heritage language have been studied in a limited range of contexts around the world. In addition, it can be seen from those studies that heritage language ideologies are mostly tangentially covered while the studies are focused on other aspects around ethnicity and identity. The fact that there has been a relative paucity of research published in mainstream academic media such as books and journals indicates that topics revolving around Armenian heritage language ideologies have yet to be made into the mainstream, alongside academic endeavors such as dissertations discussed above. Moreover, the two studies discussed above that were conducted in the context of Turkey were both conducted as studies in the field of sociology. This necessitates the introduction of (Western) Armenian as a heritage language into the sociolinguistics and heritage language studies in Turkey with a linguistic focus on the topic. Thus, the present thesis study is distinctive from the previous ones in that it aligns itself with a sociolinguistic mindset.

Naturally, given all the discussions around sociolinguistic issues as well as language ideologies, the linguistic is inherently tied to the social; nevertheless, rather than touching upon the linguistic within a broader sociological framework, the present thesis study will take as its basis the linguistic, and thereby relating to the social and otherwise pertinent phenomena that emerge from the data that it aims to analyze. In so doing, with the awareness of many different definitions and implementations of language ideologies, the present study focuses on ideologies that surround language instead of political ideologies. In other words, with a Bakhtinian standpoint, ideology will not be taken as “a consciously held political belief system” but instead as “the way in which members of a given social group view the world” (Morris, 1994, p. 249). In this manner, the “system of ideas,” will be the main point

of the present study, that is to say “ideological becoming” in Bakhtinian terms, defined by Freedman and Ball (2004) as “how we develop our way of viewing the world” with a focus on language (p. 5).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will discuss the methodology that I have employed in the present thesis study. The chapter will begin with a discussion of the way I accessed the participants of the study. Next, the participants will be introduced and information regarding the interviews will be provided. Thereafter I will describe the procedures I followed in the preparation of the interview questions as well as during the interview sessions. In the remainder of the chapter, I will provide the details regarding the transcription and analysis of the interview data as well as discussions of ethical considerations and reflexivity.

3.1 Gaining access

At the beginning of Chapter 1, I discussed how my linguistic interest in Armenian turned into an academic one over the years as a long-time learner of the language. Due to this unrelenting interest, I decided to conduct an interview study on Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey. With the outbreak of the pandemic in early March 2020, it became inevitable for my thesis study to be shaped as a one-time interview study design, and moreover in the form of synchronous internet interviews.

Much as I had a number of acquaintances who I knew could speak Armenian as a heritage language, I did not know a sufficient number of people who could be willing to participate in the interviews. Given the research questions I wished to pursue in the study, I employed a purposive approach to sampling (Tye-Williams, 2017, p. 1525), aiming to reach individuals who were Turkish-born speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language. With that in mind, I contacted potential

participants to my study either directly by reaching them myself or by proxy, with the help of two of my high school teachers who, ineligible though they may be to participate in the study, I thought could use their network to help me find a satisfying number of participants. The rest of the participants were employed by snowball sampling technique (Roulston, 2010, p. 82). In other words, having taken part in the interviews, the participants invited their acquaintances who were eligible to take part in the study as heritage speakers of Western Armenian and who they thought could be interested in participating in the study. The recruitment of snowball sampling technique was particularly fitting "for learning more about an underrepresented population," considering I had limited access to the community I wanted to research as an outsider (Tenzek, 2017, p. 1615). That is to say, it was only possible for me to reach the sufficient number of participants by using the network of myself and of the participants.

Needless to say, my personal relationship with the participants that I directly contacted in the first place to invite to my study played a significant role in gaining access to them as participants in my study. The fact that I was interested in learning and following an academic pursuit in their heritage language did not only help me build rapport with them, but it also helped for the snowball sampling method to work smoothly in reaching out their networks. This was also true for the two high school teachers that I described above, who were familiar with my interest in the language of study and were able to introduce a good number of participants to the present study. All in all, the participants were either directly or later gotten informed of my language skills in Western Armenian, and this not only helped me get access to the participants, but also be on the same page with them as an "outsider" enthusiast of

their heritage language, who has paid a good amount of effort in improving his skills in their language and endeavored to follow academic pursuits in that very language.

3.2 Participants

Twenty participants participated in the present study. The participants were all Turkish-born speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language. In this section, I will first describe the ways in which I accessed the participants. Next, I will provide personal information of the participants relevant to the study in order to introduce the participants of the study.

As I have discussed in the previous section, I recruited snowball sampling in the selection of the participants. I contacted five of the participants directly. Eight of the participants volunteered to participate in the study with the invitation of two teachers that taught at one of the high schools I attended in the past (I happen to have changed high schools in 12th grade). I contacted the remaining seven participants thanks to the eight participants that I had directly contacted and conducted interviews with. A summary of the ways I reached each participant is provided in Appendix A. In the table in Appendix A, the participants appear in chronological order the interviews took place. All names identifying the participants hereinafter, including those within the tables, are pseudonyms, with the actual names of the participants concealed for ethical concerns.

The participants that I previously knew and directly contacted in order to invite to participate in the interviews were Participants 2, 3, 5, 9 and 18. Participant 2 was a classmate of mine in one of the classes I took in the master's degree program I am enrolled in. Participant 3 was a teacher of mine in one of the preparation courses I went to for the higher education placement test in my high school years. I met

Participants 5 and 18 during the time I had already begun to conduct the interviews; they were my classmates in an online Western Armenian language course at the time of the study, and they kindly agreed to participate in the interviews as speakers of Armenian as a heritage language. I had met Participant 9 thanks to a common friend some years ago. Participant 18 happened to be a friend of Participant 9, of which I got informed before conducting the interview with Participant 18.

I was introduced to the rest of the participants either by the participants that I introduced in the previous paragraph or by the courtesy of the two teachers at one of the high schools that I attended, who, being neither speakers of Armenian nor of Armenian descent, nevertheless reached out to former students they taught Turkish-medium courses in Armenian minority schools in Istanbul, who they thought could be interested in participating in my study.

Although I conducted the interview with Participant 2 afterwards, I was introduced to Participant 1 by Participant 2, his spouse. Participants 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14 and 19 all agreed to participate in the study upon the invitation of either one of the two high school teachers I mentioned above. It was Participant 3 who introduced me to Participant 12, and Participant 12 reached out to Participants 13, 15 and 16. I met Participant 17 in an online event on the International Mother Language Day; she was the cousin of Participant 1, and Participant 2 introduced me to her. Having been informed of my study, she volunteered to be interviewed. The last participant of the study, Participant 20, was an acquaintance of Participant 17, who brought the two of us into contact.

Of the 20 participants, 14 were female and six male. The age of the participants ranged from 24 to 53. At the time of the study, 11 of the participants reported working at educational institutions, eight of whom at Armenian minority

schools. Of those working at Armenian schools, two were teachers of Armenian, and the rest were teachers of various subjects. The remaining three participants who worked at educational institutions reported teaching various subjects at Turkish schools, including one who was a faculty member in an engineering department at a university. Two of the participants were enrolled in a degree program at the higher education level at the time of the study while concurrently working a full-time job, whereas another participant was a full-time master's degree student. One of the participants had gotten retired prior to the time of the study, whereas five participants worked full-time or freelance jobs in different fields at the time of the study. The demographic statistics of the participants are rendered in Appendix B.

The linguistic repertoires of the participants showed variation. Being of Armenian descent, all the participants were speakers of Armenian as a heritage language. Fourteen of the participants reported having been raised in homes where Turkish was predominantly spoken, of whom five explicitly identified Turkish as the only language spoken in their home environments during childhood. Four participants stated Armenian was predominantly spoken in their homes during their childhood years. Two participants reported Armenian and Turkish to have been used at similar rates during their childhood. About half of the participants, namely 11 of them, stated that they had acquired the dominant language prior to their heritage language. Six participants, on the other hand, reported Armenian as the language they had acquired prior to Turkish. The remaining three participants acquired the two languages simultaneously. Information regarding the order of acquisition of the two languages was based on the verbal statements of the participants, and was either explicitly stated or implied in the accounts of the participants. The linguistic repertoires of the participants are portrayed in Appendix C. Under the column “Order

of Acquisition" in Appendix C, question marks (?) indicate lack of clear evidence of order of acquisition in the remarks of the participants, and that I made predictions relying on the home languages that the participants stated to have been used in their homes during childhood.

As can be seen in Appendix C, all the participants reported having studied at least a different language than Armenian and Turkish, including English, French, German, Italian, Korean, Persian, Russian and Spanish. English was the prevalent foreign language among the participants. The participants had studied the given languages for various reasons such as personal interest, education and business, and they had varying levels of proficiency. Although these languages reported to have been studied do not have a significant effect in the analysis of the interviews, it is important to acknowledge multilingualism to be prevalent among the participants.

3.3 Interviews

In this section, I will first discuss the preparation of the interview questions. Next, I will describe the online interview procedures, which will be followed by transcription, analysis and interpretation of the interview data. The discussion will continue with ethics and reflexivity.

3.3.1 Interview questions

As I planned the interviews to be semi-structured, I prepared a set of questions that I would follow during the interviews. According to Sahlstein Parcell and Rafferty (2017), interview questions should be prepared in line with the questions that a researcher tries to find answers to and the hypotheses that they might have in mind (p. 801). Along this line of thinking, I grouped my questions into five categories

(Appendix D). In the first part, I aimed to get the participants to talk about their demographic backgrounds. This would serve not only as a tool to obtain information that might have an effect on what they would say in the remainder of the interviews, but also as icebreakers (Johnson & Rowlands, 2012, p. 106).

I designed the rest of the interview in the "inverted funnel format," which, according to Sahlstein Parcell and Rafferty (2017), serves well with members of such groups as underrepresented communities who might be reluctant to talk during an interview. They define the inverted funnel interview as one that begins with closed-ended questions and that later employs more open-ended questions (p. 801). Of course I would not claim any of my questions were or ought to be close-ended as one of the primary goals of the study is inquire into the lived experiences and personal stances of my participants. Notwithstanding, I managed to create the inverted funnel format that I intended to follow by preparing sets of questions that move from personal, lived experiences to the personal opinions of the participants. In this manner, I aimed to prevent any blockage that might arise in the participants by not asking abstract or hypothetical questions such as "What does Armenian mean to you?" or "Where do you think Armenian will be in the future?" just in the beginning. In addition, I gave enough room for the participants to recall and relate to their personal experiences, which would be of help for them to be prepared for the succeeding abstract and hypothetical questions.

Adopting an "active" approach to the interviews (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; see the section on Reflexivity in this chapter), I designed the interview questions not as a strict script, but as an "interview guide" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 136). In other words, I pledged to amend the questions as needed during the interviews, including but not limited to omitting, extending, probing, and posing follow-up questions as per the

flexibility required for a semi-structured interview (Kvale, 2007). This not only allowed me to include Yes/No questions into the question list, but it also helped me to design the interview questions appropriate for the typical participant profile I foresaw that would take part in my study. That is to say, given they were to be speakers of Armenian as a heritage language, I presumed most of the possible participants would have received formal education in an Armenian-medium minority school for at least some part of their lives, and designed the questions accordingly. In case one of the participants, like Tamar, would not follow suit, I would be able to play with the questions taking into consideration their education and heritage language acquisition status as an active interviewer.

3.3.2 Online interview procedures

For the present study, I conducted interviews with 20 speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language in a period exceeding a month. The interviews took place from January 24th through March 5th in 2021. Considering the restrictions and health concerns as per the global pandemic at its peak at the time, I had no choice but to resort to online interviews as did many other qualitative researchers (Roberts et al., 2021; Tremblay et al., 2021). As I intended to get my interviews as close to face-to-face interviews as possible (Hanna, 2012), I opted to conduct them on real-time video chat platforms, adopting the synchronous interview format (James & Busher, 2012).

Having contacted the participants and obtained their informed consent forms via email, I set private invitation links on Skype or Zoom based on their stated preferences on the informed consent forms they had emailed me. When I met a participant on either platform, I spared the pre-recorded conversation to “establish

credibility" as a researcher as well as an outsider of the native community of the participants (Salmons, 2015, p. 206). That is to say, I started conversations by identifying myself and immediately stating that the chat was not being recorded at that moment. I found that useful in two ways. First, it helped me comfort the participants in terms of ethical risks an online research study might entail (James & Busher, 2012) by not beginning to record without informing them. Second, that the more formal interview exchange did not start immediately, and that the participants could converse with me without being recorded before the interview allowed for a more "conversational style" to emerge (Rapley, 2012, p. 550).

Leaving aside the participants that I knew personally with whom I engaged in chit chat and personal conversation, I expressed the aims and scope of my thesis study as well as the interview procedures in the introductory conversation stage to those participants whom I did not know personally. I explicitly asked for any questions or concerns that the participants might have. Most of the participants posed questions as to my proficiency and relationship with the Armenian language as well as how I got into the study that I was conducting. Reciprocating in response to the disclosure of the participants by responding to the personal questions they posed to me, I could establish rapport and trust during the interviews (Mann & Stewart, 2000).

Following the introductory conversations, the interviews officially began only when the participants allowed me to start audio-recording. As they had been informed verbally and in the informed consent forms, they reserved the right to turn their cameras on and off during the interview, yet I kept my camera on at all times as I pledged to do while designing the study, in order to be open and transparent as the researcher. I had designated different protocols of audio-recording for Skype and Zoom and based on the statements of the participants in the consent forms as to

whether they would keep their cameras on or off. However, I found one of the options the most handy and ended up using it, that is, using the OBS Studio software (version 26.0.2). The software allowed me to solely audio-record, unlike Zoom which kept an audio- and video-recording simultaneously, the latter of which I would have to dispose immediately and for good for ethical concerns. With Skype, on the other hand, I had already decided I would use OBS Studio in any case, for Skype does not allow audio-recording without including video in the recording file.

During the interviews, I was always in the same spot in my home. I observed those participants whose cameras were open to be indoors during the interviews, although I cannot guess whether they were in their homes or in other places. On one side of the screen I had the video chat, and on the other side there was the interview guide. As I was listening to the participants' responses, I could check and make necessary amendments on the questions included in my interview guide. Nevertheless, after a couple of interviews, I got used to the script and ordering of the questions and felt a lesser need to check the questions constantly. Although this helped me behave more naturally and engage in a conversational style, it was not necessarily helpful in maintaining eye contact given the context in which the interviews took place. It was barely possible to achieve "mutual gaze" with the participants (Grayson & Monk, 2003, p. 223). When I looked in the camera lens on my personal computer the participants would see me looking at themselves, and yet looking in the lens, I would not be looking at their faces on the screen of my personal computer.

Assuming the role of an active interviewer and actively engaging in the conversations were the ways in which I was able to compensate the lack of mutual gaze with my participants. My engagement in the conversations could be noted by

the expressions I uttered while listening, such as “hmm” and “yeah.” More to active interviewing was, of course, in the manner the conversations proceeded during the interviews, where I posed lots of follow-up questions asking for clarification, expansion, details and so forth, as well as switching between unforeseen topics naturally, that is, without depending on a written script.

Having engaged in a journey from the personal histories through the present days of the participants, I concluded the interviews by thanking the participants for their time and interest in my study and asking them for anything that they might add or ask. This served not only as a “cooldown” following loaded conversations related to their personal lives, but also as a “transition from the interactive event of the interview back to everyday life” (Salmons, 2015, p. 211). Most of the participants thanked me for my interest in their heritage language and for conducting a study of this kind while others also had more questions as to the details of the study.

On average, the interviews took an hour and 33 minutes. The total length of the interviews was 31 hours and 18 minutes, with the shortest lasting 41 minutes and the longest exceeding four hours, which happens to have been conducted on two different days. Except two of them, Tamar and Ara, who chose Skype, all the participants preferred to participate in the interviews via Zoom. Of the 20 participants, four kept their cameras off during the interviews. In the informed consent form that she submitted, Tamar had selected the option that stated she would not turn the camera on during the interview, and yet she did keep it on. This did not cause ethical concerns as I only used OBS studio software for audio-recording, which excluded videos altogether as I have explained above. Statistics of the interviews that I conducted for the present study are rendered in Appendix E.

3.3.3 Transcription of the interview data

Following the termination of the interviews, I set out to listen to each and every interview while simultaneously transcribing all the talk verbatim. In the initial stage, I completed only rough transcriptions, leaving out all details but speech and pauses. As I intended to transcribe roughly as quickly as possible with the audio files slowed down to 60 percent, I did not include the length of pauses either lest it would slow down the rough transcription process. In rough transcribing, my aim was to obtain the spoken data in the written form as well so that I would be able to capture the things I might seek out in the data with ease. With this in mind, I placed time markers on as many spots as possible so that I could find my way through the audio and transcription files easily as needed. I chose to transcribe all the data by hand myself rather than hire a transcriber as I wanted to ensure the privacy of the participants and the interview data. I also did not want to use a transcription software as that would risk the privacy of the participants and the interviews, too. Even if I had opted for one, the software would not yield the best transcription in Turkish with lots of background noise and words incomprehensible to a robot. That would require me double the work, needing to go over the transcriptions, listening to unclear parts and editing, so the most ethical approach was also the most timesaving one for me. By incorporating oral, i.e. listening to the interviews, with visual, i.e. transcribing the interviews, I was able to get a better grasp of the data, as well.

3.3.4 Analysis, interpretation and representation of the data

Having finished transcribing the last interview, I began to go over all the transcriptions in order to get a general understanding of the form and content of the interviews. It did not take long for me to realize the flow of topics common to most

of the interviews. In other words, each interview followed a similar ordering of topics thanks to the interview question guide that I employed during the interviews. Given that, I coded all the interview transcripts using holistic coding, one of the First Cycle coding methods described by Saldaña (2016).

In holistic coding, I basically delineated the boundaries of the given topics in discourse that were covered during the interviews. The introduction and end of most topics were tacit in the wording of my questions. When I intended to close a previous topic and introduce a new one, I naturally uttered fillers and phrases such as “mhm, I see” and “how about...?” respectively. I used fillers and phrases of this kind when I intended to continue on a given topic, as well; however, the way I used them differed in that they were reinforcements and tokens of acknowledgment as well as questions that ask for elaboration on the statements of the participants. For instance, at one point during our interview, Maral explained to me that she does not feel comfortable while talking around other speakers of her heritage language, to which I responded by “mhm,” followed by my question asking for elaboration as to where this feeling of hers persists in regular speech as in speech about private things.

As Miles et al. (2014) suggest, the length of the coded units in the data varied between a single turn of question and answer to a couple of pages. The reason for this was threefold. First, the more questions there were on the interview question guide on a given topic, the longer the coded unit (a topic) tended to be. Second, even when there was only a single question or a couple of questions that expanded on a given topic, the participant might have had a lot to say on the topic by themselves owing to the multiplicity of their lived experiences. Third, assuming the role of an active interviewer (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), I actively participated in the co-construction of meaning during the interviews directing probes as well as posing

elaborative and reflective questions that were not on the interview guide that I set out with in the first place. This was thanks to myself being a learner of Western Armenian well before the time of the study as well as living in contexts where I was able to observe Western Armenian used as a heritage language in Istanbul. I will further discuss active approach to interviews in the upcoming Reflexivity section in the present chapter.

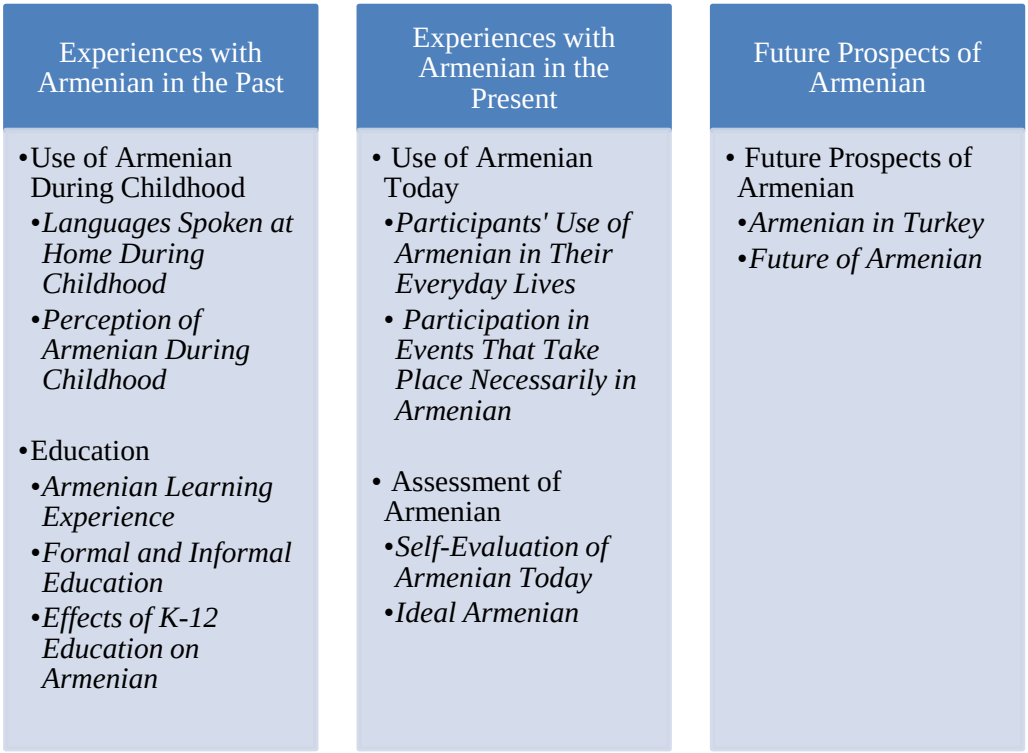
No matter for whichever one of the three reasons I stated above, it became salient, as I carried out holistic coding, that some topics were dwellt on more than others within the interviews. Because I aimed to get the participants to talk about many perspectives during the interviews, it would be difficult to include all the topics that recurred in the interviews in the present thesis study. In order to decide which topics were the ones that were the most dwellt on, I employed Saldaña's (2016) magnitude coding as the second step of First Cycle coding. I aimed to measure the "intensity" and "frequency" of the topics that I detected during holistic coding (pp. 72-732). Toward this aim, I created a table where I wrote down the word count for each coded unit in the holistic coding of each interview with the participants. I did not include topics that took shorter than 300 words. The word count for each coded unit included the turns of the participants as well as my turns, since I was an active participant in the meaning making process as I have discussed above.

After magnitude coding each interview, I determined the number of interviews that dwellt on each topic with word count bigger than 300. I set 10, half of the participants, as the minimum limit for a topic to be included in the final analysis. In other words, if a topic was dwelt on in more than 300 words by 10 or more participants, I included them in the final analysis. The topics talked about by 10 or more participants in more than 300 words can be seen in Appendix F.

In the next step, I employed Saldaña's (2016) pattern coding as the Second Cycle coding method. In so doing, I looked for parallelities and patterns amongst the topics that holistic and magnitude coding had yielded. In parallel with the grand narrative that I structured in the interview guide, the topics that emerged went under three major themes: past, present and future. For each major theme, I created themes that two or three topics belong to, which I describe below. The organization of the themes and topics can be seen in Figure 1.

Firstly, the major theme Past has yielded two subthemes: Use of Armenian During Childhood and School. There are two topics under the theme Use of Armenian During Childhood. The first topic, Languages Spoken at Home During Childhood pertains to the linguistic patterns observed in the home and community environments of the participants during their childhood years, and Perception of Armenian During Childhood is about their perceptions, emotions and feelings of the Armenian language during those years. The theme Education has three topics. Under the first topic, Armenian Learning Experience, the participants describe their experiences of learning the language, especially during their early formative years. The second topic, Formal and Informal Education is related to their descriptions and beliefs on the ways in which formal and informal education they received shaped their skills in Armenian. The last topic, Effects of K-12 Education on Armenian pertains to the perceived effects of all the educational institutions the participants attended from kindergarten to higher education, that is to say, including up-to-12th grade Armenian minority schools and beyond as well as extracurricular courses in non-heritage, dominant language contexts.

Figure 1. Organization of themes and topics



When it comes to the major theme Present, there are again two subthemes that came up in the dataset: Use of Armenian Today and Assessment of Armenian. Under the theme Use of Armenian Today, there are two topics. Firstly, the topic Participants' Use of Armenian in Their Everyday Lives covers the reported range of exposure and use of the Armenian language in the participants' own lives. Secondly, the topic Participation in Events That Take Place Necessarily in Armenian indicates the observations of the participants as regards events that are practically or supposedly carried out predominantly in Armenian. The topic further deals with the beliefs of the participants regarding the lack of use of Armenian in events that they deem Armenian to be the supposed language to be used. Under the theme Assessment of Armenian, there are two topics. The first topic, Self-Evaluation of Armenian Today pertains to the self-evaluation of the participants in Western

Armenian, and the second topic, Ideal Armenian covers the beliefs of the participants as regards what they deem to be ideal Armenian versus non-ideal.

The theme Future Prospects of Armenian constitutes the last major theme by itself. Under this theme, there are two topics. The first topic, Armenian in Turkey pertains to the insights of the participants regarding the place of Armenian as a heritage language in Istanbul and Turkey. The other topic, Future of Armenian includes their beliefs and predictions with regards to the future of Armenian in Turkey as an endangered language.

Relying on a grounded approach to the analysis in this manner, I aim to demonstrate how language ideologies, my main theoretical concern, are manifested in interaction. Toward this aim, having mapped out the data into three major themes chronologically, I present representative excerpts from each theme in the upcoming three analytical chapters. In so doing, I adopt an interactional sociolinguistic approach to the analysis of the interview data (Gumperz 1982, 2001). That is to say, I do not delineate every minute detail in the flow of conversation during the interviews such as pauses and overlaps as in Conversation Analysis (Jefferson, 1972; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008 among others), as my aim in the analysis is not "demonstrating the universal orderliness" that permeate the interviews (Tannen, 1992, p. 9). Instead, with a view to "analysing how social knowledge and linguistic knowledge intersect in creating meaning in talk" (Bailey, 2008, p. 2317), I tend to the general flow of interaction as well as the exchange and co-construction of meanings with my participants (See Appendix G for the transcription conventions that I adapted from Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008 in the representation of the interview data). My role as an active interviewer in the (co-) construction of meaning during the interviews affected the interaction on the interview site, which was an important factor that made it a

practical choice to focus on the verbal and interactional side of the exchanges. All in all, I approached the identities and ideologies of my participants as interaction "situated processes" (Schiffrin, 1996, p. 315) given that "culture," as Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (2008) suggest, does "not stand outside talk but" is "constituted in and through situated speaking practices" (p. 536).

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Before beginning to contact and recruit participants for the present study, I received ethical approval from the Ethics Committee for Master and PhD Theses in Social Sciences and Humanities at Boğaziçi University for the study I designed (Appendix H). The application folder that I submitted online included the theoretical and practical aspects of my study as well as the informed consent form (Appendix I) that I would ask the participants to fill out and a set of sample questions to be included in the interviews.

As open-ended interviews bring with them a certain "level of unpredictability," I had to create an informed consent form that would be detailed and informative of the study as well as flexible concerning the content and open-ended structure of the interviews (Marzano, 2012, p. 446). Thus, the consent form I created included long descriptions of the topic, aims and scope of the study as well as the interview procedures. By explicitly stating in the consent form that the participants would be asked of their personal experiences, emotions, beliefs and opinions regarding their heritage language in the past, present and the future, I gave a concrete clue of what to expect during the interviews. Clearly delineating the scope of the interviews helped me obtain "planned flexibility" (Miller-Day, 2012, p. 499)

in posing questions that extended beyond the sample question list that I submitted to the Ethics Committee as needed during the flow of the interviews.

As studies that rely on computer-mediated communication carry potential ethical risks for the participants (Mann & Stewart, 2000, p. 54), I spared a good amount of the informed consent form for audio-recording procedures. For this I wrote comprehensive details of the audio-recording protocols that I designed for Skype and Zoom and based on the statements of the participants as to the status of their cameras during the interviews. The bottom line was that audio-recording was totally voluntary and it was merely audio that was going to be recorded even when a participant wished to keep their camera on.

As interviews deal with the private parts of the lives of interviewees (Kaiser, 2012, p. 463), I had to do my best to assure my possible participants of the confidentiality of their identities considering their belonging to a sensitive population. In this study, confidentiality is twofold. First and foremost, I had to provide the security and privacy of the data before, during and after the interviews. For that purpose, I pledged to store the consent forms, the audio-recordings and transcription files in a password-protected USB device. Likewise, I was to conduct and save my studies on the data on that USB device. The second aspect of confidentiality pertained to the personal information that could reveal the identity of the participants. In order to ensure the confidentiality of the identities of the participants, I intended to assign pseudonyms for all the names of real persons and institutions that are found in the study, which I clearly stated in the informed consent form. Given the participants come from a relatively small group of people residing in Istanbul, I did not ask if the participants wished to be identified by their real names at all at any stage of the study. Luckily, none of the participants asked me to do so, either, which I would have to

refuse to do and hence violate their agency. Hence, all the names that identify people and institutions in the present study will be pseudonyms. In order to prevent "deductive disclosure" (Kaiser, 2009, 2012), I also had to conceal some of the professional details that belong to the participants as they would easily disclose their real identities.

The one ethical issue that I deemed as the most important for the present study is the basis of voluntary participation. That is to say, the participants could participate in my study based completely on their own will, for which they would neither pay nor receive any physical commodities. Moreover, they reserved the right to withdraw from the study at any time of the study without facing any consequences, in which case all the data and recordings that belong to them would be irrecoverably disposed of.

I explained the details, procedures and the ethical aspects of the study to the participants orally as well as providing them with the informed consent form. The participants could read the consent form at their own pace when they could and later pose me any further questions that they might have about the study. The participants could fill out the informed consent forms and submit them to me via email or alternatively, they could verbally declare their informed consents at the beginning of the interviews under audio-recording without having to fill out and send the written consent form to me. None of the participants preferred to give their informed consent orally.

3.5 Reflexivity

Roulston (2010) holds that "[q]ualitative researchers and interviewers are inevitably part of the studies that they conduct, whether or not they make explicit the

connections between their subject positions and the ways in which these impact the outcomes of their studies in their reports" (p. 115). As a qualitative researcher, I could not claim to be an exception. In fact, as Salmons (2015) claims, "[r]eflexivity is an ongoing process, and in the context of research, it means more than just reflection" (p. 235). In this regard, my reflexive self as a researcher was at play during each stage of conducting research. In this section, I will describe how my personal background shaped the course of the present study.

I went "into the field with an open mind and not an empty head" at all times during the implementation of the study (Fetterman 1998, as cited in Miller-Day, 2012, p. 504). In other words, my personal experience of studying Western Armenian helped me in all stages of conducting the present study. I had been exposed to the language by acquaintances as well as through self-study, which allowed me to pursue an academic interest relating to the language. As I personally knew heritage speakers of Western Armenian, I had some assumptions regarding the linguistic ideologies a heritage speaker might hold. In this regard, having lived in a heritage language context made Western Armenian differ to me from other foreign languages that I have studied, such as Dutch and French, as I had the opportunity to observe Western Armenian used in a real-life heritage context more closely.

My personal interest and experience with Western Armenian served me as a gatekeeper in accessing the participants. I accessed all the participants either by directly contacting them or by using the network of the participants themselves or my personal network, namely through snowball sampling. The common thing about the participants was that they were aware of my personal interest in their language, and this interest as an "outsider" may have appealed to them in their decision to participate in my study. Due to myself being an "outsider," the participants might

have held some of the things that they had to say, and yet it could have also helped them in trying to be more open in their remarks and explanations. On the other hand, not being “too outside” having studied their heritage language, the participants can be said to have freely switch to Armenian and express their standpoints during the interviews.

My experience with Western Armenian, combined with my background in language studies and applied linguistics, was of help to me adopt an “active” approach to the interviews (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 1997, 2003). This means I collaborated with the participants in constructing meaning during the interviews (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, p. 127). I was able to make necessary amendments in the question guide that I prepared, based on the participant profiles as well as in consideration of the flow of the interviews. Moreover, I was able to pose probes as well as clarification and reflective questions in order to gain deeper insight into the remarks of the participants. Needless to say, in adopting an active approach to the interviews, my skills in Western Armenian were integral, and helped me in continuing the interviews smoothly and naturally. That is to say, when examples from Armenian emerged in the participants’ remarks, I did not feel lost, but instead either asked for elaboration or for clarification in cases when I could not comprehend the whole utterance. By the same token, I was able to approach analysis of the interview data in an informed, active manner thanks to my personal interest in and experience with Western Armenian.

CHAPTER 4

EXPERIENCES WITH ARMENIAN IN THE PAST

In this chapter, I will portray the ways in which the participants recount their experiences in their past lives with the Armenian language and how language ideologies are situated in their interview accounts. As discussed in the previous sections, under this major heading, there are two themes that emerged from the data. In the first part of the chapter, I will focus on the use of Armenian during the childhood years of the participants. The theme Use of Armenian During Childhood covers two topics: Languages Used at Home During Childhood and Perceptions of Armenian During Childhood. These topics relate to the language patterns observed in the home environments of the participants as well as their perceptions and emotions as regards their heritage language during their childhood years. The second part of the chapter will focus on the theme Education, as a general category. Under this theme, there are three topics that emerge from the data: Armenian Learning Experience, Effects of K-12 Education on Armenian, and Formal and Informal Education. The topics relate to the recounts of the participants regarding their experiences of learning their heritage language both in formal and informal settings.

My analysis in the preceding and subsequent chapters takes language ideologies as its basis. As I have discussed in Chapter 2, there have been plethora of descriptions of language ideologies. Moreover, there have been put forth different approaches to the use of language ideologies as an analytical framework. Although many definitions and approaches have political concerns, the present study takes language ideologies as predominantly linguistic. Instead of a political pursuit, the present study will regard ideologies as “system[s] of ideas” in relation to Western

Armenian as a heritage language with a Bakhtinian mindset (Freedman & Ball, 2004, p. 5).

4.1 Use of Armenian During Childhood

The theme Use of Armenian During Childhood covers two topics: Languages Used at Home During Childhood and Perceptions of Armenian During Childhood. In the first part of this section, I will portray the accounts of the participants in relation to the languages that were spoken in their homes during their childhood. Then I will discuss their perceptions as regards their heritage language during their childhood years.

4.1.1 Languages Used at Home During Childhood

The first question that officially initiated interview talk after chitchatting and demographic questions was related to the use of languages in the home environments of the participants during their childhood years. In order to grasp the linguistic environments within which my participants were raised in, I posed them questions that inquired the languages that were spoken in their childhood homes and further asked for elaboration by means of such questions as to what extent those languages were spoken in relation to each other, who spoke to them the most in a given language and in what instances they tended to use that given language.

The participants differed in their recounts of the rates of use of their heritage language and dominant language in their homes during their childhoods. There were only a few participants who reported having been raised in homes where Armenian was predominantly used, like Vartuhi:

Extract 4.1

1 Vartuhi: Bizim çocukluk ses bantlarımız vardı böyle, hani şey olan, böyle baya
2 bant, böyle içinde şey, film şeysi gibi rulosu gibi, o çocukluk
3 seslerimizi kaydetmişler oraya ve evdeki böyle sohbetler filan.
4 Onları böyle dinlerdik. Babam baya baya bizle o bant için değil hep
5 Ermenice konuşuyor. Yani orda fark ettim ki eskiden daha çok
6 Ermenice konuşulurmuş evimizde. Yüzde doksan Ermenice
7 konuşulurmuş. Şeydi ıı tabii çok kapalı bir toplumdu o zaman, şimdiki
8 gibi değildi. Apartmanımızda herkes Ermeni'ydi mesela Kurtuluş'ta
9 oturuyoruz, ben o Dolapdere kısmını pek hatırlamıyorum. İşte altı
10 yedi yedi sekiz yaşında şeye geldik bu Bozkurt Caddesi'ne. Bütün
11 komşular Ermeni'ydi, sadece bir daire karma evlilikti. Kadın
12 Türk'tü, kocası Ermeni'ydi, onunla da çok sık görüşmezdik.
13 Televizyon yoktu evin içinde, yani Türkçeye ordan maruz
14 kalmıyordum. Bakkala makkala da küçükken ben gitmiyorum tabii ki.
15 Ya annemin yanında sokağa çıktığımda sağda solda ne duyuyorsam.
16 Ha annemin bütün akrabalar zaten Ermeni, bütün ailemin arkadaşları.
17 Türk arkadaş diye bir şey yok, yani ailede öyle bir mefhum yok.
18 Babamın işyerinden varsa, o işyerine kapalı bir arkadaşlık olarak
19 kalıyor. Dolayısıyla ben yüzde doksan Ermeniceyle büyüyorum.

1 Vartuhi: There were audio tapes from our childhood, like, real real
2 tapes, inside, like film rolls, they recorded
3 our voices in there and the talks at home and what not.
4 We would listen to them. My dad really, not for the tape,
5 always speaks to us in Armenian. I mean I realized there that before
6 Armenian was spoken more in our home. Ninety percent of what was spoken
7 was Armenian. It was like, uh, of course it was a close community then, not
8 the way it is now. Everyone in our block was Armenian for instance,
9 we lived in Kurtuluş, I don't quite remember Dolapdere years. You know,
10 we moved to that Bozkurt Street at my seven seven eight. All the neighbors
11 were Armenian; only one flat was an intermarriage. The woman was
12 a Turk, her husband Armenian, whom we did not meet with quite often.
13 There was no TV inside the home, I mean I was not exposed to Turkish
14 that way. I would not go to grocery myself, either, of course.
15 Either when I went out along with my mother, whatever I heard on street.
16 My mother's all relatives are Armenian already, all the friends of my family.
17 No such thing as a Turkish friend, I mean no such a concept in the family.
18 Only if there were any at my father's workplace would they remain
19 specific to the workplace. For that reason I grew up with 90% Armenian.

Interview, February 6, 2021

In the extract above, Vartuhi portrays the linguistic environment that she was raised in vividly. She begins the extract by describing what she witnessed concretely from the audio tapes on which her father recorded her voice during her childhood. As she indicates in lines 5 and 6, she recalls Armenian as the predominantly spoken language in her childhood home. Without any prompt, she moves on to describe the

social atmosphere in which she was raised in order to account for the high rate of Armenian use at home back then. The whereabouts and acquaintances of her family were, as she reports, all Armenian and obviously Armenophone, which made the language the preferred language of communication. Added to that is the fact that her family lived in Kurtuluş, one of the most populated centers of the Armenian population in Istanbul to this date. The reason for Vartuhi to go on with explaining the ethnolinguistic atmosphere of her childhood can be seen in lines 7 and 8, where she states that the (Armenian minority) community was quite close-knit back then unlike at the present day.

Like Vartuhi, Aren was one of the participants who stated that they hardly spoke any Turkish during his early childhood. In fact, he reports that his abilities in Turkish began to develop only after he started going to school:

Extract 4.2

1 Aren: Bizde hep Ermenice ve Türkçe, açıkçası ben ilkokula başladığımda
2 zaten Türkçe bilmiyordum. Ben okula Ermenice bilerek gittim. Benim
3 babaannemle beraber yaşıyoruz biz, babaannem benle doğduğumdan
4 beri Ermenice konuşuyor. Aslında benim anadilim Ermenice. Okula
5 gittiğimde aslında Türkçe konuşmaya daha çok başladım. Onun için
6 hep Ermenice, evin içinde de şu an hâlâ babaannemle Ermenice
7 konuşmaya devam ederiz. Annemle babamla ise yani Türkçe
8 Ermenice karışık devam ediyor ama onla fiks Ermenice diyebilirim.

1 Aren: It was always Armenian and Turkish, honestly when I began primary school,
2 I already didn't speak Turkish. I started school speaking Armenian. We live
3 with my paternal grandmother, and my grandmother has spoken to me in
4 Armenian since I was born. In fact, my mother tongue is Armenian.
5 In fact, when I began school, I began to speak more in Turkish. So
6 always Armenian, my grandmother and I continue speaking in
7 Armenian to this day. With my mother and father, Turkish and Armenian
8 go hand in hand, but with her, I can say that it is always Armenian.

Interview, February 27, 2021

Although Aren also lives in one of the heavily Armenian-populated districts of Istanbul, he does not relate his reportedly advanced abilities in the Armenian language to this very fact. One reason for this could be because Aren is in his twenties and Turkish had already overdone Armenian in the districts of this kind in

public spaces by the time he was born. Although there is no indication thereabout in Aren's recount, it is obvious that his paternal grandmother, who has lived with his family, is the reason that led him to remain loyal to speaking his heritage language. Vartuhi recalled communicating with her parents in their heritage language whereas Aren indicates that Armenian and Turkish go hand in hand with his parents, and yet it is always in Armenian that he and his grandmother talk (lines 7 and 8).

Moreover, Aren indicates confusion as to what his native tongue is in line 4 by *Aslında benim anadilim Ermenice* "In fact, my mother tongue is Armenian". By this statement, it can be seen that he is experiencing a moment of (re-)realization that he is a native speaker of Armenian. In the very same line 4, it can also be implied that today, he is probably more competent in his abilities in Turkish than in Armenian. The moment he realizes that he had been able to speak predominantly in Armenian before school, he feels the need to utter the words *aslında* "in fact". This crystallizes the reason for the existence of the concept of heritage language, as at one point the dominant language takes over and the abilities in the first-learned home language begin to diminish.

In the first two extracts discussed above, it can be seen that the families of the participants used their heritage language to a considerable degree of frequency, which indicates monolingual Armenian language ideologies were at play in the home environments. In Extract 4.1, Vartuhi makes clear that ideologies of this kind and practices that are associated with monolingual Armenian language ideologies are not only limited to her own family, but they could also be observed in other families that resided in her childhood district. In Aren's recount in Extract 4.2, it can be seen that it has been rather her grandmother that he has used Armenian in communication with.

In both excerpts, the participants report Armenian was used to a considerable extent by their families during their childhood.

Among the participants, the likes of Vartuhi and Aren were not many. Most of them reported being raised in predominantly Turkish-speaking households and environments. Nevertheless, even those who were brought up in predominantly-Turcophone homes recounted that Armenian was used in specific instances. One of those occasions is when they wanted to say keywords and phrases such as greetings, as Ara recounts:

Extract 4.3

1 Ara:	Iı Türkçe ve Ermenice, yani bazı kelimeler Ermenice konuşulurdu.
2	İşte "günaydın" yerine "**pari luys**[1]" işte işte "iyi geceler" yerine
3	"**kisher pari**[2]," böyle bazı şey kelimeler, ıı anahtar kelimeler Ermenice
4	konuşulurdu. Ama onun dışında cümlelerimiz falan Türkçe
5	konuşulurdu.

1 Ara:	*Uh, Turkish and Armenian, I mean some words were uttered in Armenian.*
2	*Like, "**pari luys**" instead of "good morning," like "**kisher pari**"*
3	instead of "good night," such words like, uh, keywords were said
4	*in Armenian. But other than that, our sentences and whatnot were said*
5	*in Turkish.*

Interview, February 13, 2021

In line 1, Ara begins his statement by "Türkçe ve Ermenice" (*Turkish and Armenian*), which can be said to imply that both languages were used alternately to a certain extent (in which case, though, Turkish would be thought to be the predominant language as it precedes its heritage counterpart). With "yani" (*I mean*) he directly auto-corrects himself and goes on to say that it was only some words that were uttered in Armenian. In Ara's recount, it is possible to say that he and his family preferred Armenian ritualistically on specific occasions. It is obvious from lines 4 and 5 that those switches to Armenian were at the lexical level as Ara admits

[1] Good morning (see Appendix J for the Romanization and International Phonetic Alphabet representation conventions that I have adapted for the present thesis study).
[2] Good night.

that they used Turkish at the sentential level. Apparently, the most outstanding of these keywords are greetings as Ara gives two of them as examples that come to his mind (see Appendix J for the Romanization and International Phonetic Alphabet representation conventions that have been adapted for the present thesis study).

Likewise, Kami also recalls that the use of Armenian at his predominantly Turkish-speaking childhood home was restricted to certain chunks. Differently from Ara, though, he does not even unconsciously state that Armenian was used at home:

Extract 4.4

1 Kami:	Evde Türkçe konuşuluyordu baskın bir şekilde, sadece Türkçe
2	konuşuluyordu. Baskın derken, sadece Türkçe konuşulurdu.
3 Uğur:	Ermenice hiç mi konuşulmazdı?
4 Kami:	Erme--. Çok nadir konuşulurdu ya Ermenice bizde çünkü annem
5	Ermenice bilmezdi. (…) Evde Türkçe konuşulurdu, babam da Türkçe
6	konuşurdu. Hani böyle bazı kelimeler, belli başlı kalıplar Ermenice
7	konuşulurdu, ama ona da [evde] Ermenice konuşulurdu demem yani.

1 Kami:	*Turkish was spoken predominantly at home, only Turkish*
2	*was spoken. "Predominantly" means only Turkish was spoken.*
3 Uğur:	*Was Armenian not spoken at all?*
4 Kami:	*Arme--. Rarely was it spoken at ours, because my mother*
5	*did not speak Armenian. (...) Turkish was spoken at home, my father*
6	*spoke Turkish too. Like some words, certain chunks were said*
7	*in Armenian, but that I would not call "Armenian was spoken [home]".*

Interview, February 20, 2021

In response to the question what languages were spoken at home in his childhood, Kami does not mention Armenian to be one of those languages. It is only after my inquiry in line 3 that he names his heritage language, which he happens to hesitate and without completing his word, he moves on to explain that it was rarely spoken at home in line 4. In the same line, he explains the reason for the non-use of Armenian as his mother not speaking the language. Although it is not clear from the excerpt or from the rest of the interview data that his father could speak Armenian, it would not be wrong to assume that he preferred not to, conforming to his wife with little to no ability in Armenian. Otherwise, I would expect him to explicitly state that his father

could not speak the language like his mother. In lines 6 and 7, Kami makes the case that, although he acknowledges that there were certain cases where Armenian was used, it is not enough for him to identify his childhood home as Armenian-speaking when its use was limited to specific occasions.

In Extracts 4.3 and 4.4, it can be said that the participants viewed Armenian as an occasionally spoken language. Ara (Extract 4.3) makes clear that there are certain words and phrases that were uttered exclusively in Armenian. Likewise, in Kami's account (Extract 4.4), it is evident that the extent of use of the heritage language is limited to certain words and phrases. Nevertheless, given the fact that Armenian was well used occasionally, it seems that Kami has difficulty in providing a strict answer to my question. He switches between "predominantly" and "only" in describing Turkish as the predominantly language spoken at home in the first two lines, and in the final line, he re-makes the point that he would not call his childhood home as one where Armenian was spoken given the occasional use of the language.

Another instance where Armenian was preferred by the participants themselves and their families, who otherwise communicated in the dominant language, during their childhood was when they were to talk about private or secret things in the face of people of non-Armenian descent, who obviously had little, if any, to no abilities in the Armenian language:

Extract 4.5

1 Hermine:	Şöyle aslında, biz Ermenice çok konuşulmuyordu evin içerisinde.
2	Genelde Türkçe konuşuluyordu. Annem biliyordu, babam çok
3	bilmiyordu Ermenice. Evde o yüzden Türkçe konuşuluyordu, ama
4	tabii şey durumu oluyordu, dışarda veya annemle beraber daha özel
5	işte konuşacağımız zaman hemen ikinci dil Ermeniceye geçiş
6	yapılıyordu. Tabii ama tabii akıcı bir şekilde Ermenice
7	konuşulmuyordu bizde.

1 Hermine:	*Well in fact, Armenian was not used much at home.*
2	*Usually Turkish was spoken. My mother knew how to speak Armenian,*
3	*but my father not much. So at home Turkish was spoken, but*

4 of course the case was like, while outside or when I were to talk about
5 more private things with my mother, Armenian, the second language,
6 was immediately switched to. But of course Armenian was not
7 talked fluently by us.

Interview, February 27-28, 2021

Hermine begins the extract by making the case that Turkish was used in communication more than Armenian at home. Like Kami, whose mother did not speak Armenian, she explains that the reason for her family's tendency to speak in Turkish is that his father did not speak the language (lines 2 and 3). In line 3, she states that at home, Turkish was the language used in communication. Without myself providing any probe questions, she moves on to explain the cases when she and her mother preferred to communicate in their heritage language in the following lines. In lines 4 and 5, she indicates that they preferred to talk in Armenian when they were outside, in the middle of people with lesser possibility of being Armenian descent and thus of speaking the language. In such instances, Armenian seemingly makes a good tool to serve for their need to hide the content of their talk from unwanted eavesdroppers. In line 5, she describes Armenian as "the second language" (*ikinci dil*), which indicates that she regards Turkish to be the primary means of communication back then. The reason for such ordering of the Armenian language can be found in the last two lines of the extract, that "Armenian was not talked fluently by us."

Hermine recounts she and her mother used Armenian in order to distinguish themselves from the non-Armenian-speaking people when they had private things to say to each other in public spaces. Alis, on the other hand, who happens not to have been raised in a predominantly Armenian speaking home environment either, recalls that her family did the same in the privacy of their home when they had guests who were not speakers of Armenian:

Extract 4.6

1 Alis: Benim çoğunlukla dedem ve anneannem Ermenice konuşurdu. Hani
2 bize çok fazla değil ama. Bir de nadir konuşurlardı onlar da. Hani çok
3 fazla bizim evimizde öyle Ermenice detaylı konuşulduğunu ben
4 hatırlamam. Ama gizli bir şey söylememiz gerektiğinde, dışardayız
5 diyelim (…) çoğunlukla kullanılıyordu bu dil herkesin içindeyken.
6 Bu insanları sinir de ederdi, mesela bazen misafir gelirdi onun
7 yanında bile yaparlardı bunu, ki çok yanlış, saygısızca bir durum.
8 Anlamasın diye başka bir dil konuşmak.

1 Alis: My paternal grandparents usually spoke in Armenian. Like not
2 quite much to us, though. They also spoke in it rarely. Like I don't
3 remember Armenian being spoken intensively
4 in our home. But when we had secret things to say, say we're outside,
5 (...) this language was used while in the middle of everybody.
6 This would get people angry too, for instance sometime we would have a
7 guest, they would do this with them too, which is so wrong, an irrespectful
8 thing. Talking in a different language so that they won't understand.

Interview, February 11, 2021

In response to my question in what instances and by whom Armenian was used in her childhood home, Alis recounts her paternal grandparents as the two intensively Armenian speaking figures at home back then in the first two lines. Nevertheless, it can be seen in line 3 that her grandparents did not even talk quite much in Armenian to her, but still she remembers them as the biggest providers of Armenian talk in the home environment. In line 4, she goes on to say that Armenian was not used extensively at home, and begins to talk about when it was used occasionally: when they have secret things to say, for instance while outside. In line 6, she reflects on the effect this would have on the bystanders, that this would get to their nerves. In lines 6 and 7, she exemplifies such instances. Her family opts to Armenian when they had guests who did not speak Armenian in their home and wanted to say things secretly from their guests, which Alis retrospectively describes as a "wrong, irrespectful thing" (*yanlış, saygısızca bir durum*).

In Hermine's case, it is in the face of non-Armenian heritage public that she and her mother preferred to speak in Armenian to keep the privacy of their talk, and in Alis' account, the Armenian heritage status of the guests is not clear, whom her

family hosted and in front of whom they switched to Armenian with the same purpose. Larisa, on the other hand, recounts that she and her family opted to Armenian when they had things to hide from her, of Armenian descent though, non-Armenian-speaking paternal grandmother who lived in their home:

Extract 4.7

1 Larisa:	(…) Yani annemle konuşurduk. (…) Ama yani böyle Ermenice
2	konuşulan bir aile miydiniz gibi bir soruysa bu, hayır değildik. Ama
3	konuşmaz mıydık, yani konuşurduk da.
4	(…) Yani yüzde yirmi Ermenice. İyimser [olmak gerekirse].
5 Uğur:	Peki hangi durumlarda konuşurdunuz Ermeniceyi, ne zaman yani?
6 Larisa:	Babaannem de bizimle yaşıyordu, ondan gizli bir şey
7	konuşacağımız zaman (…)

1 Larisa:	*(...) I mean we would talk with my mother. (...) But if this is a question like*
2	*whether we were an Armenian speaking family, no we weren't. But*
3	*didn't we? I mean we did too.*
4	*(...) I mean twenty percent. [To be] optimistic.*
5 Uğur:	*And in what instances did you speak Armenian, I mean when?*
6 Larisa:	*My paternal grandmother lived with us, when we were to talk*
7	*about secret things from her (...)*

Interview, February 27, 2021

In the first three lines of the extract, Larisa indicates mixed assessment of the extent to which she and her family spoke in Armenian at home during childhood. She begins with making the case that she would talk to her mother in Armenian, which as she later explained to me was when her mother would help her with homework. Although she does not explain in the excerpt why she would not speak with her father in their heritage language, it is obvious in the fact that her father did not speak much Armenian, having been raised in a city where Armenian is not widespread, and neither is education and religious services in Armenian. In lines 1 and 2, she moves on to reflect on my question itself and by rephrasing and looking for the meaning behind my question on her own, describes her family as one that did not speak in Armenian. In line 3, she contradicts her own description by saying that they would not not speak at all, and that they would speak in Armenian too. In line 4, she assigns

20% of what they spoke at home to Armenian. This is the place where I pose her the question in what instances and when they spoke in Armenian in line 5. She explains in response that she and her mother would speak in Armenian in the presence of her paternal grandmother, who lived with them and who was of Armenian descent too. In this case, it is not a person of non-Armenian heritage to whom Armenian is used as a means of secret talk, but one who is of the same ethnicity and yet with limited to presumably no abilities in the heritage language.

In Extracts 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7, it is possible to observe the use of Armenian as an exclusionary tool, thus marker of identity, by the participants. All the three participants recount that their families and themselves used Armenian in given occasions when they wanted to hide the content of their speech. It appears that Armenian not only constitutes a hiding tool by which speech content can be hidden from individuals of non-Armenian descent, but also from Armenian-descending non-speakers of Armenian as a heritage language as well. In other words, not only does Armenian serve as a marker of in-group identity among individuals of Armenian heritage, but also as a distinguishing marker in the face of Armenian-descending though, non-speakers of the language.

Arlin also witnessed Armenian being used as a way to talk about secret things. In her case, however, she was the one things in talk were hidden from, and curiously, it was a different dialect of Armenian that was spoken for that purpose as she already was able to speak Standard Western Armenian:

Extract 4.8

1 Arlin:	Türkçe konuşuluyordu sadece.
2 Uğur:	Sadece?
3 Arlin:	Ben okulda öğrendim Ermeniceyi. (…) Ermenice şöyle
4	konuşulduğuna şahit olurdum, benim annem Hataylı ve Vakıfköylü.
5	Onların farklı bir lehçesi var, Ermeniceyi daha farklı konuşuyorlar. O
6	kendi teyzemle arasında konuşurken, herhalde bizim anlamamızı
7	istemediği zamanlarda kendi aralarında kullanırlardı. Ama farklı

8	Ermeniceyi zaten çok farklı, şimdi bile anlamakta zorluk çekiyorum.
9	O zaman sade duyuyordum yani okulda öğrendiğim Ermeniceyle
10	onların konuştukları arasında dağlar kadar fark var.

1 Arlin:	*Only Turkish was spoken.*
2 Uğur:	*Only?*
3 Arlin:	*I learnt Armenian at school. (...) I witnessed Armenian*
4	*being spoken when, my mother is from Hatay and Vakıfköy.*
5	*They have a different dialect; they speak Armenian differently. When she*
6	*spoke with my aunt, they would use it among themselves probably*
7	*when they did not want us to understand. But different Armenian,*
8	*it's already so different; even now I have difficulty understanding it.*
9	*Back then I would only hear it, I mean there is too much difference*
10	*between the Armenian I learnt at school and the one that spoke.*

Interview, February 19, 2021

As in some of the previous extracts, Arlin begins by saying that only Turkish was spoken at home during her childhood. In line 2, I ask for a clarification by repeating her word "*sadece*" (only). She responds in line 3 that she learnt Armenian at school, and elsewhere in the interview she reported having associated the language strictly with school. As her father, like Larisa's had quite limited abilities in the Armenian language, and moreover because her mother only learnt Standard Western Armenian by means of some language course later in her adult life, it seems that Arlin's family held their communication in Turkish. Arlin goes on to explain that she witnessed Armenian being used in her childhood home only when her mother talked to her aunt in one of the dialects of Armenian. In lines 6 and 7, she makes the point that it was probably when her mother and aunt wanted to talk about things secretly from her and the other members of the family who were not able to speak Vakıflıköy dialect. Not only is it obvious that her mother is aware of the major differences between the dialect that she was raised with and Standard Western Armenian her daughter learnt at school as she uses it sparingly with her sister when there are things to be kept secret, but it is also possible to claim by the same token that she did not intend to transmit her abilities in the Vakıflıköy dialect to her children. The difficulty Arlin has in understanding the dialect extends to this date as she makes it clear in line 8.

Like Arlin, there was another participant, Maral, who reported being raised in homes where Vakıflıköy dialect was used. Unlike Arlin's mother, who reportedly used it sparingly in order to hide things in talk from her children, Maral's mother used the dialect, sparingly though as well, as a natural means of communication at home, as can be seen in the extract below:

Extract 4.9

1 Maral: (…) Annem Hataylı olduğu için ve konuştuğu dil, bizim burada
2 İstanbul'da okulda öğrendiğimizden farklı bir dil olduğu için, o dil
3 evde konuşulurdu, ama annemin akrabaları geldiğinde. Ve ben onu
4 mesela anlayabiliyorum her dediğini her dediğini eksiksiz anlarım,
5 ama konuşmamda çok büyük bir farklılık var (?). Şive, ağız, onu
6 kesinlikle yapamıyorum ve köyde yaşayan kuzenlerim beni
7 duyduğunda gülüyorlar çünkü ben konuşamıyorum o dili.

1 Maral: (…) Because my mother is from Hatay and the language she speaks is
2 different than the one we learn here in Istanbul, that language was spoken
3 at home, but when my mother's relatives came over. And I can understand
4 it for example, everything she says I understand completely, but I have
5 a big difference in my speech (?). Accent, dialect, I definitely
6 cannot do it and when my cousins who live in the village
7 hear me they laugh because I can't speak that language.

Interview, February 18, 2021

Maral reported having been raised in a home where both Armenian and Turkish were spoken. She said she would use Armenian with her father and Turkish with her mother. Maral also told me that she was exposed to Vakıflıköy dialect through her mother, who grew up in Vakıflıköy village. She begins Extract 4.9 by naming the dialect as a "language." I doubt this is really because she thinks it is a different language as she is educated in the field of language and literature. Instead, I hold the belief that the natural, unthought choice of the word "language" throughout the excerpt to describe Vakıflıköy dialect implies major differences that exist between the dialect and Standard Western Armenian. In line 3, Maral explains that her mother spoke in that dialect when her relatives came over to visit them, which indicates that Maral was not exposed to the dialect intensively. Nevertheless, unlike Arlin who did

not necessarily witness the dialect being used as a natural means of communication between her mother and aunt and thus expresses difficulty in understanding the dialect, Maral seems to have developed her receptive skills in Vakıflıköy dialect. As she indicates in lines 5 through 7, however, her speaking abilities in the dialect are quite limited and she even gets laughed at by her cousins who are native speakers of Vakıflıköy dialect.

There was yet another participant who stood out amongst the others as having been raised in a home where a variety of Armenian other than Standard Western Armenian was spoken. In fact, Standard Western Armenian was not spoken at all during her childhood, as she recounts:

Extract 4.10

1 Tamar: (…) Şöyle annemle babam kendi aralarında ve büyükannem vardı
2 yani babaannem vardı (…) Ermenice konuşulurdu kendi aralarında.
3 Şöyle, Adıyaman'a özgü bir Ermeni de (?) ama hani şu anda
4 İstanbul'da Ermenice biliyorum diyen bir (?) belki de hiçbir şey
5 anlamayacak ya da çok az şey anlayacak. Öyle bir dil, öyle bir
6 Ermeniceyi annem babam kendi aralarında konuşurdu. Biz
7 konuşmasak da o dile çok aşinaydık yani o dile. Yani öyle bir dil ki
8 hani baştan sona bir edebi yazılı bir dil değil, hani ama o birçok
9 kelime birçok söyle- söyleyiş şekli, tanıdık, kendine özgü bir ağız var.
10 (…) Ben de o dile, hepimiz yani bütün çocuklar şeydik yani alışıktık
11 ama hani o dilde konuşur muyduk? Konuşmazdık ama anlardık, cevap
12 verirdik. Kendi aramızda Türkçe konuşurduk yani benim anadilim
13 Ermenice desem yüzde yüz (?) yalan olmaz, ama yani anadilim
14 Türkçe ama. (…)

1 Tamar: (...) My mother and father among themselves and there was my grandma
2 I mean paternal grandmother (...) They spoke Armenian among themselves.
3 So, an Armenian unique to Adıyaman (?) but like someone who says
4 I speak Armenian in Istanbul now (?) maybe will not understand
5 anything or will understand too little. Such a language, my parents
6 spoke such an Armenian among themselves. Even though we
7 did not speak it, we were quite familiar to that language. I mean such
8 a language, like, not a literary written language, like but a lot of words
9 a lot of say- saying styles, familiar, a unique accent.
10 (...) I was, all of us I mean all the children were well I mean familiar
11 but like did we speak in that language? We did not but we understood it,
12 we would respond. Among ourselves we spoke in Turkish I mean if I say my

13 mother tongue is Armenian it would not be a 100% (?) lie, but I mean my
14 mother tongue is Turkish (...)

Interview, February 12, 2021

Tamar explains that during her childhood, her parents as well as her paternal grand mother who lived with them spoke in Armenian amongst each other in lines 1 and 2. In line 3, she begins to explain what she means by Armenian, that is a dialect of Armenian that is spoken in Adıyaman, one of the cities in the Southeastern parts of Turkey. Like Arlin and Maral who were exposed to Vakıflıköy dialect, Tamar affirms that a speaker of Standard Western Armenian, namely an Istanbulite speaker of Armenian, would not or would hardly understand anything from the Adıyaman dialect in lines 4 and 5. In lines 7 through 9, she describes Adıyaman dialect as one that lacks a formal, written form and that has a lot of influence from Turkish. By "unique" (*kendine özgü*) in line 9, she indicates that the dialect differs a lot in a lot of its properties from Standard Western Armenian. In the same line, she uses the word "familiar" (*tanıdık*), which implies that there are also some familiarities between the two varieties, too. It can be claimed so because in other parts of the interview, she told me that as she learnt Standard Western Armenian in her later adult life, she recognized many words that she had already known thanks to the Adıyaman dialect. In lines 10 through 13, she explains that she and her siblings were familiar to the dialect, and yet, just like Arlin and Maral, they had quite limited productive skills in it in comparison with perceptive ones. This is probably because Maral and her siblings were exposed to the dialect only tangentially, as it was only amongst themselves, the adults and elderly of the family that they spoke in Adıyaman dialect. As such, Tamar explained to me elsewhere that they would understand what was spoken in that dialect and yet they would still respond to the elder members of their family in Turkish. Given this imbalance between what they can and cannot do with

the dialect, she questions herself what her mother tongue is in lines 12 through 14. Based on her statements in lines 11 and 12 that they could not speak it but understand it, she states that it would be completely true if she said Armenian was her native tongue. In lines 13 and 14, on the other hand, she contradicts herself by saying that her native tongue is Turkish, which is because she has always had better abilities in Turkish than in Armenian, specifically the Adıyaman dialect.

In Extracts 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10, it is possible to observe that the participants hold an awareness of dialectal diversity in Armenian. Although all of the three participants recount having been exposed to a non-standard variety of Western Armenian in their homes, none of them report fully-fledged proficiency in their reported dialects. It can be said that for Arlin and Hermine, standard Western Armenian language ideologies at school might not have allowed them to excel in the dialect of their families, as they received education in Standard Western Armenian in Armenian minority schools. Tamar, on the other hand, could not become a fully proficient speaker of her dialect due to Turkish monolingual ideologies at school and thus not being able to learn her heritage language until she became an adult, which I will illustrate in the upcoming sections.

All in all, the ways the participants described how Armenian and Turkish were used in their homes during their childhood were different. There were many who reported Turkish having been spoken predominantly at home. Among those participants, a recurring pattern was Armenian being used sparingly in specific instances such as keywords and private talks in the face of non-speakers of Armenian. There were participants who were not exposed to Armenian during childhood before they began school, as well. Some participants, on the other hand, were exposed to

different varieties of Armenian although their exposure was not intensive and thus they had difficulty developing productive skills in those varieties.

When it comes to ideologies with respect to languages used at home, it is possible to see that the participants prevalently consider Armenian to be an occasionally spoken language. This idea is evident in such practices as occasional use of the language in reference to certain keywords and phrases as well as when they want to hide the content of their speech from non-Armenophones around themselves. With the participants having been raised in predominantly Armenian speaking homes, it is possible to estimate monolingual Armenian language ideologies to be held in their home environments.

4.1.2 Perception of Armenian During Childhood

After the questions that inquired about language use in the homes of the participants during their childhood, I posed the participants questions that delved into their perceptions of the Armenian language during those years. The questions under this topic pertained to when they began to realize their home language was different than the language spoken outside, what Armenian reminded to them and how they felt in relation to the Armenian language as children.

As for the feelings toward Armenian, a recurring response is that it was a given, natural thing in the lives of the participants and that they did not give much thought about it during their childhood years:

Extract 4.11

1 Lusin:	(…) Zaten öyle büyüyorsunuz, anlatabiliyor muyum? Zaten onunla
2	varsınız, yani dışardayken altı yaşında bir çocuğa neden iki alfabe
3	öğrendiğini sorsanız muhtemelen size bir cevap veremeyecektir.
4	Çünkü ona onu öğretmişsiniz yani. Hani bu akşam evde patates
5	vardır, çocuk onu sorgulamaz yandaki apartmandaki çocuk ne yiyor
6	diye. Bizimki de öyleydi, şimdi bakınca mesela şimdi o eğitim
7	sisteminin içine girince, şimdi çocuklar ne öğreniyor diye bakınca

8 anlıyorum aslında iki alfabeyi öğrenmenin ne kadar zor olduğunu ama
9 bizde o zaman çok normaldi yani biz hiç onu sorguladığım bir ânı hiç
10 hatırlamıyorum.

1 Lusin: (...) You already grow up this way, am I clear? You already exist
2 with it, I mean while outside if you ask a 6-year-old kid why they're learning
3 two alphabets they probably won't be able to give a response to you.
4 Because you've taught them. Like there's potato tonight,
5 the kid won't question what the kid in the next block is
6 eating. It was like that with us, looking back now for example now that I've
7 entered the education system, looking at what kids are learning,
8 I understand how learning the two alphabets is indeed difficult but
9 it was so normal for us back then, I mean I don't recall a moment when
10 I questioned it.

Interview, February 13, 2021

Lusin's account begins with statements that solidifies the given state of Armenian in her life as a child in 1 and 2. In lines 2 and 3, she indicates that she was not in a position where she could question the place of Armenian in her life by drawing on an imaginary child who cannot respond to the question why they are learning two alphabets concurrently. In lines 4 through 6, she likens her situation back then to a child that does not have an option but to eat what is offered to them at dinner. In lines 7 and 8, she retrospectively evaluates the experience of learning the language, in other words learning two alphabets at the same time. In the last two lines, 9 and 10, she restates the fact that it was so normal to her as a child and that she does not remember a moment when she questioned why she learnt the two alphabets.

It seems in Extract 4.11 that Armenian is perceived as a taken-for-granted part of Alis' life. In other words, as can be seen from Alis' account, she did not give much thought about her heritage language and its use around her. It was reportedly a taken-for-granted thing, like having "potatoes for dinner" (lines 4-5), for her that she should learn a different alphabet than the Roman one, and as evident in the excerpt, it is only now as an adult that she ponders these topics. It seems that although the learning of the two alphabets concurrently was perceived as a normal, regular thing back then, looking retrospectively it seems as an exceptional occurrence unlike many

children who only learn a single language and its alphabet as their mother tongue, which shows the development of monolingual language ideologies in general in the participants over time.

Perceiving the language and the act of learning it as a given, usual thing, another frequent topic that was raised during the interviews was the childhood belief that everyone could speak Armenian. Kami realized that this was not the case in an extracurricular course for high school exam placement exams. He responded to my question when he realized that Armenian and Turkish were two different languages in the following words:

Extract 4.12

1 Kami :	Beşinci sınıfta dersaneye giderken. Bizim zamanımızda beşin- ya işte
2	din derslerine girmememiz gerekiyordu. Yani girmemiz
3	gerekmiyordu, din dersine girmeme şansımız vardı. İşte onu
4	öğretmene anlatacakken, o anda yani orda fark ediyorsunuz ki aslında
5	sizin konuştuğunuz dili herkes konuşmuyor. Veya işte sokakta top
6	oynarken de fark ettiğim bir şeyler oluyor ama en böyle "buum"
7	diyebileceğim şey beşinci sınıfta dersaneye giderken fark etmiş
8	olmam yani.
9 Uğur:	O zamana kadar yani. Hani herkes sanki iki alfabe-
10 Kami:	Ermenice biliyormuş gibi düşünüyordum evet. Çünkü çevremiz hep
11	öyleydi yazlık da öyleydi kışlık da öyleydi gittiğimiz evler öyleydi.
12	Veya bizim yanımızda o dili konuşmasa da dedim ya bazı kelimeler
13	ve kalıplar kullanılıyordu o kalıpları bizim çevremizdeki insanlar da
14	biliyordu ben de hiç fark etmemiştim yani.

1 Kami :	*When I went to extracurricular courses at 5th grade. Back then*
2	*we should not take religion classes. I mean it's not that we shouldn't,*
3	*we had the chance not to take religion classes. When I was telling that*
4	*to the teacher, that moment I realized there that in fact*
5	*not everybody speaks the language that you speak. Or like at street*
6	*playing with the ball I realized some things but the thing that I can*
7	*describe as "boom" is that I realized it when I went to the*
8	*extracurricular course.*
9 Uğur:	*Till then, I mean. Like everybody as if they two alphabets-*
10 Kami:	*I thought they spoke Armenian yes. Because all our surroundings*
11	*were all like that, summerhouse and winterhouse that we went to.*
12	*Or when with us even if they couldn't speak, as I said, some words*
13	*and chunks were used, people around us knew those chunks too*
14	*and I didn't realize at all I mean.*

Interview, February 20, 2021

In the first three lines, Kami explains the fact that students from religious minority groups did not have to take religion classes otherwise compulsory for students from Muslim families. He states in lines 3 through 5 that as he was explaining his exempt status to his teacher, he understood that not everybody spoke Armenian. In lines 6 and 7, he indicates that while playing with the ball at the street, there were presumably some moments where he was about to come to the realization of the difference between the two languages, but the "boom" (*boom*) moment is when he talked to his teacher in the extracurricular test preparation course (lines 6-8). In line 9, I venture to ask Kami if he thought everyone learnt both alphabets. He completes the question in his mind and interrupts me in line 10 and states that he even thought everyone spoke both languages back then. He goes on to explain the reason why in the remainder of the extract, that is, because most people around him were speakers of the Armenian language and even those who were not were familiar with and did use Armenian chunks and phrases (lines 12-14) that I have discusses in the previous section. In other words, it was a given, normal thing for the ones around him to be able to speak Armenian to some extent, and thus he assumed that everyone should be like that.

Some participants reported having associated Armenian with school during their childhood. For many, school is the place where they were able to use the language communicatively in their lives. Thus, their heritage language was more of a lesson for them among many:

Extract 4.13

1 Karun: Açıkçası şöyle ki çocukken aslında çok bir şeyim, çok bir bilincin
2 farkında olmuyorsun hani. Doğduğun ve büyüdüğün dil olduğu için
3 sana çok bir şey çağrıştırmıyor. Hani çağrıştırsa da ne olabileceğini
4 anlamlandıramıyorsun. Ta ki büyüdüğünde insan anlıyor kendi dilinin
5 kendi işte kültürünün özelliklerini. İşte Ermenicenin aslında çok güzel
6 bir dil olduğunu, işte insanın dillerle, yani birden çok dil öğrenerek

7 büyümesinin çok büyük bir avantaj olduğunu büyüdükçe anlıyor.
8 Hani ufakken daha böyle yalnızca ders olarak görüyorsun veyahut da
9 yalnızca hani okuldasın diye öğreniyorsun. Benim açımdan böyleydi.
10 Büyüdükçe hani bazı şeyler daha farklılaştı.

1 Karun: Honestly, as a child I didn't have, you're not aware of
2 things. Because it's the language you're born into and raised with,
3 it doesn't arouse much in you. Even if it does, you can't understand
4 what exactly. Only when one grows up, one understand one's own
5 language's, like culture's properties. Like that Armenian is indeed
6 a really beautiful language, that one grows up with more than a language
7 is a big advantage, one understands as one grows up.
8 Like when little, you see it only as a lesson or
9 you only learn it because you're at school. It was like that for me.
10 As I grew up, some things changed.

Interview, March 2, 2021

In the first two lines, Karun admits to not really thinking about the place of Armenian in her life and mind. She states, in lines 2 and 3, that the reason for this is that it is a given, normal thing in her life that Armenian is always there since her birth. Although there might be moments when she could get an understanding of the kind (lines 3 and 4), being too little she does not seem to be able to give meaning to what it could be. Given the "normalcy" and lack of insight due to being too little to think deeply about things, she saw Armenian as one of the lessons at school (lines 8 and 9). It is only when she grew up that she began to gain an understanding of what Armenian is and how being raised by speaking multiple languages might be beneficial to a child (lines 4-6 and line 10).

For many participants, educational settings were environments where they came to the realization the two languages in their environment, Armenian and Turkish, were in effect two distinct languages. It was when Maral began to go to an extracurricular exam preparation course outside of her Armenian middle school that she realized that Armenian was a different language than Turkish:

Extract 4.14

1 Maral: Mesela bunu çocukken tabii ki de hiç düşünmedim çünkü benim için
2 her şey normaldi. Çünkü benim hayatımda Ermenice sürekli vardı
3 benim hayatımda. Ama (?) on iki on üç yaşında. Dersaneye gittiğimde
4 yani o küçük Ermeni çevremden, korunaklı küçük çevremden ilk
5 çıktığımda dış dünyaya, o zaman anladım herhalde. Çünkü işte çok
6 garip gelen, "Aa Ermenice konuşuyorsun" gibi sorular vardı. Ama
7 benim normalim bu olduğu için Ermenice ben konuştuğum günden
8 beri zaten duyduğum ve konuştuğum için bana hiç garip gelmiyordu.
9 Herhalde on iki yaşında falan bunu anladım. Çünkü yan komşularımız
10 benden iki yaş küçük bir yan komşum var ve işte hala çok yakın
11 arkadaşız, onun adının neden Özge ve benim adımın neden Maral
12 olduğunu hiç düşünmedim. Çünkü benim için normal buydu. Neden
13 Ramazan Bayramı'nda onların evine gittiğimi ve neden Paskalya
14 Bayramı'nda bize geldiklerini hiç düşünmedim. Çünkü bizim için
15 normal buydu işte, hani keşke herkes için böyle olsa.

1 Maral: For instance of course I didn't think about it at all because for me
2 everything was normal. Because there was Armenian in my life
3 all the time in my life. But (?) at my 12-13. When I went to course
4 I mean when I first got out of my little, protected Armenian sphere
5 to the outside world, I got it then. Because like there were strange
6 questions like "Wow you speak Armenian". But because
7 my normal was that, because I already heard and spoke Armenian
8 since I spoke it, it didn't seem strange to me at all.
9 Possibly I got it when I was 12 or so. Because our neighbour nextdoor
10 two years younger than me and we are still so close
11 friends, I never thought about why her name is Özge and my
12 name is Maral Because this was what was normal for me. Why I
13 went to theirs at Ramadan Feast and why they came to ours
14 at Easter Feast, I never thought about it. Because for us
15 that was the normal, like if only it were like that for everyone.

Interview, February 18, 2021

The concept of normalcy prevails in Maral's recount as it did in the previous extracts in this section. Because Armenian was always there for her in her life (line 2), she did not give much thought about it. It is only when she went out to the "outside world" from her "little, protected Armenian world" (lines 4 and 5) that she realized she spoke a different language than people outside did. Extracurricular exam preparation courses are most of the time held by dominant language speakers and because they prepare their students to national standardized high school and university placement tests, which are held in Turkish, they are accessible by any people of Turkish citizenship. In line 6, Maral vocalizes a question that she got in the

extracurricular course: *Aa Ermenice konuşuyorsun* “Wow you speak Armenian.” This is probably when she realized that she did something outstanding, that is, not many people normally did. In the rest of the extract, she goes on to explain that this had been normal to her throughout her life, that she always had Armenian. Even before this instance at the extracurricular course, she mentions, in line 9 through 14, she had a friend that is her next door neighbor and who was Turkish. With her, she never had realized that she did something outstanding or strange by being able to speak Armenian. Moreover, Maral was already able to speak Turkish as well as Armenian since her childhood because she was raised with both languages. Nevertheless, it was that specific occasion when she explicitly got a reaction to her abilities in Armenian when she made the clearcut distinction between the two languages.

Like school, street is another place where the participants report that they realized they spoke a different language at home than outside. Aren, who was raised in a predominantly Armenian-speaking home, recounts in the following extract:

Extract 4.15

1 Aren:	İlk ne zaman anlamaya başladım? Sokakta oynarken aslında.
2	Sokaktaki arkadaşlarıma Ermenice bir kelime ettiğimde ve onların
3	onu anlamadığında yani, “Nasıl?” oldum ilk başta açıkçası. Ama
4	ondan sonra tabii ki yaş ilerledikçe okul vesaire yerine oturuyor o
5	taşlar ama ilk başta sokakta oynarken, yani bir kelime edip onların
6	onu anlamadığını fark edince “aa ben farklı bir şey konuşuyorum”u
7	hissettim.
8 Uğur:	Ne zamandı bu?
9 Aren:	Yani üç dört yaşlarındadır. Çünkü o zamanlar daha çok dediğim gibi
10	Ermenice konuşuyordum, anaokuluna başlamadığım zamandı (…)

1 Aren:	*When did I first begin to realize? In fact when I played in street.*
2	*When I said a word in Armenian to my friends in street and they*
3	*didn’t understand, I was like “How?” in the beginning honestly. But*
4	*later, of course as you get older, with school and all, things fall into place*
5	*but in the beginning while playing in street, I mean when I realized*
6	*they didn’t understand a word I said, I felt “Wow I speak*
7	*“something else.”*
8 Uğur:	*When was that?*
9 Aren:	*I mean when I was 3-4 years old. Because then as I said*

10 *I would speak in Armenian, it was when I hadn't begun kindergarten (...)*
Interview, February 27, 2021

Aren states that he did not understand why his Turkish speaking friends he played on the street with did not get the words he said in Armenian. In line 3, by *"Nasıl?" oldum yani açıkçası* ("I was like, 'How,' honestly"), how he was surprised by this fact. Although it was not a fully-fledged awakening as he recounts that it was only with age and after school (line 4), he felt that he spoke "something different" anyway (lines 6 and 7). In response to my question as to at what age he went through that experience (line 5), he responds that around three or four in line 9. As I have discussed in the previous section, he would speak in Armenian, even before he started school (lines 9 and 10). In this regard, Aren also recognized the distinction between the heritage and dominant languages when he got out of the "little, protected Armenian world" at home to the "outside world."

Participants in Extracts 4.12, 4.13, 4.14 and 4.15 all construct Armenian as a normal, regular part of their lives during their childhood. It is evident that there are breaking points when they come to the realization that Armenian is not a regular, taken-for-granted part of everyone's life. For Karun, it is when she grew up that she began to think about her heritage language and its meaning for her (Extract 4.13), while for Maral and Kami, it is when they went outside of their "little, protected Armenian world" (Extract 4.14, line 4) to the non-minority educational institutions of which non-heritage attendants their heritage language was unknown to. Thus, Extracts 4.13 and 4.14 show the significance of Armenian minority schools in the construction of language ideologies. It is when the participants get out of the atmosphere of Armenian minority schools that they begin to encounter inter-ethnic interactions and inquiries intensively, which lead them to question the ideologies of normalcy that they hold. Kami, on the other hand, grew out of his conception of

Armenian as a taken-for-granted part of everyone's life at an earlier age during his pre-school years playing on the street with his non-heritage peers (Extract 4.12). These examples show the importance of inter-ethnic encounters both inside and outside the school in shaping and alteration of ideologizations that language speakers hold in relation to their heritage language.

As I have discussed in the previous section, keywords and phrases in Armenian were recurrent in the language use during the childhood years of the participants. In response to their perceptions of Armenian during childhood, participants brought up Armenian keywords and phrases as well, in that they helped them recognize that their heritage language was distinct from the dominant language. This was especially obvious in the case of participants who were not brought up in predominantly Armenian speaking homes, like Anahid:

Extract 4.16

1 Anahid: Evet evet, o dönemde bir farklılıklar olduğunun farkındaydım. Yani
2 evde de ufak tefek kelimeler olduğu için, özellikle komşulara
3 hangisine ne söylenecek, işte birine "**pari luys**[3]" denecek, birine
4 "günaydın" denecek gibi ayrımları yapmaya başlıyorduk.

1 Anahid: Yes yes, I was aware there were some differences back then. I mean
2 because there were small words at home, especially which ones were to
*3 be said to the neighbors, like "***pari luys***" to one,*
*4 "*günaydın*" to another, we began to make such distinctions.*

Interview, February 7, 2021

Anahid was raised in a home where Turkish was predominantly used. Nevertheless, as discussed in the previous section, there were certain words and phrases that were uttered particularly in Armenian. In the first line of the extract, Anahid makes the case that these words and phrases made her realize that there was a difference between her heritage language and the dominant language. Moreover, she and her siblings began to distinguish between the ones with whom they were supposed to use

[3] Good morning

Armenian phrases and the others with whom Turkish ones. In other words, because Armenian was used sparingly and in specific instances with specific people, it was when she was well young that Anahid began to make the distinction between the two languages.

Hermine, on the other hand, did not make a distinction between the ones with whom she was supposed to use Armenian words and phrases and instead used them extensively with her non-Armenian speaking friends alike. It was when she faced resistance from her friends as regards the "correct" word for certain items that she realized she spoke a language that is different than most others did outside:

Extract 4.17

1 Hermine: (…) Aslında çok küçük dört beş yaşındayken
2 farkına vardım Ermeniceyle Türkçe arasındaki farkı. Yani hep ben
3 çok, aslında ya dedim ya hep *basic* bir kelimeler vardı bizim
4 hayatımızda. Örneğin kültablasına ben çok sonra onun kültablası
5 olduğunu öğrendim. Hep **mokhraman**[4] kelimesini kullanıyorduk.
6 Mesela evde de bu şekildeydi. Mesela evde **jemish** mesela tuvalet hep
7 **jemish**ti[5] benim için. **Krch'adup'**[6] mesela kalem kutusu, ama mesela
8 ben hep diyordum nasıl bilmezsiniz bunu. Yani hani **krch'adup'** bu
9 benim için sonra o diyorlar ki hayır **krch'adup'** değil, hani kalem işte
10 kalem kutusu (?) bu farkındalığım oluştu o zamanlar.

1 Hermine: (…) In fact when I was four or five
2 I realized the difference between Armenian and Turkish. I always
3 in fact, as I said, there were always basic words in our
4 lives. For instance ashtray, I learnt it was called kültablası
5 so late. We would always use the word **mokhraman**.
6 It was so at home too. At home **jemish** *was always toilet was always*
7 **jemish** *for me.* **Krch'adup'** *for instance pencilcase, but for instance*
8 I would always say how come you don't know it. I mean **krch'adup'**
9 this for me, they say no, not **krch'adup'**, *pencilcase*
10 pencilcase (?) my awareness developed back then.

Interview, February 27-28, 2021

Hermine begins the extract by responding to my question when she realized that Armenian and Turkish were different languages in the first two lines. In lines 2 and 3, she refers to the "basic" words that were specially used in Armenian. As in her home

[4] Ashtray.
[5] Restroom.
[6] Pencilcase.

where she and her family used these words in Armenian (line 6), she would apparently use them with her friends that did not speak Armenian too. When they did not recognize the Armenian word, she expressed to them her confusion (line 8). Her friends reportedly insisted that it was not *krch'adup'* but *kalem kutusu* ("pencilcase"), which eventually led her to develop an awareness of the distinction between the two languages (line 10).

For the participants in Extracts 4.16 and 4.17, it appears that linguistic practices that align with the perception of Armenian as a language that is occassionally used bring about an awareness of the differentiation between the heritage and dominant languages. In other words, with the circulation of certain words and phrases amongst certain individuals around themselves, they could make the distinction that they were to use their heritage and dominant languages in different contexts. On the other hand, it is obvious that the heritage and dominant languages do not take place in vacuums separately, but rather they constitute part of the participants' linguistic repertoires with a translanguaging perspective (García & Wei, 2014; Wei, 2018; Wei & Ho, 2018).

To sum up, the perception of Armenian as a given language prevails in the recounts of the participants. In other words, for most of them Armenian was a taken-for-granted, natural part of their lives and they did not really give a thought about it during the early phases of their lives. Thus, some of them held the childhood belief that all people were speakers or learners of Armenian. It was in the street or at school that they realized they spoke a different language than the dominant language. School was also perceived to be tightly related to the Armenian language as it was where they were intensively exposed to the language. For some participants,

keywords that were particularly uttered in Armenian played a role in the distinction of the heritage and dominant languages in their minds.

4.2 Education

Under the theme Education, I will discuss the three topics that emerged from the interview data: Armenian Learning Experience, Effects of K-12 Education on Armenian, and Formal and Informal Education. In the first part, I will portray the descriptions of the participants as regards their experiences in learning Armenian. Next, the perceived effects of K-12 education they received will be discussed. The section will end with a discussion of the effects of formal and informal education on the participants.

4.2.1 Armenian Learning Experience

This topic rather entails the participants' experiences of learning Armenian in formal contexts. For the participants who began school with little to no abilities in Armenian, it was a given thing that they should learn the language in the school. For those participants who had already learnt some Armenian prior to school, it would not be sensible to ask them questions like what their experience of learning the language was like, as they would not be able to recall and reflect on so early periods of their lives. For this reason, I prepared the questions under this topic taking into consideration school and formal education. This was based on the assumption that the participants had all attended Armenian minority schools. There was only one participant who did not attend a single Armenian minority school at any level of her K-12 education. As she learnt the language later herself through by her own means and language courses, I adapted the questions accordingly during the interview I conducted with her.

One of the topics that emerged recurrently during the interviews as sources of difficulty while learning the language was the Armenian alphabet and spelling. Coming from a predominantly Armenian speaking family though, Aren recounts facing difficulty while learning the language at school anyway:

Extract 4.18

1 Aren:	Açıkçası zorlandım. Yani yeni bir dil öğrenmek kolay da, tamam hani
2	konuşmada sıkıntı yok, ama kelimeleri ve harfleri tanımıyorsunuz.
3	Harfleri tanırken evet zordu. Niye zor? Çünkü zaten birsürü harf var.
4	Hepsi birbirinden farklı. Alfabe farklı. Aynı anda bir yandan Türkçe
5	öğrenmeye çalışıyorsunuz yazmayı, aynı anda Ermenice öğrenmeye
6	çalışıyorsunuz. Bundan bir sene sonra İngilizce hayatınıza katılacak
7	ama İngilizceye gelmeden önce bu iki dilin harflerini öğrenip
8	alfabesini ezberlemek çok zordu. Ama yaptık yani, hâlâ yapılıy-
9	yapılabiliyor ama o zamanlar çocukken yani anasınıfında çünkü
10	öğreniyoruz ve anasınıfında oturup koşup eğlenmek varken iki dil
11	öğren, onları yaz gerçekten zorluyordu.

1 Aren:	*Honestly, I was challenged. I mean learning a new language is easy, like*
2	*no problems with speaking, but you can't recognize words and letters.*
3	*Recognizing the letters was hard, yes. Why so? As there are many letters.*
4	*All different from each other. The alphabet is difficult. You're*
5	*trying to learn writing in Turkish, and you're trying to*
6	*learn Armenian at the same time. One year later English will come into*
7	*your life but before English learning and memorizing the letters of these two*
8	*languages was difficult. But we did it, it can still be do-*
9	*done but back then as children at kindergarten because*
10	*we're learning and at kindergarten instead of running and having fun*
11	*learning two languages, writing in them was really challenging.*

Interview, February 27, 2021

Aren begins his recount by stating that he faced difficulty while learning the language formally, that is at school. In lines 2 and 3, he explains that it was especially the recognition of the letters and words that he had difficulty in. Because he was already raised in a predominantly Armenian speaking home, it is possible that he might have had less difficulty with speaking as he reports in line 2. In the following lines, he goes on to explain the reasons for which he faced difficulty in learning reading the Armenian script. One reason is the fact that there are many letters in the Armenian alphabet (lines 3 and 4). In effect, there are 38 of them in Standard Western Armenian, which means one should recognize 76 figures in total

when majuscule and minuscule forms are taken into consideration. Another reason Aren gives for the difficulty he experienced is the fact that the Armenian script is different than the Turkish alphabet (lines 4-6). Lastly, as young children, instead of getting into physical activities and games, he and his classmates had to sit down and try to learn the Armenian script as well as the Turkish alphabet, which made it even more challenging for him psychologically.

Anahid had similar experiences with learning the Armenian alphabet. In fact, she got relieved when she began to learn the Turkish alphabet because it did not involve the intricacies that the Armenian alphabet did:

Extract 4.19

1 Anahid:	Sonra Türkçe okuyup yazmalarım başla- geldi. Ama işte Türkçeye
2	geçtikten sonra, otuz sekiz harften yirmi dokuz harfe ve
3	**ughghakrut‘iwn**[7] diye bir şeyin olmadığını görünce çok
4	rahatlamıştım.

1 Anahid:	*Later I began to read and write in Turkish. But like after*
2	*moving on to Turkish, from 38 to 29 letters and seeing*
3	*there is no such thing as* **ughghakrut‘iwn** *I got*
4	*so relieved.*

Interview, February 7, 2021

As the extract demonstrates, Anahid began to learn the Turkish alphabet after she did its Armenian counterpart. She states throughout the extract that, realizing that the Turkish alphabet consists of fewer letters and ughghakrut‘iwn, she got relieved. *Ughghakrut‘iwn* is a compound word that consists of the words *ughigh* “correct” and *krut‘iwn* “writing,” which means spelling. The Armenian spelling is indeed intricate with a lot of rules to learn by heart so as to give the same phone if not diphthong, and among the 38 letters of the alphabet, there are many doublets and triplets of letters that correspond to the same sounds. Added to this is the fact that there are homophonous words that are yet written with a single letter or two that differ, which

[7] Spelling.

makes it a necessity for one to learn by heart how each given word is spelled correctly.

In Extracts 4.18 and 4.19, it is possible to observe that Armenian is held to be a complicated language. The Armenian script and correct spelling seem to be sources of difficulty in these excerpts. The fact that the Armenian alphabet consists of 38 letters as well as the need for rote learning when it comes to the correct spelling of many words considering the existence of many homophonous letters and words seems to be a cause of complication. Moreover, as evident in Extract 4.19, Anahid displays relief when she finds out that there is less strict rules of spelling to be memorized in Turkish, which seemingly consolidates her perception of Armenian as a complicated language.

Narod recounts that in addition to her own feelings that Armenian was difficult relative to Turkish, she also recalls that Armenian was more meticulously covered at school and that she paid much more effort in studying her heritage language than Turkish for school:

Extract 4.20

1 Narod: (…) Sanki şey var, yani çok fazla tekrar edilmişti yani Türkçeden
2 daha çok üzerinde durulmuştu. Yani Türkçe sanki daha kolay,
3 Ermenice daha zor, ki bence de öyle. Yani alfabe özellikle, o yüzden
4 böyle sayfalarca **ayp**[8] sayfalarca **pen**[9] bunları yazdığımı çok iyi
5 hatırlıyorum. Evet yani daha zor olduğunu düşünüyorum Ermenice
6 öğrenmenin. O yüzden daha fazla emek vermişimdir muhtemelen,
7 hatırlıyorum kelimeleri öğrenme. İşte böyle metinler vardı hep, o
8 metinlerin altında kelimeler. Onun altında sorular, daha böyle ince
9 ince işlenmişti Türkçeye göre.

1 Narod: (…) Like there is that, it was so much more repeated I mean
2 more cared about than Turkish was. I mean Turkish looks easier,
3 Armenian harder, which it is. I mean especially the alphabet, so
4 like pages of **ayp**, *pages of* **pen**, *I remember writing these*
5 quite well. Yes I mean I think learning Armenian
6 is harder. So I might have paid more effort in learning probably,
7 I remember learning the words. Like there were always these texts,

[8] The first letter of the Armenian alphabet, Ա ա.
[9] The second letter of the Armenian alphabet, Բ բ.

under those texts there were words. Thereunder questions, like it was covered more meticulously than Turkish.

Interview, February 14, 2021

Narod begins the extract by stating her belief that Armenian was more well-covered than Turkish at school. In lines 2 and 3, she expresses her opinion that Armenian is indeed harder than Turkish is for her. For her too, the Armenian alphabet is the major source of difficulty as she states in line 3. She remembers having written down the letters *ayp* (Ա ա) and *pen* (Բ բ), which are the first two letters of the 38-letter alphabet, numerous times while learning the alphabet. In lines 5 and 6, she reinforces her statement and belief that Armenian is indeed a more difficult language than Turkish is for her. In line 6, she states that she probably paid much more effort in learning her heritage language. In line 7, she exemplifies the way in which it was more difficult for her, which is learning Armenian words. It can be implied from this instance that for her, Armenian was a subject matter where she had to learn words by heart. In other words, she probably had to learn some, if not many, words at the primary school level by means of reading texts and reading comprehension questions that she describes in lines 7 through 9. This illustrates the role of Armenian minority schools in the development of abilities in the participants' lives as they could learn vocabulary items that they might not have learnt at home or by themselves.

Larisa portrays clearly how Armenian compared to Turkish in terms of the difficulty she faced during the time she went to school. Like Narod, she also remembers paying a lot of effort into Armenian classes:

Extract 4.21

1 Larisa: (…) Zordu. Mesela Ermenice okuma parçalarını öğretmenler. Bence
2 bu herkes için zordu, ki böyle bir ödev vardı okuma ödevi. Yani
3 Türkçe bir şey okucağınız zaman, mesela yarın işte Ali'nin bilmem ne
4 hikayesi okunacak biliyorsun Türkçe dersinde bu okunacak değil mi?
5 Ermenice dersinde de Şuşan'ın bilmem nesini okuyacağız. O Şuşan'ın
6 bilmem ne hikayesini önceden böyle on kere okuyup, çünkü Türkçe
7 daha aşina olduğunuz için size şey geliyor yani. Daha ilk kelimeyi

8 okurken bir sonraki kelimeyi zaten gözünüz tarıyor falan gibi bir
9 bağıntı var orda. Ama Ermenicede öyle yok, çünkü günlük hayatımda
10 Ermenice gazete vesaire şu bu okumuyorum. Hani sadece okulla
11 sınırlı bir şey, yani evde Ermenice hikaye kitabı, işte ödev varsa
12 okuyorsun yaz tatilinde şu bu falan, o noktada kalıyor. O yüzden
13 zordu, yani o okuma ödevlerine mesela önceden hazırlanmadan
14 gitmek diye bir şey yoktu, yani benim için. (…)

1 Larisa: (...) It was difficult. For intance teachers Armenian reading texts. I think
2 this was hard for everybody, there were these reading assignments.
3 I mean when you're to read in Turkish, say Ali's story about whatnot
4 you know it will be read in Turkish lesson tomorrow, right?
5 In Armenian lesson we'll read Shushan's whatever story. That story on
6 Shushan's whatever, reading it 10 times first, because you're more familiar
7 to Turkish for you it's more like. Just reading the first word,
8 your eyes look for the next work, there's such a
9 connection there. But in Armenian no such thing because in my daily life
10 I don't read Armenian papers etc. Like something only limited to
11 school, I mean at home you read Armenian story books, if there's
12 homework, during summer holidays, and what not, and that's all. So
13 it was hard, for those reading assignments, going without preparation
14 there was no such thing, at least for me. (...)

Interview, February 27, 2021

Larisa begins the extract by stating that learning her heritage language was difficult. The first thing she goes on with in the very first line is reading texts that she was assigned for school. In line 3, she begins to compare Turkish reading assignments to the ones in Armenian. She indicates in lines 3 and 4 that she hardly prepares before going to school when she is assigned a Turkish reading text. In lines 5 and 6, on the other hand, it is clear that she had to read an assigned text in Armenian multiple times. The reason she gives for the comparison she makes is that in Turkish she was much faster in recognizing the words in a given reading text (lines 6-9). According to Larisa, the reason she was not as fast in Armenian is because she did not engage in extensive reading activities outside school, such as reading newspapers (lines 9 and 10). In lines 10-12, she makes the case that reading in Armenian was limited to academic purposes, and that, fort his reason, going to school not having prepared for Armenian reading assignments was not a possibility (lines 13 and 14).

Like the participants who went to Armenian minority schools, Tamar, a late learner of her heritage language, also faced difficulties in the process of learning the language. She experienced similar difficulties:

Extract 4.22

1 Tamar: Zordu zordu. Şöyle söyleyeyim, hani ben evde konuşulan Ermenicede
2 ekmeğin, suyun, masanın, kapının bir şekilde karşılığını biliyordum.
3 Hani aşağı yukarı mesela. **Tuṛ**[10] diyelim kapıya, **tuṛ.** Bizimkiler de **duṛ**[11]
4 diyordu, yani onu ben **duṛ** dendiğinde kapı olduğunu anlıyordum.
5 Ama yazı hali çok farklıydı, alfabesi çok farklı. Bir de hiç
6 kullanmadığımız kelimeler beni çok yordu, örneğin hiç unutmam (…)
7 ilk derslerden biriydi herhalde. Doğaldır ki şiir kelimesi geçti derste
8 **panasdeghdzut'iwn**[12] bu kelimeyi ben ilk defa orda duydum ve o
9 kelimeyi öğrenmek yani öğrenmek şöyle yani telaffuz edebilmek
10 günlerimi aldı yani. Bu bakımdan ben öyle bir farklı bir durumdayım
11 ki. Hani Ermenice evde konuşuluyordu ama **panasdeghdzut'iwn**
12 denmiyordu, yani öyle bir kelimeyi bilmiyorlardı. O kelimeyi benim
13 öğrenmem sokaktaki bir insanın öğrenmesi kadar zordu ve yani
14 gerçekten zor bir dil olduğunu hâlâ şey yapıyorum yani teslim
15 ediyorum. Yani bilenleri de tebrik ediyorum hele dışardan hani.
16 Sermayeden öğrenmeyenleri. Sermayede bulmayıp da sonradan
17 kelime kelime öğrenenleri çok takdir ediyorum. Kendim de öyle
18 çünkü ben o kelimeyi öğrenmek için günlerce, yani o kelimeyi tekrar
19 etmeye çalıştım yani o kadar da kolay gelmedi bana zor bir tecrübeydi
20 benim için (…)

1 Tamar: It was difficult. Let me put it this way, I knew the equivalent in Armenian
2 spoken at home for bread, water, table, door somehow.
3 Like roughly. **Tuṛ**, *for instance, door,* **tuṛ**. *My family would say*
4 **duṛ**, *so I would understand it was door when* **tuṛ** *was said.*
5 But written version was so different, the alphabet. Also, the words we
6 never use tired me a lot, for instance I never forget (...)
7 one of the first classes probably. Naturally there was the word poetry,
8 **panasdeghdzut'iwn**, *I heard that word first there and to learn that*
9 word I mean learn like I mean being able to pronounce it
10 took my days. In this respect I'm at such a different position.
11 Like Armenian was spoken at home but **panasdeghdzut'iwn** *was never*
12 said, I mean they didn't know such a word. My learning that word
13 was as difficult as someone on the street and I mean
14 that it is a really difficult language, I still well, I mean
15 admit it. I mean I congratulate those who speak it, especially from outside.
16 The ones that did not learn it as a capital. I appreciate those who didn't find
17 it as a capital and learnt it word by word a lot. Myself the same too,
18 because in order to learn that word for days, I mean I tried to
19 repeat that word, I mean it was not that easy for me, it was a hard
20 experience for me. (...)

Interview, February 12, 2021

[10] Door.
[11] (dialect) Door.
[12] Poetry.

As in the previous excerpts, Tamar begins her recount by stating that learning Standard Western Armenian was difficult for her. She immediately goes on to explain her status as a "new speaker" (Robert, 2009; O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2013; O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013; Costa, 2015; Hornsby, 2015b; Jaffe, 2015, O'Rourke et al., 2015) in lines 1 through 4. As discussed in the previous sections, Tamar was raised in a home where a dialect of Armenian was spoken. Because the dialect was not used intensively with the children, however, Tamar and her siblings never got to be fluent speakers of their heritage dialect of the language. After marying her husband of Armenian descent, she began to self-teach and later attend courses. Because her dialect is not in widespread use, and Standard Western Armenian is the prevalent variety of Armenian available institutionally, she learnt this standard form. In the "door" example as well as bread, water and table, all daily commonplace items, in lines 1 through 4, she makes clear that she had already had some baseline knowledge in the Armenian language, although there were differences in pronunciation and so on. As Tamar never received formal education in Armenian, she also had difficulty in learning the alphabet just like the other participants during their early years in formal education (line 5). Although other participants did not complain about learning oral skills, Tamar mentions having had difficulty in the pronunciation of complex words, such as *panasdeghdzut'iwn* "poetry," a word of five syllables. The reason she had more difficulty in learning words of this kind is probably because unlike the other participants, she was not exposed to such words during the earlier phases of her life. Although she was familiar to certain words in her heritage dialect, they were of no help to her in learning more complicated ones. As she states, as they were not necessary in daily life, such words were not uttered in her childhood home (lines 11 and 12), and thus it was as difficult for her to learn

them as someone not able to speak Armenian who one can find on the street (lines 12 and 13). In lines 14 and 15, she moves on to describe Armenian as a different language. She appreciates those who learn Armenian as a foreign language in 16 and 17 and describe them as not learning it from the "capital" (*sermaye*). By the word "capital," it is clear that she refers to individuals with heritage status. In line 17, she puts herself into the same category since, as she explains in the last three lines, she put a lot of effort in learning the language and thus it was a difficult experience for her. All in all, it is possible to see the intricacies in her status of and self-identification as a heritage speaker.

In Extracts 4.20 through 4.22, it is possible to see the perception of Armenian as a complicated language. In addition to the perceived difficulty of the Armenian alphabet and correct spelling, the participants report having had to pay a lot of effort in studying the Armenian alphabet as well as language content as in reading assignments. Tamar, an adult learner of the language, mentions having had difficulty in learning new words and especially their pronunciation unlike many of the participants (Extract 4.22). This is probably because the other participants were already exposed to the Armenian phonotactics in one way or another during their formative years in contrast with Tamar.

In summary, responding to the questions that inquire into their experiences of learning the Armenian language, most participants recounted having had difficulty in learning the Armenian alphabet and spelling. The reasons for this difficulty are various, as illustrated in the excerpts illustrated above. For one, the alphabet contains a considerable amount of letters and correct spelling requires rote learning and a lot of practice. Moreover, the participants had to learn the Armenian alphabet concurrently with the Turkish one, which made things even more difficult for them.

Another factor that added to the perceived difficulty in the learning experience is the fact that the participants had higher abilities in the dominant language, and thus they needed to pay a lot more effort for their Armenian classes. Tamar, a new speaker of Armenian, can be seen as a prime example, as she only began to learn her heritage language formally in her adult years, she expressed how she had to work on every single word that she had to learn. These experiences of the participants seem to have resulted in the perception of Armenian as a complicated language as has been illustrated in their interview accounts.

4.2.2 Effects of K-12 Education on Armenian

In this section, I will portray the perceived effects of K-12 education on the abilities of the participants in Armenian. The central question that relates to the topic Effects of K-12 Education on Armenian was what kind of effects the participants think the education they received might have had on their Armenian.

For many participants, Armenian minority schools had an important role in the development of their Armenian skills as they were the places where they had access to intensive Armenian input in their lives. This is especially true for the participants who were raised in homes where Turkish was predominantly spoken over Armenian, such as Seta:

Extract 4.23

1 Seta:	Ben birinci sınıfa başladığımda zaten (…) koroya da başladım
2	Ermenice işte şarkı, sözlü çocuk korosu. Şiir çok öğrenirdik okulda.
3	Hep işte ben müsamerelerde işte çıkardım, tiyatro olsun işte şiir olsun.
4	Hep sahnede olurdum, okurdum, ederdim. Yani hep çok haşır
5	neşirdim Ermeniceyle, pat diye hayatıma girdi ama sonra ayrılmaz bir
6	parçası oldu zaten. Ama yine dediğim gibi okulun dışında çok öyle
7	Ermenice konuşabileceğim kimse yoktu sadece gizli bir şey
8	olduğunda işte. Dedikodu yapılacaksa falan Ermeniceye de
9	başvururdum. Ama onun haricinde hemen hayatıma sindi, hani bir
10	süreç gibi olmadı. Zaten sabahtan akşama kadar Ermeni okulundasın
11	eve geliyorsun, ders yapıyorsun hani bir de o zamanlar matematiği de

12 Ermenice öğreniyorduk. (…)

1 Seta: When I began the first grade already (...) began to go to the chorus
2 Armenian like songs, lyrics a kids' chorus. We learnt a lot of poetry at
3 school. I would always go on stage, be it theater plays and poetry.
4 I'd be always on stage, recite and so on. I mean I always mingled with
5 Armenian, it came into my life suddenly but then became an integral
6 part of it. But again as I said, outside school there were not many with
7 whom I could speak in Armenian, only when there were secret
8 things. When it was to be gossiped etc. then I would resort to
9 Armenian as well. But ther then that it permeated in my life immediately,
10 it was not like a process. You're already at Armenian school from morning
11 to evening, you learn lessons like also back then we would learn Maths
12 in Armenian too. (...)

Interview, February 20, 2021

Seta begins the extract by stating that when she started formal education, she also began to get involved in extracurricular activities within the scope of school, such as children's chorus, poetry recitals and theater plays (lines 1-3). She was reportedly on stage all the time (line 4). In line 5, she describes the introduction of Armenian into her life as *pat diye* ("suddenly") as she began to be exposed to Armenian intensively after she started school. As discussed in the previous sections, she was not brought up in a home where Armenian was predominantly spoken. With school, however, Armenian "became an integral part of her life" (line 5 and 6). In lines 6 through 9, she makes clear that she did not have much opportunity to use Armenian outside school, and in such cases it was when she wanted to gossip or talk about things secretly as discussed in the previous sections. She describes the introduction of Armenian in her life further as an "immediate permeation" rather than a gradual process (lines 9 and 10). The role the school had in this permeation can be seen in the final three lines of the extract, where she recounts that in addition to being in the Armenian minority school during the day, she studied for her lessons at home as well and also that subject matters such as mathematics were taught in Armenian at school. The fact that Armenian was not taught only as a language but also used as a means of

instruction can be said to have developed in Seta a sense of communicability in her heritage language.

Seta can be said to ideate Armenian to be a school language. It becomes evident in her account that she was introduced to the Armenian language at a certain point of her life through formal education (line 5) and thereafter it became an integral part of her life. She recounts that having barely anyone to talk to in Armenian, it was at school that she could immerse herself in the language. Moreover, she would reportedly complete her assignments at home in Armenian too, which further consolidated her conceptualization of Armenian as a school language.

The fact that Armenian was used as a means of instruction for subject matters was counterproductive, however, in the case of many participants and led to negative perceptions of the language. The participants recount their experiences of this kind especially in relation to the time period when they had to prepare for high school and university placement tests, which are held in the dominant language:

Extract 4.24

1 Aren:	(…) Geliştirdi. Ama benim gözümde Ermenicemin en geliştiği *top*
2	nokta lisemdir. Çünkü dediğim gibi yani bizim lisede Ermeni- Türkçe
3	bir kelime edemezsiniz. Edersiniz ama Türkçe konuşamazsınız, yani
4	öğretmenlerle Türkçe konuşamazsınız. (?) Yani konuşamazsınız diye
5	değil, zorunluluk aslında değil, yanlış da anlaşmak anlaşılmasını
6	istemem, ama konuşmazsınız zaten. Çünkü zaten hani her şeyi
7	Ermenice yapıyorsunuz, otomatik olarak Ermeniceye dönüyorsunuz.
8	Ya ben dediğim gibi zaten, normal hayatımda da hep Ermeniceye
9	daha odaklı bir insan olduğum için, bana okula gittiğim böyle, gelişti
10	Ermenicemi orda geliştirdim yani. Düşünün ki bir kimyayı Ermenice
11	öğreniyorsunuz. Yeni kelimeler öğreniyorsunuz. Yeni terimler
12	öğreniyorsunuz. Aslında bize çok şey katıyordu o zaman lise
13	çağındayken. Çok ters geliyordu. Ben üniversite sınavını Ermenice mi
14	çözeceğim? Hayır çözmeyeceksin. Haklı bir isyan, ama şu an işte X
15	bir kelimenin Türkçesini de biliyorum, Ermenicesini de biliyorum.
16	Aslında benim kelime dağarcığımı geliştiriyordu. (…)

1 Aren:	*(...) It improved. But to me, the top point where my Armenian improved*
2	*the most was my high school. Because as I said at our high school Armen-*
3	*you can't say a word in Turkish. You can, but you can't talk Turkish, I mean*
4	*you can't talk to the teachers in Turkish. (?) I mean not that you can't talk,*
5	*not an obligation in fact, I don't want to be misunderstood either,*

6 but you just won't talk in it anyways. Because already like you do
7 everything in Armenian, automatically you go back to Armenian.
8 As I already said, because in my normal life too I was always
9 more focused on Armenian, to me that I went to school like, it improved
10 I improved my Armenian there I mean. Imagine you learn chemistry
11 in Armenian. You learn new words. You learn new
12 terminology. In fact it contributed many things to us back then during
13 high school years. It seemed very counterintuitive. Will I take the university
14 entrance exam in Armenian? No you won't. A righteous rebellion, but now
15 I know what a word x is both in Turkish and in Armenian.
16 In fact it would improve my vocabulary too. (...)

Interview, February 27, 2021

Aren begins by stating that K-12 education he received improved his Armenian. In the first two lines, he makes the case that it was at high school that his Armenian improved the most. In lines 2 through 6, it is understood that at his high school, communication is held in Armenian predominantly. First, he states that one could not say a word in Turkish, especially to the teachers, as if it were a school policy (lines 2 through 4), but then he auto-corrects himself by saying that it was not an obligation, but one would just not prefer to speak in Turkish (lines 4 through 6), as most things take place in Armenian and automatically go back to Armenian from Turkish (lines 6 and 7). For Aren, it is a given, natural thing that communication takes place in Armenian as he has spoken Armenian at home and outside intensively since his early childhood, which he reaffirms in lines 8 and 9. For this reason, he holds the opinion that his Armenian improved at high school especially in terms of academic terminology rather than being able to excel in communicating in Armenian. In lines 10 through 12, he exemplifies by mentioning having learnt chemistry in Armenian. Looking back retrospectively, he thinks that learning new vocabulary and terminology in Armenian was a plus in his life (lines 12 and 13). In line 13, he turns back to his perceptions of the case back then as a high schooler, and describes it as "counterintuitive." In lines 13 and 14, it is seen that the fact that he had to double-learn the lessons and terminology alike for the sake of preparing for university

placement tests, he poses his high schooler self in the past whether he were to take the test in Armenian and auto-responds that no, he were not. In line 14, he describes this questioning a "righteous rebellion" (*haklı bir isyan*), but still, retrospectively speaking, it contributed more to him than it took from him (lines 14 through 16).

In Aren's account, it is possible to see a discourse on Armenian as a school language in circulation, as well. Evidently through linguistic policies and practices, the use of Armenian was reinforced amongst the student body in his high school. Nevertheless, as Aren had always been exposed to and engaged with Armenian in his daily life outside of the school too, he reportedly benefited from school especially in terms of terminology in different fields of science. The obligation to double-learn teaching content, though, seems to have developed a sense of Armenian as an unresourceful language because he had to take university placement tests in his dominant language only. It is only now that, as an adult, he acknowledges the contributions of Armenian instruction to his skills in Armenian.

When facing challenges during their time at Armenian minority schools, some of the participants looked for ways out so that they could get away with the extra burden Armenian would bring on themselves. Alis, for example, chose to attend science track at her high school:

Extract 4.25

1 Alis: O bilinçsiz olduğum bir dönem, her şeye isyanım olduğu ergenlik
2 döneminde, Ermeniceye karşı da. Çünkü şöyle söyleyim. (…) Bizim
3 Ermeni lisesinde çok ağır bir Ermenice veriliyordu lisede. Özellikle
4 lise birde. Beni Ermeniceden soğuttular yani o kadar ağır bir
5 Ermeniceydi. Üç farklı Ermenice dersi vardı: bir dil bilgisiyle alakalı
6 ayrı bir ders vardı, okumayla alakalı ayrı bir ders vardı, bir de
7 edebiyat dersi vardı ayrı. Yani ve o edebiyat dersinin kitapları da
8 minicik yani ne kadar minik diyeyim artık tırnak ucu kadar yazılarla.
9 (…) Ben gerçekten Ermeniceden soğudum. Öbür derslerin yanında
10 Ermeniceye ayrı ayrı benim zaman ayırmamı istiyorlardı lisedeyken.
11 O yüzden belki de bu tepkim olmuştur. Çünkü zaten ÖSS
12 dönemindesiniz. Zaten karmakarışık birsürü ders başlamış, yani lisede
13 fiziği var bilmem nesi var. Onun yanında bir de yani ben bu kadar

14 zaman ayırmak istemiyorum hâlâ da bak bu kadar şeyi gereksiz
15 görüyorum. İçine girmeyi. Ermenicenin çünkü biz Ermeni dili ve
16 edebiyatı uzmanı olmayacağım yani, ama ileride Ermenice öğretmeni
17 olmak isteyen biri varsa tabii ki öğretin bunu. Tabii ki öğrensin, çünkü
18 uzmanlaşıyor. Ama benim o yaşta yani bir on beş yaşında bu kadar
19 Ermenicede uzmanlaşmama açıkçası gerek yok ve bir tepki oluştu
20 bende. O hatırladım şimdi o dönem oluştu işte bu tepki. Sırf o yüzden
21 ben fen bölümüne gittim ki ben kurtulayım yani birazcık bu Ermenice
22 dersinden açıkçası diye, çünkü sözelde ve TM'de, bir de işte dil
23 bölümünde (…) daha çok veriliyordu Ermenice dersi. O yüzden ben
24 kendimi biraz fende ayrıştırdım açıkçası ordan. Bizim üstümüze o
25 kadar gelmiyorlardı yani.

1 Alis: During the period when I was unconscious, when I was rebellious against
2 everything as an teenager, against Armenian too. 'Cause let me say (...)
3 In our Armenian high school there was a too heavy Armenian instruction.
4 Especially in the ninth grade. They turned me off from Armenian, it was
5 that heavy Armenian. Three different Armenian lessons: one about grammar
6 a separate one abour reading, and one
7 about literatüre separately. I mean and the books of the literature class
8 were so tiny I mean how tiny shall I say, texts as big as a nail tip.
9 (...) I really got turned off from Armenian. Aside from the other lessons
10 they wanted me to spare time to Armenian spearately at high school.
11 So maybe this was my reaction. Because you're already in ÖSS
12 times. Many complex lessons already began, I mean at high school
13 there's physics and whatnot. Besides that I don't want to spare that
14 much time, I still see that many things
15 unnecessary. Diving that much into it. Because we I won't be an expert in
16 Armenian language and literature I mean, but if there is someone who wants
17 to be an Armenian teacher, of course teach them it. Let them learn of course,
18 because they'll master it. But at that age, I mean at my 15 I don't have to
19 master it to that extent and a reaction was aroused in
20 me. I remember now, during that period came into existence this reaction.
21 Just because of that I chose science section so that I get rid of that Armenian
22 lesson a little, because in verbal and Turkish-Math and in the language
23 section (...) more Armenian lessons were given. So I separated
24 myself a little by choosing science. They didn't push us
25 that much I mean.

Interview, February 11, 2021

In the first line, Alis describes the time she was in rebellion against Armenian lessons as when she was "unconscious" and "rebellious against everything," that is her teenage years. As such, her rebellion was against Armenian, too (line 2). In the same line she begins to explain the reason why she was rebellious against Armenian lessons. Armenian lessons were so loaded in her high school (lines 2-4) that she got turned off by Armenian (line 4). At her high school, there were reportedly three different Armenian lessons: grammar, reading and literature (lines 5-7). Moreover,

the materials used for these lessons were, as she recounts, dull and non-reader-friendly (lines 7-8). In line 9, she reiterates that she got a cold approach to the Armenian language. She moves on to explain how challenging she thought of Armenian lessons at high school. In addition to all her other courses, she was supposed to spare a good amount of her time for her Armenian lessons (lines 9 and 10). Like Aren, she mentions the burden *ÖSS* (the name of the university placement test back then) had on her during those days (lines 11 and 12). It is also a time when she had to learn many "complicated" subject matters, as she calls, like physics (lines 12 and 13) and so she does not want to dive deeply into Armenian lessons (lines 13-15). In lines 14 and 15, she reiterates her belief that it is not necessary for students to learn that much, which she still thinks so even as an Armenian teacher at the same school. In lines 15 through 19, she describes the heavy Armenian education at her high school as one that fits those who want to be Armenian language specialists or teachers of Armenian. Nevertheless, given that she did not want to be one herself back then, she reportedly developed a reaction to the given situation (lines 18-20). In the face of the challenges she faced and the reactions that she developed, Alis looked for a way to get away with the loaded Armenian education at her high school. In lines 20 through 25, she refers to the tracks that one could choose at one's high school. Instead of choosing *sözel* "verbal" (focusing on Turkish and social sciences), *TM* , abbreviation for *Türkçe-Matematik* "Turkish-Maths" (with a focus on Turkish and mathematics) and *[yabancı] dil* "[foreign] language" (focusing on English and to some extent other languages such as Turkish and Armenian among them) tracks, she opted to go for the *[matematik -] fen* "[mathematics -] sciences" (with a focus on mathematics and sciences), where Armenian education was not as heavy as it would be in the other relatively more verbal tracks (lines 23-25).

Alis went to the same high school as Aren did, and there were many other participants who attended that same high school. Their experiences were more or less the same in terms of Armenian education, and many expressed the challenges they faced in the face of loaded Armenian education as well as having to double-learn subject matters as Armenian was mostly used in their high school. In Alis' account, it is possible to see her perceived reasons as to why students are challenged by Armenian education at that high school:

Extract 4.26

1 Alis: (…) Bunu okulun kendine yaptığı bir ego olarak da görüyorum. Çünkü
2 başka okullarda başka liselerde böyle ağır değil Ermenice dersi. En iyi
3 Ermeniceyi biz veririz, en iyi Ermeniceyi bizden çıkan konuşur
4 iddiası vardı benim gittiğim lisede. Ve en iyi okul da biziz en iyi lise
5 de biziz iddiası. Dolayısıyla bu iddia bir çocuklar üzerinde baskı ve
6 bir çekişme doğuruyordu. Bu sebeple daha bir ağır Ermenice verme
7 gayesine girdi okul. Öyle olunca işte. Daha ağırdı. Öyle söyleyeyim.
8 Yani lisedeyken Ermenice hani daha mı çok şey öğrendim? Yoo daha
9 çok şey öğrenmedim. Hayır. Hatta bilhassa tepki geliştirdik yani bu
10 kadar bize ağır Ermenice verildiği için.

1 Alis: (...) I see it as an ego that the school made for itself. Because in
2 other schools, other high schools Armenian lesson is not that heavy. "We
3 give the best Armenian, our graduates speak the best Armenian" claim was
4 existent in my high school. And "the best school, the best high school is us"
5 claim. So this claim created on the children pressure
6 and competition. So the school aimed to give
7 heavier Armenian lessons. Then so. It was heavier. Let me say it that way.
8 I mean at high school did I learn more things Armenian? Noo I did not
9 learn more things. No. Particularly we developed a reaction I mean because
10 we were taught that heavy Armenian.

Interview, February 11, 2021

In line 1, Alis describes the heavy Armenian education that is offered in her high school as an "ego that the school makes for itself." In other words, it is specific to that high school, as can be seen in her statements in lines 1 and 2, that at other high schools Armenian education is not as "heavy." In lines 2 through 4, she mentions that her high school claimed to be the best in teaching Armenian. Furthermore, as Alis recounts, the high school holds the claim that they are the best high school (lines 4 and 5). It can be claimed, for this reason, that the school gave importance not only

on the teaching of Armenian but also the teaching of subject matters. Naturally, claiming to be the best school in the Armenian minority community of Istanbul, this was also a burden on the students so that they could achieve great success in university placement tests, which means they had to double-learn subject matters in the two languages (lines 5 and 6). With such claims as teaching Armenian the best, the school opted for giving more loaded Armenian education in Alis' words (lines 6 and 7). In lines 8 and 9, she questions herself if she and her schoolmates learnt more stuff, which she responds with a "no." Unlike Aren, who today believes that it helped him get equipped with vast knowledge of terminology in both languages despite his negative attitudes toward the language back then, Alis is insistent on the negative consequences such loaded Armenian education has had on her attitudes toward the Armenian language (lines 9 and 10). In the same lines, it is also possible to see that Alis uses the first person plural; in other words, she vocalizes the same attitude that can be observed in the students of her high school, as in my participants who went to that high school. That is to say, by using the first person plural, Alis is speaking not only on her own behalf, but she actually expresses the reactions that she has felt were present in the general student body of her high school.

In Extracts 4.25 and 4.26, it is possible to observe a vicious cycle between the language policy followed in the Armenian minority school that Alis went to and the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language. Not only is the perception of Armenian as a school language is evident, but the language is also perceived as complicated and unresourceful because of the high significance attributed to it by the school amongst the many other subjects. The perception of Armenian to be an unresourceful language is explicit in Extract 4.25, where Alis suggests that difficult an Armenian instruction for those who pursue to be language specialists in or

teachers of Armenian. Moreover, she explicitly states that the efforts of her high school to teach excellent Armenian led to reaction in the students.

In Extract 4.25, I have illustrated how Alis got away with the loaded Armenian education at her high school by choosing the science track where Armenian education was relatively less loaded than other tracks. Karun is another participant who found a way out. Aware of the possible challenges that she might face in an Armenian high school, she opted not to go to one at all whatsoever:

Extract 4.27

1 Karun: Hayır Ermeni lisesine gitmemek tamamen benim kararımdı. Şöyle
2 fazladan hani Ermenice ders istemedim ve hani Ermeni liselerinin
3 akademik açıdan biraz da zor olduğunu biliyordum. Hani eğitim
4 açısın- eğitime önem veriyoruz ve ben de o dönemlerde parlak bir
5 öğrenci değildim ilkokulda. Parlak bir öğrenci olmadığım için de hani.
6 Fazladan beş ders daha da görmek istemedim. Akademik olarak da
7 beni zorlayacak bir okula gitmek istemedim, o yüzden meslek
8 lisesinden devam etmek istedim. İyi ki de meslek lisesinden devam
9 etmişim diyorum bugün.

1 Karun: No it was totally my decision to not go to an Armenian high school. So
2 I didn't want extra Armenian lessons and like I knew that
3 academically Armenian high schools were a bit challenging. Like education-
4 wis- we give importance to education and I was not a brilliant
5 student at primary school. Because I was not a brilliant student.
6 I did not want to see five more lessons. Academically speaking too
7 I did not want to go to a challenging school, so I wanted to
8 continue in a vocational high school. Today I say that fortunately
9 I continued in a vocational high school.

Interview, March 2, 2021

Prior to the extract, I had posed Karun the question whether her not going to an Armenian minority high school was her own decision, to which she responded that it was totally her own decision (line 1). In lines 1 through 4, she expresses her awareness back then that going to an Armenian minority high school would be academically challenging and later she reports not having been a brilliant student at her primary school years (lines 4 and 5). Given she was reportedly not a brilliant student, she states that she did not want to take extra five lessons (lines 5 and 6). It is hard to clearly guess what these extra five lessons are. Alis had counted three of

them: reading, grammar and literature of Armenian. Nevertheless, though it might not be exactly five, there would definitely be extra Armenian lessons that she would need to take, were Karun not to go to a regular Turkish high school instead of an Armenian minority high school. All in all, she chose to go to a regular Turkish vocational high school (lines 7 and 8) as she was intimidated by extra Armenian lessons (line 2) as well as by the possibility of being challenged academically in general (lines 6 and 7). Up to this day, she is content with her decision. Nevertheless, she reported elsewhere in the interview that her abilities in Armenian diminished in time after beginning high school and today, as she teaches in an Armenian minority kindergarten, she has to study Armenian herself so that she can speak fluently to the toddlers and infants there.

Another participant, Larisa, went to the same high school as Aren and Alis did. Based on her experiences at the high school, she did not want her younger brother to face similar challenges and so she did not want him to go to an Armenian minority high school:

Extract 4.28

1 Larisa: (…) Ama yine yani ben integrali şimdi sen bana Ermenice
2 anlatıyorsun. Ben her şeyi üniversite odaklı düşünüyorum, dolayısıyla
3 böyle çok şey memnuniyetsiz bir şikâyet konusudur yani benim için.
4 Bu ben bu dili neden öğreniyorum? Bu bizim dilimiz, bu bizim
5 anadilimiz işte **mayreni lezu** falan. **Mayreni lezu** işte Ermenice
6 anadil demek oluyor. Ama o romantiklik orta sonda ve lise sonda yok
7 kafanıza böyle şey gibi vuruyor. Çünkü zaten sağolsun hocalarımız
8 şey yapardı ama yani işte (…) Ermenice anlatırlardı çünkü o öyle eda
9 edilmesi gereken bir süreç. Ama sonrasında şöyle bir de bir Türkçe bir
10 özet, hani "Anlamadığınız bir şey var mı?" falan gibi. Hiç
11 konuşmuyorduk asla, işte askerî kurallar gibi bir şey değil. Ama
12 sonuçta her şeyi yine. Şey yapıyorsunuz yani. Ermenice
13 öğreniyorsunuz ve bu benim için bir şikayet konusuydu mesela.
14 Kardeşimin bununla uğraşmasını istemediğim için mesela lisede
15 Ermeni okuluna gitmesini istemedim ve gitmedi.

1 Larisa: (…) But I mean you teach me integrals in
2 in Armenian. I think of everything focusing on university, so
3 quite dissatisfied, it's a matter of complaint for me I mean.
4 Why do I learn this language? This is our language, this is our

5 mother tongue, like **mayreni lezu** *etc.* **Mayreni lezu** *like means mother*
6 tongue in Armenian. But there is no such romanticism at 8th or 12th grade
7 it hits you hard like. Because thankfully our teachers would
8 do like but (...) teach in Armenian because it was a process to be
9 carried out this way. But later a summary like in Turkish
10 like "Anything you don't get?" Not like we would never
11 talk in Turkish, not like the military rules. But we
12 would do everything anyway. You do like. You learn in
13 Armenian and this was a matter of complaint for me for example.
14 Because I didn't want my brother to deal with that for instance
15 I didn't want him to go to Armenian high school and he did not.

Interview, February 27, 2021

Having gone to the same school as Aren and Alis, Larisa begins the extract by stating the fact that she learnt the content in mathematics in Armenian (line 1). However, because her focus is on being successful in university placement tests, she seems not content with Armenian being used as the means of instruction (lines 2 and 3) as she would have to double-learn the content. In line 4, she vocalizes the question she asked during her high school years – the question why she is learning that language. Beginning in the same line and through line 6, she speaks with her present mindset: that it is their *mayreni lezu* "mother tongue," that it is "theirs." For her, this "romantic" thinking is not something present in the last year of middle school (*orta sonda*) and that of high school (*lise sonda*; lines 4-6). It is especially those last years of middle and high school that students intensively prepare for high school and university placement exams, so it can be said that rather than holding these "romantic" ideals, Larisa had pragmatic concerns so as to be able to receive better further education. In line 7, she describes the challenge as "hitting you hard." In lines 7 through 10, she recounts the procedures her teachers followed in teaching subject matters: they first teach in Armenian, which is a ritual, "a process to be carried out this way" (*böyle eda edilmesi gereken bir süreç*). Afterwards, they ask students in Turkish if there was anything not clear. Speaking of these procedures, Larisa recalls that Turkish was not not spoken at all as in "military rules" (lines 10 and 11).

Nonetheless, these were not enough for her to take a fancy to Armenian as they still had to perform things in Armenian, in contrast to the pragmatic aims she had during those days (lines 11-13). She ends the extract by saying that based on her experiences, she did not want her brother to go through the same and did not want him to go to an Armenian minority high school, which he did not. Later in the interview, however, she expressed that her brother's abilities in Armenian diminished quite a bit. It can be said, thus, that although learners might develop negative attitudes in the face of loaded Armenian education, formal education in the heritage language warrants a certain degree of abilities in heritage speakers.

The perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language by the participants can be observed in Extracts 4.27 and 4.28, as well. In the former excerpt, Karun reports having escaped from extra classes in Armenian that she deems as unnecessary, and in the latter one Larisa reports having prevented her brother from going to an Armenian minority high school. Although Karun does not seem to be remorseful of her decision, Larisa indicates that much as she perceived Armenian as an unresourceful language back then, today she holds romantic ideas toward Armenian as a heritage language (Extract 4.28, lines 4-6). Thus it can be said that language policies by schools can affect language ideologies in negative ways although they might be well-intended for the maintenance of a given language. This might in result cause in further language shift and loss, as in the case of Larisa's brother whose abilities in his heritage language are, as Larisa has reported elsewhere in the interview, quite limited in the present day.

Unlike the participants illustrated above, who got away with Armenian education in one way or another, Tamar and her siblings did not have the chance to go to an Armenian minority school whatsoever by necessity. They moved to Istanbul

while they were quite young, but because her eldest sibling had begun her formal education in a regular Turkish primary school in their hometown, he could not transfer to an Armenian minority school for bureaucratic reasons back then. Thus, their parents did not send Tamar and her siblings to Armenian minority schools and they completed all their K-12 education in regular Turkish schools. In her case, it was not the K-12 education she received in Armenian minority schools, but the lack of it, that led her to send her children to Armenian minority schools, like her siblings who all did the same:

Extract 4.29

1 Tamar:	Çok kıymetli olduğunu düşünmemişim ya da işte fark edilmemiş bu.
2	Büyüklerim de ay bakın Ermenice bunu aman unutmayın gayret
3	edelim öğrenelim öyle bir çaba içinde olmamışlar. (…) Benden önce
4	büyüklerim işte iki ablam evlendi, abim evlendi, çocukları oldu.
5	Bizim bir ben de evlendim, kardeşim arkamdan evlendi çocuklarımız
6	oldu ve çocuklarımızı özenle ilk orta okulu en azından Ermeni,
7	semtimizin Ermeni okullarına gönderdik, onların o okula
8	gitmelerinden de çok memnunuyet duyduk. İşte oradaki kelimelerle
9	karşılaşınca “Aa biz bunu evimizde biliyorduk” mesela bu kelimeyi
10	bazı şeyler vardı bazı şeyler de yeni öğrendik hani onun evimizde
11	konuşulan o dilin her bir kelimesinin ne kadar kıymetli olduğunu,
12	şimdi konuşurken ben de fark ettim ki sanırım çocuklarımız
13	Ermeniceyi bir ders olarak öğrenmeye başladıklarında fark ettim. (…)
14	Benim yeğenlerimin Ermeni okuluna gidip Ermenice öğrenmeleri
15	arkasından benim de çocuklarım gittiler, hani o kadar çok heyecan
16	duymadılar benim kadar belki ama onların Ermeni okuluna
17	gittiklerinde öğrendikleri dilde bildiklerimiz de bizi mutlu etti.
18	Bilmediklerimizi de işte öğrenmeye çalışıyoruz.

1 Tamar:	*I didn’t think it was so precious or like it wasn’t realized.*
2	*My elders were in no effort like oh look, Armenian, don’t forget it,*
3	*let’s put some effort in it, let’s learn it. (...) Before me*
4	*my elder siblings, my two sisters got married, my brother did, they got kids.*
5	*I got married too, my younger sibling after me, we got kids*
6	*and we sent our kids meticulously to Armenian, at least primary and junior*
7	*high, schools in our district, we got happy that*
8	*they went to those school. Encountering the words there,*
9	*“Oh we knew that at home” like this word*
10	*there were some things, some we learnt newly like that each word in the*
11	*language we spoke at home was so precious.*
12	*Speaking now, I realize that I think I realized when our kids*
13	*began to learn Armenian as a subject matter. (...)*
14	*My nephew/nieces going to Armenian school learning Armenian*
15	*later my kids did, like they didn’t feel as excited*
16	*as me but when they went to Armenian school*

17 the things that we knew in the language they learnt made us happy.
18 We're trying to learn the things that we didn't know today.

Interview, February 12, 2021

Tamar begins the extract by stating the fact that her parents and the elder members of her family did not intend to transmit their abilities in the dialect of Armenian that they spoke at home to their children (lines 1-3). In lines 3 through 7, she explains that along with her siblings who did the same to their children, she sent her children to Armenian minority schools in the district that she lived in Istanbul. She describes the act of sending the children to Armenian minority schools as "meticulously" (*özenle*), which indicates that it was a well-planned, educated endeavor. She and her siblings were content that their kids went to Armenian minority schools (lines 7 and 8), not only because the kids were able to learn their heritage language there, but because they could reconnect with the Armenian dialect that was spoken in their childhood home as well (lines 8-11). It was when her and her nephews and nieces began to receive formal education in Armenian minority schools that she realized that every single word that was spoken in their childhood home in their heritage dialect was precious (lines 10 through 13). In lines 14 through 16, Tamar indicates that the kids were possibly not as excited as she was, which might be due to the reasons that I have discussed above in the previous excerpts. However, for her and her siblings, their kids' receiving Armenian education in their schools was a source of contentment and a way to reconnect with their heritage language (lines 16 and 17). Apparently, it was a factor that had a role in their getting involved in the learning of their heritage language as new speakers, as Tamar admits that to this day, they still continue to learn things that they do not know in Armenian (line 18). In the case of Tamar, lack of formal education in all the parts of her K-12 education is a major factor that has made her invest in learning and getting her kids to learn their heritage

language in the later parts of her life. In this regard, Tamar differs from the other participants who were questioning of and even “rebellious” against the Armenian language during their days of K-12 education, which for many led to lesser engagement with the heritage language in the later phases of their lives.

To sum up, Armenian minority schools seem to have played a major role in the development of participants’ Armenian, thus having resulted in the construction of the ideology of Armenian as a school language. For the participants from predominantly Turkish speaking family backgrounds, it was a place where they could receive intensive input in their heritage language as well as use the language communicatively. Likewise, the participants reportedly acquired academic knowledge in Armenian in Armenian-medium schools where subject matters are covered in Armenian. Intensive Armenian education was a recurring topic in participant accounts on their educational lives. Not only did the participants have to learn extra lessons on Armenian language and literature, but they had to prepare for high school and university placement tests, which made it an obligation for them to double-learn their lessons in Armenian and Turkish. Given these conditions, participants recounted their discontent and questioning of the place of the Armenian language in their lives back in those days. Furthermore, they looked for ways to get away with intensive Armenian education in order to escape from the challenges that they might face. In this regard, it can be said that the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language went hand in hand with the ideation of Armenian as a school language as it supported the perception of difficulty around the Armenian language in ways that have been discussed above.

4.2.3 Formal and Informal Education

In this section, I will illustrate the ways in which the participants think formal and informal education they received affected their knowledge of Armenian language and culture. The questions I posed the participants in relation to this topic include whether they were supported and encouraged by their family members, teachers or someone else so that they could improve their Armenian skills and to what extent they believe the education they received inside or outside school taught them the culture of their heritage language successfully.

In response to my question whether their families supported or encouraged the participants to learn the Armenian language better, most participants recounted that it was a given thing in their lives and so their families did not engage in extra endeavors to lead their children to study the language more. For them, what their children learnt at school was enough:

Extract 4.30

1 Anahid: Hiç yoktu hiç yoktu. Direkt herkes "okulda nasıl olsa öğreniyor,
2 yeterlidir" modundaydı. Yani en azından mesela benim babaannem
3 dedem bilir sadece, annem babam bilmez. Bir nesil atlamıştır köylerde
4 konuşulmasın diye. Bir nesil atlanmıştır. Okulda ben onlara göre daha
5 formal bir eğitim aldığım için yeterli görüyorlardı.

1 Anahid: There was not at all. Everyone was directly thinking, "anyway she's
2 learning at school, it's enough." I mean at least only my grandmother
3 and grandfather speaks it, not my parents. A generation was skipped
4 in the village so it won't be spoken. A generation was skipped. Because I
5 received more formal education than them, they saw it as sufficient.

Interview, February 7, 2021

Anahid begins the extract by stating that there was no effort on the part of her family as to encourage her to learn better Armenian or follow other pursuits for that sake. In the first two lines, she expresses her family's thought that now that she is learning at school, it is enough for her. In lines 2 through 4, she explains the reason why her parents are not speakers of their heritage language. According to the extract, it is

because her Armenian speaking grandparents did not speak to their children, now Anahid's parents, in Armenian so that they would not speak in a minority language in a majority language speaking village in Anatolia. Thus there is a one-generation-gap between her grandparents and herself (line 4). Because her parents are not speakers of Armenian, she automatically overdid them by receiving formal education, as she puts it in lines 4 and 5. Thus, it was enough for Anahid's parents that their daughter went to school and learnt what she learnt of the Armenian language there.

Arlin recounts, similarly to Anahid, that for her Armenian was one of the subject matters to be learnt for school. There was not anyone in her family that questioned her abilities in Armenian, either:

Extract 4.31

1 Arlin:	Normal dediğim gibi bir dersti. Ya da kimse benim Ermenicemin iyi
2	olu- neden kötü diye sorguladığı bir yer de yoktu. Yani tek
3	önemseyen insan herhalde öğretmenlerdi. Onun dışında yani evde
4	öyle bir durumumuz yoktu bizim.

1 Arlin:	*As I said it was a normal lesson. Or there was nowhere where anyone would*
2	*question why my Armenian was good or bad. I mean the only ones*
3	*that cared were probably the teachers. Other than that I mean at home*
4	*there was no such thing.*

Interview, February 19, 2021

In the first line here, Arlin makes the case that Armenian was one of the many lessons that she learnt at school. In lines 1 and 2, she states that there was no one around her that cared whether her Armenian was good or bad. She holds that it was probably only her teachers that cared about it (lines 2 and 3). The fact that she uses the adverb "probably" (*herhalde*) signifies that she does not remember a vivid moment when she received explicit encouragement from her teachers either. What she is certain of, however, is that at home there was no such encouragement from her family (line 4) as it was one of the lessons for her.

The perception of Armenian as a taken-for-granted part of the participants' lives is prevalent in Extracts 4.30 and 4.31. Just like the perceived normalcy and taken-for-grantedness held by the participants during their childhood, it appears that their families and acquaintances also held similar ideations. It can be said from the excerpts that perception of Armenian as a school language is connected with the perception of the language as a normal, regular part of their lives. In other words, as long as the participants are good at their school, their families are not concerned. This concomitantly results in further perception of Armenian as a school language.

As in the cases of the participants above, Seta's family did not engage in an inquiry into the abilities or pursue in ways that could enhance the abilities of their daughter in Armenian. However, her teachers reportedly realized that she was predisposed to learning Armenian well, and encouraged her to be an Armenian teacher in the future:

Extract 4.32

1 Seta: Evet ailemin değil çünkü ailem farkında bile değildi bunun. Yani
2 sadece toplantıya gidiyorlardı. Çok iyi çok başarılı çok çalışkan harika
3 ne güzel çocuğunuz var. Eve geliyorlardı, bu kadar. Ama okulda
4 Ermeniceye de öğretmenlerimin hani yatkın olduğumu düşündükleri
5 için, aslında o zaman da hepsinin işte Ermenice öğretmeni olmamı
6 istediklerini biliyorum. "Büyüyünce," yani "sen Ermenice öğretmeni
7 olmalısın." Şimdi ben de yapıyorum onu, mesela böyle ilgisini ve
8 yeteneğini fark ettiğim öğrencilere. Yani "hiç düşündün mü,
9 düşünüyor müsün" falan diye şey yapıyorum. Ben de ne yapıyorum
10 mesela işte. Bazen dersi onların anlatmasını istiyorum, öyle gördüğüm
11 öğrencileri. Çok basit konular olduğunda. Ya da işte bir okuma
12 metniyse "sen anlat hani bunu sınıfa," falan diye. Evet onlar da benim
13 de yani ilgimin ve yeteneğimin farkındalardı ve o yüzden
14 destekliyorlardı da.

1 Seta: Yes, not my family because my family wasn't even aware of it. I mean
2 they would only go to parent-teacher meetings. So good, successful,
3 hardworking, excellent how good your kid is. They'd come home, that's it.
4 But at school, thinking I was apt to Armenian, my teachers all
5 wanted me to be an Armenian teacher back
6 then, I know. "When you grow up," I mean, "you must be an Armenian
7 teacher." Now I do the same, for instance to students whose interest and
8 talents I realize. I mean "have you ever thought,
9 do you consider," I well. I do it too, for instance

10 well. Sometimes I want them to teach a lesson, the ones that I
11 see that way. When the topic is very easy. Or like if it's a reading
12 text, "you tell that now to the class," and so on. Yes they were aware
13 of my interest and talent as well and so
14 they supported me too.

Interview, February 20, 2021

In the first three lines, Seta describes the way in which her family approached her development of Armenian. Their involvement included them going to teacher-parents meetings and receiving feedback on Seta's success and conduct (lines 2 and 3). In lines 4 through 6, Seta recounts that things were not this way at school, and being aware of her predisposition to learn Armenian well, her teachers wanted her to be a teacher of Armenian in the future. In lines 6 and 7, she quotes that she probably heard from one of her teachers, that she must be an Armenian teacher when she grows up. In lines 7 through 9, she reflects her current self as an Armenian teacher and recounts that now she does the same to her students that she thinks are good in Armenian. She exemplifies how she does that in lines 8 through 12, for instance, by asking her students, getting them to teach in class and to tell things about reading texts. As she explains in lines 12 through 14, her teachers were aware of her skills and interest in Armenian. Although it is not clear from her account whether her teachers did the things that she now does to her students, it is clear that her teachers' attitudes and encouragement toward her led her to be an encouraging teacher herself.

Although most participants reported not being encouraged by their family members to learn better Armenian, there were specific instances where some of the participants were encouraged for success they exhibited in certain fields. Maral, for one, recounts:

Extract 4.33

1 Maral: Bir tane eniştem vardır ailemizde. (…) Eniştemin Ermenicesi
2 harikadır. (…) Bizim Ermeni gazetelerinden birinde bir gün yazdığım
3 bir Ermenice şiir, çocuklar için yapılan bir sayfa vardı. (?) ya o
4 yayınlanmıştı ya da bir kompozisyon yazmıştım o yayınlanmıştı. (…)

5 Onu görüp o akşam bizi eve yemeğe davet etmişlerdi ve sırf bunu
6 kutlamak için o akşamı ayarlamışlardı. (…)

1 Maral: I have an uncle in my family. (...) My uncle's Armenian is
2 wonderful. (...) In one of our Armenian papers, one day, there was a
3 poem I wrote, a page for children. (?) Either that was
4 publiched or an essay that I wrote was published. (...)
5 Seeing that, they invited us for dinner that night and just to
6 celebrate that they arranged that night. (...)

Interview, February 18, 2021

Maral begins the extract by describing her uncle, who reportedly speaks perfect Armenian. In lines 2 and 3, she talks about one of the Armenian newspapers in Istanbul where a page was spared for the written works by children. In lines 3 and 4, she display uncertainty as to whether it was a poem or an essay of hers that was published in the newspaper. Nevertheless, it seems to be a great achievement as the space on the newspaper must be limited and getting in there would be standing out among many other children. In the last two lines of the excerpt, Maral recounts that her uncle and his family arranged dinner on the night when her written piece was published on the newspaper and it was "just to celebrate that" (*sırf bunu kutlamak için*). In this extract, it is possible to see that an accomplishment by Maral was rewarded and celebrated by her family members and thus she was encouraged to do more with Armenian in the future.

The other question that I posed the participants pertained to the extent to which formal and informal education they received taught them the culture of their heritage language successfully. The responses I received from the participants revolved around family and school. Those participants who thought their families taught them cultural elements such as religious feasts and traditions, nevertheless, mentioned school as another source of culture learning as they reportedly learnt more there than they did from their families only. Seta, for example, holds that it was only

thanks to school that she learnt culture, and her family's involvement in the transmission of cultural elements was minimal in her opinion:

Extract 4.34

1 Seta: Evet bir tek onlar öğretti zaten. Yani okulda yani bu okulda
2 okuduğum için Ermeni kültürünü öğrendim. Yani dediğim gibi şimdi
3 Ermeni kültürünün içinde hani birsürü eleman var. Ama en büyük
4 ayağını da dinî diyeyim ritüeller oluşturuyor işte. Zorunlu din falan
5 gibi şimdi değil tabii ki de işte. Çok Ermenilikle çünkü din ve milliyet
6 çok iç içe ya biliyorsun zaten. Yani evde yani tamam Paskalya'da
7 çöreğimiz yapılırdı, yumurtamız boyanırdı **mama**[13]m bunları yapardı.
8 Ama mesela **Dznunt**[14]**'**ta işte yani şeyde. Bizim Noel'imizde hiçbir
9 şey yapılmazdı. Ailem de bunu yani şey için yapıyordu. Bizim Ermeni
10 okuluna gitmemiz kardeşimle ya da işte evde **Zadig**[15] kutlanması
11 kültürel olarak korunması gereken bir şey, bu dil korunmalı bu kültür
12 korunmalı. (…) Ne öğrendiysem o yüzden okuldan, korodan,
13 dernekten, mezunlar derneğinden. Buradan öğrendim. Yani
14 bayramları, bayramda ne yapılır, bu bayram niye vardır? İşte neyi
15 sembolize ediyordur falan her şeyi okulda öğrendim.

1 Seta: Yes, only they taught me anyway. I mean at school I mean at this school
2 thanks to going there, I learnt the Armenian culture. As I said, there are
3 many elements within the Armenian culture. But the biggest part is
4 religious, let me say, rituals. Not like compulsory religion or so
5 of course bue like. Very with Armenianness because religion and nationality
6 are so intertwined as you know already. I mean at home okay at Easter
7 pastry was baked, eggs were painted my **mama** *would do these.*
8 But for instance at **Dznunt** *I mean. At our Christmas nothing*
9 would be done. My family did this for well. That I go to Armenian school
10 with my sibling or like at home celebrating **Zadig** *was something to be*
11 protected culturally, this language should be protected, this culture should
12 be protected. (...) So whatever I learnt is from school, the chorus,
13 association, alumni association. I learnt from there. I mean feasts,
14 what is done during a feast, why is there that feast? Like what
15 it symbolizes etc. I learnt everything at school.

Interview, February 20, 2021

In response to my question whether she thinks that the schools that she went to taught Seta her heritage culture well enough, she starts the excerpt by stating that it was only the schools that she learnt her heritage cultural elements from. In lines 2 through 4, she makes the case that there are many elements that constitute the Armenian culture, and religion has the biggest share. Indeed in response to my

[13] Mother.
[14] Christmas.
[15] Easter.

question on the teaching of culture, practically all participants mentioned religion. In lines 4 through 6, Seta states that although it is not obligatory to be affiliated with a certain religion due to being Armenian, religion and ethnicity is intertwined anyways. In the following lines, she illustrates the situation by the case of her family. For instance, her mother would do preparations for the celebration of Easter (lines 6 and 7). On the other hand, they did not do any such celebratory activities during Christmas (lines 8 and 9). As Seta told me elsewhere in the interview, her family are atheists. Because of the intervowenness of religion and ethnicity for the Armenian community, they choose to celebrate one of the religious feasts, Easter, culturally while they ignore another, Christmas. In lines 9 through 12, Seta explains the situation by saying that it was a cultural thing and something cultural to be protected. Seta's family's relatively little involvement in the cultural, that is to say substantially religious, events makes her school as the place where she learnt the cultural aspects of her heritage language (lines 12 through 15).

In lines 12 and 13, Seta counts the places where she learnt her heritage culture at. Chorus, association and alumni association are in addition to school in her account. These are the informal platforms that emerged a couple of times in the interview data. Chori were either religious, that is they sang during the Sunday Mass, or secular children's choirs. In either case, the songs that were sung in the chori were in Armenian. Associations, on the other hand, mostly associations of the alumni of the schools that the participants graduated from. They had activities like theater plays, dinners and choirs too. In all these cases, it was a given thing that the chori sang in Armenian, yet theater plays might have been staged in Armenian or Turkish. Most talk outside the actual time of singing and playing on stage was held in Turkish; nevertheless, all these activities were where the participants were able to gather with

their peers of their heritage, and their use of and involvement in the Armenian language was higher than it was otherwise in the outside world. All in all, the participants regarded these informal (quite formal though they may be, as in the case of a chorus singing during the Sunday Mass) meeting platforms as important parts of their life where they were able to learn more about their heritage culture. Religion holds an important place in the language ideologies of the participants, which will be dwellt on in the upcoming sections.

All in all, most participants recount that the Armenian education they received at school was sufficient in the minds of their families. In other words, their families most of the time did not question whether they were doing well with Armenian and thus did not try to encourage their children to engage in the language more closely. Altogether, this can be said to be a reflection of the perception of taken-for-granted normalcy of Armenian in the lives of the participants. This perception of taken-for-grantedness was apparently prevalent across generations, both in the parents and in the children as discussed in the previous sections.

There were a couple of instances where the participants were explicitly encouraged to be teachers of Armenian and were celebrated for success that they had shown in different areas using the Armenian language. When it comes to the teaching of culture, many participants reported that the education they received at school was enough. Although there were participants that hold the belief that they learnt their heritage culture well at home, they did not totally exclude school as a place to learn more about culture. In other words, school appears to be a common platform where the participants had access to cultural activities. Informal settings where some participants reported that they developed cultural understandings were choirs and alumni associations, where they were able to engage in religious and

secular activities in, not always though, their heritage language. These activities were not only places for culture learning, but also for socialization into Armenian speaking communities consisting of individuals within their age group. It is evident that different heritage language learning settings are at play in the construction of language ideologies by the participants. In other words, the contexts in which one might be socialized into their heritage language not only influences the experiences one might go through, but they also shape the way their language ideologies come into existence.

4.3 Chapter summary

Throughout the chapter, participants have shown different experiences with their heritage language. They report having had different trajectories of life with the Armenian language during their childhood and youth, that is in the past. Many participants were raised in predominantly Turkish speaking homes, while others were exposed to relatively more Armenian. As such, the participants report Armenian being used in specific occasions even in Turkish-predominant childhood homes. A common perception of the Armenian language during the childhood years of the participants is that it was a given, natural thing and thus they did not give much thought about it. The participants recount having came to the realization of the distinction between their heritage language and the dominant language in different contexts such as the school and the street and thanks to keywords and phrases that are usually uttered in Armenian.

When it comes to the participants' experiences with learning their heritage language, a recurring response is the difficulty they had especially with the 38-letter alphabet and spelling rules that need to be memorized. Although school seems to

have a major role in their improvement of skills in Armenian, the participants reportedly developed negative attitudes toward the Armenian language due to the hectic curriculum observed in Armenian minority schools for the sake of teaching good Armenian and of preparing the students for success at university placement exams held in the dominant language. The concept of normalcy is recurrent in terms of formal and informal support and encouragement that they received. Some participants report instances where they were encouraged to get more into the Armenian language. In the teaching of culture, school and family are the two settings where the participants received the most. For some participants, along with school, chori and alumni associations are other informal support platforms in the learning of their heritage culture as well as socialization with their peers of Armenian heritage.

When it comes to the ways in which the participants' language ideologies have manifested in the data in the present chapter, there were a number of them. Firstly, the analysis has shown that Armenian was perceived to be an occasionally spoken language. That is to say, the use of Armenian on given situations such as keywords and phrases led to the development of the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language during the childhood years of the participants. This, as evident in the latter parts of the chapter, led to the awareness of the differentiation between the heritage and dominant languages. Secondly, monolingual and standard language ideologies of the heritage and dominant languages seem to be at play. As can be seen in some of the excerpts, an awareness of dialectal diversity shows up in the data. This is mostly due to the proximity to family members who speak non-Standard varieties of Western Armenian. It can be claimed that Standard Western Armenian language ideologies at school as well as monolingual Turkish ideologies might have led participants to not be able to gain fully-fledged proficiency in the

given dialects of Western Armenian. Thirdly, the perception of taken-for-grantedness in relation to the Armenian language has been shown to prevail not only for the participants themselves, but also for their family members and acquaintances. In other words, the participants recount that they did not contemplate what their heritage language meant to them back then and that it was a given thing in their lives. Moreover, their families further reinforced this perception by associating the language closely with school success and caring not much further about it. Thus and fourthly, the association of Armenian with school can be also said to have been consolidated for the participants. Armenian was rather linked tightly with school; not only does it seem to have been the place where they could be immersed into the language, but it also meant that Armenian constituted more of a lesson for them, which is one amongst many. Fifthly, in relation to the perception of Armenian as a school language, the perception of Armenian to be a complicated language has emerged in the data. The perceivedly complicated structure of the language added to the fact that it was to be learnt concurrently with Turkish content seems to have led to reaction in the participants during their childhood and youth years. Finally, the perception of Armenian as a complicated language was in close association with the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language. Many participants report having deemed Armenian to be a language that was not necessary because for them it was not perceived to be as resourceful as Turkish would be in the university placement tests. Altogether, it can be said that the language ideologies of the participants regarding their heritage language during their childhood were in interaction with the linguistic practices and policies around them.

In the present chapter, I discussed the experiences of the participants with their heritage language in the past and the ways in which language ideologies are

situated in their interview accounts. In the subsequent chapter, I will try to illustrate the ways in which my participants are engaged with their heritage language in the present as well as discuss the ways in which language ideologies are situated within the accounts of the participants in the interview data.

CHAPTER 5

EXPERIENCES WITH ARMENIAN IN THE PRESENT

In the previous chapter, I tried to illustrate the experiences of my participants in the past with Armenian and the language ideologies that they held in relation to their heritage language. In the present chapter, I will discuss their recounts of the use of the language in their own lives as well as their self-evaluation of Armenian and perceptions of "ideal" Armenian with a focus on language ideologies. The chapter will begin with a discussion of the use of Armenian at present in the lives of the participants, including the ways they actually engage in the use of the language as well as the events that take place necessarily, or mostly at best, in Armenian. Next, I will focus on the participants' perceptions of their heritage language, first in terms of their self-evaluation of their skills in Armenian and then the beliefs they hold as regards what makes "ideal" Armenian versus non-ideal.

5.1 Use of Armenian Today

There are two topics that will be covered under this section: Participants' Use of Armenian in Their Everyday Lives and Participation in Events That Take Place Necessarily in Armenian. In the first part of the section, I will illustrate the recounts of the partipants as to the ways they are actively using Armenian, their heritage language in their own lives. Because of the possibility that not all participants might be using their heritage language that actively in the present day, the extent of my questions and thus of the discussion will be the places where they witness Armenian to be used in cases when they might not use it themselves. In the next part, I will describe their descriptions of events that "necessarily" take place in Armenian. In

this part, I aim to look for the events that the participants describe as taking "necessarily" in Armenian, yet I foresaw the possibility that they might not necessarily attend events of these kind or such events might not be available anyway. For this reason, my questions and thus my upcoming discussion too entails what they think should be necessarily in Armenian, or on the other side of the coin, what need not be.

5.1.1 Participants' Use of Armenian in Their Everyday Lives

The question by means of which I initiated the discussion of the extent to which the participants are using their heritage language in the present day was where they use the language today. The other questions that followed the same topic aimed to reveal the extent to which the participants are engaged in the use of Armenian in the present. Toward this aim, I posed questions such as with whom the participants tend to use their heritage language and when, whether they come across Armenian being spoken around them although they might not be at that moment (which is because although I aimed to discover the ways in which they engage in using their heritage language themselves, I predicted that not all of my participants would be able to use it actively in their lives), and if they use the language in non-oral means such as social media or for pleasure reading.

There were some participants who reported using the Armenian language in their daily lives in the present day in communication. Having been raised in a predominantly Armenian speaking household during his childhood years, Aren is one of them. He recounts:

Extract 5.1

1 Aren: Her durumda diyebilirim. Yani zaten şey klasiktir, onu az önce de
2 söyledik. Biri hakkında özel bir şey konuşacaksam direkt Ermeniceye
3 dönerim. Onda hiçbir sıkıntım yok, ama ortamda da yani atıyorum iki
4 üç arkadaşız ve Ermenice konuşacağını bildiğim biri varsa ve bir şey
5 söyleyeceksem, direkt Ermeniceye döner söylerim. Ya da işte benim
6 bir arkadaşım vardır, şu an Amerika'da yaşıyor kendisi. Biz mesela
7 hiç onunla Türkçe konuşmayız liseden beri. Hep (?) Ermenice
8 konuşuyorum. Türkçe konuşuruz bir kelime, iki kelime. Üçüncüsünde
9 Ermeniceye döneriz. Yani o alışkanlık gelmiş, öyle de devam ediyor.
10 İşyerinde çok konuşuyorum. Şirkette bir arkadaşım var işte o da
11 Ermeni. Onunla beraber konuşuyoruz işle ilgili bir şey olduğunda.
12 Yaptığımız bir şeyi işte çaktırmamamız gerekiyorsa Ermeniceye
13 dönüyoruz. Biri hakkında konuşacaksak Ermeniceye dönüyoruz. Şu
14 an için aslında bakarsak hani genel arkadaşlarımla konuştuğumda, biri
15 hakkında konuştuğumda Ermeniceye dönüyorum diyebilirim.

1 Aren: I could say in all cases. I mean, well it's a classic, which we talked
2 about already. If I am to talk about someone privately, directly I turn
3 to Armenian. No problems there, but say in a place we are two or
4 three friends and if there's someone I know who speaks Armenian and if
5 I'll say something, I directly turn to Armenian and say it. Or like I have a
6 friend, who lives now in America. For instance we haven't talked
7 in Turkish at all since high school. Always (?) I speak in
8 Armenian. We speak in Turkish for a word or two. In the third, we
9 turn to Armenian. I mean it's been a habit, and goes on this way.
10 I talk a lot at work. I've got a friend at the company, he's also
11 Armenian. With them I speak when there's something about work.
12 If we're not to reveal something, we turn to
13 Armenian. We turn to Armenian if we'll talk about someone. For
14 now in fact if we look at it like when I talk to my friends generally, when
15 I talk about somebody I turn to Armenian I can say.

Interview, February 27, 2021

In the first line, Aren reports that he might speak in Armenian in any situation. In lines 1 through 3, it can be understood that he uses the Armenian language when there is something private that he wants to share with other Armenian speaking people in the presence of non-Armenian speaking individuals. In lines 3 through 5, on the other hand, unlike many other participants who recount that they turn back to Turkish after a couple of words or sentences in Armenian, Aren reports preferring to speak in Armenian whenever possible. Likewise, he reportedly has a friend to whom he exclusively speaks in Armenian (lines 5-9), which he describes as a "habit" (*alışkanlık*; line 9). Although he works in a predominantly Turkish speaking

company, he prefers to speak in Armenian with his Armenian colleague as well (lines 10-11). In the workplace, too, he and his Armenian speaking colleague use Armenian when they want to talk about private things or about others (lines 11-13). Aren provides, in lines 13 through 15, a summary of the cases when he speaks in Armenian in his present life. It is when he knows that he can converse in the language and when he wants to talk about others or private matters in the face of people who do not speak Armenian.

Aren's intensive use of his heritage language in the present stands out amongst the participants. In other words, not many of the remaining participants report using Armenian intensively in their daily lives. They instead report switching to Armenian when they desire to hide the content of their talk from non-Armenian speaking people around them:

Extract 5.2

1 Alis:	Ya kimsenin bir şey anlamasını istemediğim zaman. Yanımdaki de
2	Ermenice biliyorsa tabii. Bu hatta öyle bir boyutta ki bazen
3	yanımdakini unutuyorum Ermenice bilmediğini. O sırada bile
4	konuşmak istiyorum. Öyle yerleşmiş, fakat konuşamıyorum tabii.
5	Hatta bazen ağzımdan çıkıyor bir kelime. Sonra diyorum ki o
6	Ermenice bilmiyor. Onun dışında da. Yani yok kullanmıyorum. Arada
7	dediğim gibi bazı kelimeler var bizim zaten mesela Ermenice olarak
8	yerleştirdiğimiz evin içinde. O zaman Ermeniceyi kullanıyorum.
9	Onun dışında kullanmıyorum herhalde.

1 Alis:	*Well when I want no one to understand anything. If the one around me*
2	*speaks Armenian too of course. To the extent that sometimes I*
3	*forget that they don't speak Armenian. Even at that moment I*
4	*want to speak in it. It's so rooted, but I can't speak in it of course.*
5	*Sometimes even a word comes out of my mouth. Then I say that they*
6	*don't speak Armenian. Other than that. I mean no I don't use it. At times*
7	*as I said some words that we already, for example in Armenian*
8	*habitually use at home. Then I use Armenian.*
9	*Otherwise I probably don't.*

Interview, February 11, 2021

In the first two lines, Alis implies that when she desires something not to be understood by others and on condition that there is another Armenian speaking

nearby, she switches to Armenian. She is used to doing this to the extent that, as can be seen in lines 2 through 4, she wishes to switch to Armenian even in cases when the person next to her does not speak Armenian, and sometimes even utters a few words in Armenian automatically (lines 5-6). In line 6, she makes clear that other than these few instances, she does not use the Armenian language in her daily life. Just like private talks, certain words that are usually uttered in Armenian at home is another exception in her life when she uses Armenian (lines 6-8). Other than these exceptional cases, she does not use Armenian in her daily life (line 9).

In the two extracts discussed above, it is possible to observe the use Armenian as a marker of identity. Although Aren and Alis diverge in their present-day engagement with the language, both of them report at some point that they use the language in order to hide the content of their talk from others around themselves. This shows that the use of Armenian as a distinctive marker of identity has persisted since the past, relating to the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language. Another perception, which is also related to the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language, that can be observed in both participants is the perception of Armenian as a taken-for-granted part of their lives. In other words, both participants regard Armenian as a given thing and from time to time opt to using the language in their daily lives. Obviously, this is more frequent in the case of Aren, who uses the language in a more extensive, and less occasional, fashion. That is to say, for Aren, the perception of Armenian as a taken-for-granted part of his life is manifest in his extensive daily use of the language. In Alis' case, who reports not using the language as extensively, on the other hand, Armenian seems to be there for her as a normal, given thing all the time. Although she does not engage in the use of her heritage language as frequently, there might be times when she might forget the

non-heritage(-speaking) status of those in her whereabouts and thus switch to use her heritage language.

As discussed above, use of Armenian in order to hide things from others is a common theme that emerged in the interviews. In Arlin's case, it is in written communication that she uses Armenian with her family to secure credit card information:

Extract 5.3

1 Uğur:	Yazışmada mesela, sosyal medyada ya da WhatsApp tarzı
2	mesajlaşma uygulamalarında?
3 Arlin:	Pek yok. Sadece işte kredi kartı numarası falan ileteceksek böyle işte
4	birbirimize aile içinde mesela bazı harfleri işte 97 63 yerine işte
5	97 6 yazıp işte 3'ü **yerekʿ** şeklinde yazıyla yazma gibi öyle bir
6	gizleme şeyimiz var.

1 Uğur:	*In texting for instance, on social media or WhatsApp-like*
2	*texting applications?*
3 Arlin:	*Not quite. Only like if we transfer credit card number etc. so like*
4	*to each other in the family for instance some letters like instead of 97 63*
5	*writing 97 6 like writing 3 as* **yerekʿ** *in letters, like that we*
6	*have a thing of hiding.*

Interview, February 19, 2021

As the interviewer, I aim to inquire the extent to which my participant, Arlin, uses her heritage language in her present life in the first two lines. With this aim, I exemplify the ways in which a language could be used in non-oral channels. In the third line, she responds to my question and states that usually she does not use Armenian in these channels. She immediately goes on to mention the case when she does use her heritage language, though, in the same line when she and her family want to encrypt credit card information (lines 3-6). It can be understood that instead of writing some digits in Arabic numerals, they prefer to text their Armenian meaning (although she does not make clear whether they text the Turkish transliteration *yerek* or the original *կրկը*). In this respect, it can be said that, limited though as they may use the language, their knowledge of Armenian serves Arlin as

part of her and her family's linguistic repertoire by which they try to secure sensitive information from fraudsters (unless they are speakers of Armenian, of course).

In the extract discussed above, Arlin seems to use Armenian as a way to distinct herself from the members of linguistic out-group identity, embedded in the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language. In her case, however, it is not in real life, daily communication that she engages in the use of her heritage language, but in order to hide sensitive content from possible fraud. By switching to Armenian in writing some part of a given password together with her family, she exploits her linguistic repertoire that could serve her needs, which can be implied as the perception of Armenian as part of a linguistic toolbox by means of which different purposes could be achieved.

Arev recounts that in some cases, she "intuitionally" begins to talk in Armenian. As the conversation begins to get complicated, though, she switches back to Turkish:

Extract 5.4

1 Arev:	Hangi durumlarda tercih ederim? Şeyi söyleyeyim, hani tercih etmek
2	gibi değil de. İçgüdüsel olarak şöyle oluyor, annemi aradığım zaman
3	"nasılsın, iyi misin?" diye Ermenice soruyorum. "Aram," işte
4	"yeğenim ne yapıyor?" diye sorduğum zaman. Ermenice soruyorum.
5	İşte ne bileyim, "eniştem evde mi, ablam ne yapıyor?" yani bunları
6	Türkçe soruyorum, ama bazen de aradığımda direkt Ermenice
7	konuştuğumu da fark ediyorum. Hani şey böyle normal sohbet
8	havadan sudan sohbeti bazen Ermenice yapabiliyorum. Sonra biraz
9	işte muhabbet zorlaşmaya başladı mı Türkçeye dönüşüyor.
10	Bu şekilde.

1 Arev:	*In what cases do I prefer? Let me say that, like not really like*
2	*preferring. Intuitively it happens like that, when I call my mother*
3	*"how are you, are you good?" I ask in Armenian. "Aram," I mean*
4	*"what's my nephew doing?" when I ask her. I ask in Armenian.*
5	*Like what else, "is my uncle home, what's my sister doing?" I mean these*
6	*I ask in Turkish, but sometimes when I call, directly in Armenian*
7	*I speak, I realize that. Like so ordinary conversation,*
8	*conversation of this and that, I can sometimes perform in Armenian. Then*
9	*a bit like once the conversation gets harder, it changes into Turkish.*
10	*This way.*

Interview, March 5, 2021

In the first two lines, it can be understood that in some cases Arev prefers to begin the conversation in Armenian. Because I had asked before the extract in what cases she prefers to speak in Armenian, she makes herself clear that it is an “intuitional” thing rather than a preference (lines 1-2). In other words, it is an automatized process for her to switch back and forth in her heritage and dominant languages. In lines 2 through 4, she states that she chitchats at the beginning of phone talk with her mother in Armenian as well as when she talks about Aram, her nephew. Elsewhere in the interview she told me that she tries to talk in Armenian to her nephew, a toddler, so that she can help him acquire his heritage language. In lines 5 and 6, on the other hand, she states that when she asks her mother about her sister and brother-in-law, she does that in Turkish. Nonetheless, at other times, she just begins to talk in Armenian (lines 6-7). She is able to converse about trivial things from daily life (lines 7-8), yet “once the conversation gets harder, it changes into Turkish” (line 9).

In Arev’s extract discusssed above, a number of ideations can be seen to be at play. First, by “intuitively” (Extract 5.4, line 2), she indicates the perception of the language as a taken-for-granted part of her life. As discussed above in the case of Alis (Extract 5.2), Armenian is there for Arev as a given, natural thing that she could resort to at all times. Nevertheless, the extent of her use of her heritage language is limited, which implies, secondly, that Armenian is perceived to be an occasionally spoken language. That is to say, it is not all the time that she engages in talk in Armenian, but rather sparingly when she has the intuition to do so. Finally, the belief that Armenian is a complicated language can be observed in lines 7 through 10. Arev explains that she can chitchat in Armenian without any problems, but as the content of the talk gets “harder” (line 9), she switches back to Turkish. This perceived difficulty seems to result in a cycle of ideation of Armenian as an occasionally

spoken language, limiting the scope and extent of use of the heritage language in the lives of the participants.

Conversations that begin in Armenian and turn into Turkish is also a common theme when participants consciously try to hold their conversations in Armenian. That is to say, when, together with their friends or family members, try to use Armenian more in communication, they change to Turkish at some point:

Extract 5.5

1 Vartuhi:	Bizim evde konuşulan dil maalesef çok sınırlı. Ermenice hep heves
2	ediyoruz, özellikle Raffi işte, "Ermenice konuşmuyorsunuz" da şudur
3	da budur da der. Böyle suçlar, "bak yine Türkçe konuşuyorsun, artık
4	hiç Ermenice konuşmuyorsun." İşte Salpi'yi beni ama kendi de.
5	Mesela mesela ben "tamam," derim "Ermenice konuşacağız."
6	Başlarım, ikinci cümlede o Türkçeye dönmüştür zaten. Maalesef
7	böyle, ki bak biz üçümüz de evde biliyoruz. Bizim evde Ermenice
8	konuşmamız gerekir. Şimdi bundan sonra yine bir heves ederim, bir
9	üç beş konuşurum Ermenice. Ayıp yani ayıp, bizim üçümüzün evde
10	Ermenice konuşmaması gerçekten çok hatalı bir şey. Yanlış bir şey.
11	Ama işte üç konuşuyoruz, dördüncü şu işte hepimiz daha rahatız
12	Türkçede. Öbürü bir sorumluluk ve bir görev olarak var.

1 Vartuhi:	*The language spoken at ours is so limited unfortunately. Armenian we*
2	*always have a fancy for, especially Raffi like "You don't speak Armenian"*
3	*etc. etc. He blames like, "you're speaking in Turkish again, you no longer*
4	*speak in Armenian at all." Blames Salpi, me but he does not either.*
5	*For instance I say, "OK," that "we'll speak in Armenian."*
6	*I begin, in the second sentence he's already back to Turkish. Unfortunately*
7	*so, and look all three of us at home can speak it. At home we've got to*
8	*speak in Armenian. Now after this I'll have a fancy, I will*
9	*speak in Armenian a little bit. It's a shame, that none of us three*
10	*speaks in Armenian at home is a really false thing. A false thing.*
11	*But like we speak three words, in the fourth we're more comfortable*
12	*in Turkish. The other one exists as a responsibility and a duty.*

Interview, February 6, 2021

In the first line, Vartuhi makes the case that Armenian is spoken to a limited extent in their home. She mentions that her husband Raffi, one of the participants of the present thesis study too, encourages her and their daughter, Salpi, to speak Armenian at times (lines 1-4). In line 4, by *ama kendi de* "but he does not either," she indicates that Raffi does not intensively use Armenian in communication at home either. In response to his accusations, Vartuhi offers to go on talking in Armenian (line 5), yet

“in the second sentence he’s back to Turkish” (line 6). In lines 6 through 8, Vartuhi admits that because all three of her household can speak Armenian, they must speak in Armenian at home. Furthermore, in lines 9 and 10, she describes the fact that they do not talk in Armenian at home as a shameful and false thing. Although she holds these beliefs herself as she recounts, she explains the reason for them not to speak in Armenian at home in the two final lines. They feel more comfortable expressing themselves in Turkish, so when they venture to speak Armenian, they turn to Turkish “in the fourth word” (line 11). The “other” one, that is Armenian, is there as a “responsibility and a duty” (line 12).

In the extract discussed above, different language ideologies can be observed to be at play in Vartuhi’s home environment. Firstly, Raffi, Vartuhi’s husband seems to hold monolingual Armenian ideologies in the context of their home. Secondly, Vartuhi and Raffi seem to hold a sense of responsibility, most evident in line 12, toward Armenian as a heritage language in that they believe Armenian should be used more in their home. Nevertheless, as evident in the excerpt, these monolingual ideologies and the sense of responsibility do not necessarily translate into an extensive use of the heritage language all the time, which can be, thirdly, linked to the belief that Armenian is a complicated language. Because the participant and her family regard themselves as more at ease using their dominant language (lines 11-12), they tend to avoid from the difficulties they might face while using the heritage language.

Although Vartuhi feels a responsibility to speak in Armenian at home, she is not able to maintain efforts of this kind as she and her family feel themselves more at ease when they speak in Turkish. Other participants likewise report feeling the

responsibility to speak in Armenian when they are with their teachers from Armenian minority high schools in the past:

Extract 5.6

1 Arlin:	Ya da günün birinde herhangi bir öğretmenimle karşılaştıysam eğer,
2	hâlâ yıllar sonra bile onunla Ermenice konuşma zorunluluğu
3	hissediyorum.
4 Uğur:	Peki öyle bir zorunluluk var mı? Bu sizin hissiyatınız mı?
5 Arlin:	Yok. Bilmem. Saygıdan herhalde, öyle bir onunla sanki, o bir bana
6	öğreten kişi. Biz onunla hep bu zamana kadar Ermenice konuşmuşuz.
7	Bir daha karşılaştığım zaman sanki ona kötü bir şey yapıyormuşuım
8	gibi. Yani bana öğretti. Emeklerini boşa çıkarıyormuş gibi
9	hissediyorum karşısında konuşamazken.

1 Arlin:	*Or one day if I've bumped into one of my teachers,*
2	*still even after years with them the necessity of talking to them in Armenian*
3	*I feel.*
4 Uğur:	*And is there such an obligation? Is that your feeling?*
5 Arlin:	*No. I don't know. Probably out of respect, like with them as if, they are*
6	*who taught me. We've always spoken in Armenian to this day.*
7	*When I come across them as if I'm doing something bad to them*
8	*like. I mean they taught me. As if I'm making their efforts to go down*
9	*the drain, I feel like that when I can't speak it in front of them.*

Interview, February 19, 2021

In the first three lines, Arlin states that even after years, if she encounters one of her teachers from her high school in the past, she feels an obligation to speak in Armenian. In line 4, I pose her the question whether there is such an external obligation and if it is only her own feeling. In the fifth line, she responds that there is not an external obligation of this kind, and moves on to explain the reason why she feels obliged. She states that if she cannot talk to her teacher in Armenian after years, she feels as if she were doing something bad toward her teacher (line 7) and as if she were making her teacher's efforts go down the drain (lines 8-9).

The perception of Armenian as a school language and the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language seem to be at interplay in Extract 5.6. Although Arlin does not report using Armenian extensively in the present day, she reports feeling a "necessity" (line 2) to talk in Armenian when she encounters one of her teachers from the Armenian minority school that she attended.

Moreover, she signals feelings of embarrassment in case she might not talk to her teachers in Armenian, which further implies her sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language. In other words, the teacher as an entity seems to represent Armenian as a heritage language for Arlin and her sense of responsibility toward the language is projected onto her teachers from, and representative of, the Armenian minority school.

Another question that I posed my participants under this topic was whether they encounter Armenian being spoken around when they are outside, even when they might not be involved in the ongoing conversation in Armenian. Many participants reported that they come across Armenian being spoken especially in districts densely populated by people of Armenian heritage. Hermine stood out among the participants as it is by others' accent in Turkish that she could tell they are heritage speakers of Armenian:

Extract 5.7

1 Hermine:	Oluyor yani. Şöyle biz, bu arada aksandan da anlıyorum o kişinin
2	Ermenice bilip bilmed- Türkçe konuştuğu zaman "Sen Ermeni
3	misin?" diye soruyorum bazı insanlara. "Aa nerden anlıyorsun?"
4	diyorlar. Çünkü çok belli, yani o altyapıda var o. Hani Türkçede de
5	kayma var. Belki bende de vardır, bilmiyorum. Ama mesela
6	lisedeyken daha çok benim ağzım kayıyordu hani o şeye doğru. Ama
7	şimdi o kadar yok.

1 Hermine:	*It happens I mean. Like we, by the way I understand from their accent*
2	*wheth- that person speaks Armenian when they speak in Turkish, "Are you*
3	*Armenian?" I ask some people. "Oh how do you know?"*
4	*they say. 'Cause it's so obvious, it's in the infrastructure. Like in Turkish too*
5	*there is a slip. Maybe in me too, I don't know. But for instance at*
6	*high school my mouth would slip like that way. But*
7	*now now that much.*

Interview, February 27, 2021

In the first line, Hermine responds to my question that there are times when she comes across Armenian being spoken around outside. It is by others' accent in Turkish when they speak that she suspects they are of Armenian descent (lines 1-2).

She even asks them whether they are Armenian (lines 2-3). In response to the question she receives as to how she could tell (line 3), she explains that it is obvious and that it is in the linguistic "infrastructure" (line 4). In other words, there is a "slip in Turkish" (lines 4-5), that is to say in the pronunciation of some sounds. She vocalizes her suspect that the "slip" might be in her speech too (line 5), yet she is certain that it was more so in the high school compared with the present (lines 6-7). This is probably because the Armenian minority school was a place where she was intensively engaged with the language and after leaving the Armenian high school, her engement with her heritage language has diminished as she no longer needs it as much in her life.

In order to get an insight into the extent to which the participants engage in activities whereby they can use the language extensively, I asked them whether they leisure-read books and other publications in Armenian. With only few exceptions, practically all of the participants responded that they do not:

Extract 5.8

1 Aren: Yok ya okumak için aslında çok bir şey yapmıyorum. Yani buna
2 vaktim de yok açık konuşmak gerekirse. Ama yani mesela
3 Facebook'ta falan Ermenice yazılar denk geldiğinde bile Türkçesine
4 dönüyorum artık. Yani ben de aslında artık biraz salmış durumdayım
5 bakarsanız. (?) yayınladığı yazılar oluyor bir haber yayınlıyor. İlk
6 başlarını bir Ermenice okuyorum, aşağıya Türkçesinden devam
7 ediyorum. Daha kolayıma kaçıyor, aslında yapmamam gereken bir
8 şey ama yine de yapıyorum.

1 Aren: No in fact I don't do much for reading. I mean for that
2 I don't have time either honestly speaking. But I mean for instance
3 even when I come across Armenian texts on Facebook etc. I
4 turn to its Turkish. I mean I'm in a state where I've let it go as well
5 if you see it. There're texts (?) publish, publishes a news piece. First parts
6 I read in Armenian, below I continue from its
7 Turkish. It's easier for me, in fact something that I shouldn't
8 do but I do it anyway.

Interview, February 27, 2021

As someone who has reportedly predominantly spoken in Armenian in daily life to this day, Aren begins the extract by saying in the first line that he does not engage in

extensive reading in Armenian. In the subsequent line, he moves on to identify the reason for his lack of engagement of this kind as being lack of time in his life (line 2). In lines 2 through 5, he seems to compare his present self with his past self in that he uses the word *artık* "henceforth" in the two sentences therein. He states in these lines that today, even on Facebook he scrolls to the Turkish text when he encounters a post in Armenian and that he is in a position where he has let it go. From these statements, it is possible to infer that sometime in the past he would prefer reading the text in Armenian rather than its translation in Turkish. Today, however, even when he sees a news text online, he reads a couple of words or sentences in Armenian and scrolls down to the Turkish translation (lines 5-7). The reason, as he recounts, is similar to Vartuhi and her family's switching back to Turkish in their endeavors to speak in Armenian (Extract 5.5. in this chapter), that is to say it is easier for him to read in Turkish, and like Vartuhi, he holds the belief that he ought not to do so but he just cannot not.

In Aren's account (Extract 5.8), it is possible to observe a sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language. In lines 7-8, he asserts that he should not prefer reading in Turkish as that means not using his heritage language. In other words, as evident in the rest of the excerpt, the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language is overdone by the perception of Armenian as a complicated language. Although Aren uses his heritage language extensively in his everyday life in different situations, he seems to hold the belief that Armenian is a complicated language as can be seen in line 7, where he describes reading in Turkish as "easier" for him. Thus, it can be said that a given ideation pertaining to language might not be manifest in every field of a language. As can be seen in Aren's case, for example, the belief that Armenian as a complicated language is manifest in the

domain of reading but not in spoken domains. In the same vein, his sense of responsibility toward his heritage language bears fruit in oral and spoken channels but not in the domain of reading.

Like Aren, Maral also recounts that she does not read extensively in Armenian. In her account, she refers back to her days in the Armenian minority school:

Extract 5.9

1 Maral:	Ermenice kitap okumayalı o kadar uzun zaman oldu ki. Çünkü orada
2	İngilizcem, Türkçem ve Ermenicem kadar iyi olması gereken başka
3	bir dil daha geldi işin içine. Ve onun üzerine yoğunlaşmam
4	gerekiyordu. Çünkü onla iş yapacaktım. İşte ekmek kazanacaktım
5	sonuçta. Onun için Ermenice okumayalı o kadar zaman oldu ki
6	anlatamam. En son hatta, Allah'ım tam bir utanç. En son lisede
7	yapmış olabilirim. İşte bana zorla okuttukları son kitapları lisede
8	okumuş olabilirim.

1 Maral:	*It's been so long since I read a book in Armenian. Because there*
2	*I had to be as good as in English, Turkish and Armenian in another*
3	*language that came into my life. And I had to focus*
4	*on it. Because I'd be working with it. I'd win bread with it*
5	*after all. So it's been so long since I read in Armenian*
6	*that I can't tell. Even last time, my God quite a shame. Lastly at high school*
7	*I might have. The last books that they forced me to read, I might*
8	*have read at high school.*

Interview, February 18, 2021

In the first line, Maral states that it has been so long since she last read a book in Armenian. She goes on to explain the reason therefor, which is because she got a forth language that she had to excel in (lines 1-3) as she majored in Russian language and literature in her bachelor's degree. Therefore, she had to focus on Russian as she would work using that language and win her bread therewith (lines 3-5). In other words, Russian was more resourceful than Armenian was once she began her studies in a the former language. Given she began pursuing a bachelor's degree roughly more than five years ago, it has been quite a long time since she last read a book in Armenian (lines 5-6). In line 6, she begins to describe the time she last read a book in

Armenian and immediately self-interrupts her utterance by saying “my God quite a shame.” It was probably at her high school that she read a book in Armenian, and she was “forced to read” it there (lines 7-8). This can be said to indicate that the challenges she experienced at her Armenian minority high school, as discussed in the previous chapter, might have also had a role in Maral’s not pursuing leisure-reading books in Armenian after her high school years.

Maral seems to hold different beliefs regarding Armenian as evident in Extract 5.9 discussed above. She explains the reason for her not reading in Armenian extensively as the introduction of another language, Russian, that she had to excel in for her professional career. In other words, Armenian seems to be at a relatively less resourceful position than do her dominant language Turkish, and foreign languages English and Russian (lines 3-5). In line 6, she expresses her feelings of embarrassment by the fact that the last time she read in Armenian was while she was at high school, which indicates her sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language held by Maral. Nevertheless, as illustrated in the previous excerpts, this sense of responsibility does not necessarily translate into actual linguistic practices in Maral’s life. In the last two lines of the extract, she describes the last time she read books in Armenian at her Armenian minority high school as “forced” (line 7). It can be said that not only does the perception of Armenian as a school language seem to be at play for her, but this very perception might have brought about the belief that Armenian is a complicated language for Maral, for which reason she might refrain from reading in Armenian in the present day.

All in all, the participants often report that they do not use their heritage language predominantly for daily conversation in their lives. Nevertheless, there might be cases where they prefer to begin a conversation in or switch to Armenian.

There are also reported cases where the participants pledge to use Armenian more in their lives; however, these endeavors end up in turning back to Turkish as they feel themselves more at ease in that language. Feeling more comfortable in the dominant language, the participants also seemingly do not prefer to read books in their heritage language. Another factor that affects this inclination of them is the lack of Armenian being as resourceful a language as other languages might be in the lives of the participants.

With these given, it can be said that there are multiple language ideologies at play in the accounts of the participants on their use of Armenian in their everyday lives, such as the perception of Armenian as an occasional language. Thus, similar linguistic practices can be observed which have been discussed in the previous sections. Moreover, the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language is evident in the interview accounts. This sense of responsibility is projected into linguistic practices with varying degrees of success. A competing attitude is the belief that Armenian is a complicated language which results in the interruption of linguistic practices that are rooted in the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language.

5.1.2 Participation in Events That Take Place Necessarily in Armenian

In this section, I will discuss the events that take place "necessarily" in Armenian in the lives of the participants. I put the words necessarily in quotation mark, as it does not inherently correspond to events that are 100 percent held in Armenian. In other words, due to the intertwined nature of a heritage and a dominant language in heritage language contexts, I had not expected to encounter participant recounts where the participants would report being involved in events which are "necessarily,"

that is to say 100 percent and not only predominantly, carried out in Armenian. With this in mind, the questions I posed my participants were not only factual and experiential but also perceptional. In other words, I aimed to inquire the events that they engage in or know of where Armenian is used to a considerable degree as well as whichever ones that they themselves believe should be done so.

When I set out to prepare my interview question guide, I deemed this an important topic because I thought I would be able to see my participants-to-be's level of engagement within the Armenian heritage language speaking community as well as the extent to which Armenian finds place within the Armenian heritage community in Istanbul. Nevertheless, this topic entered my topic-theme list only tangentially (see Chapter 3 for the analysis of the interview data). It was only 10 participants who spoke about this topic in more than 300 words, which is an indication that events that necessarily take place in Armenian are not abundant in their lives and even if they are, they were somehow not as deeply delved into as the 10 other topics that found a place among the topics that emerged after the data analysis.

A recurrent theme that pertained to this topic was religion. Practically all the responses touched issues that relate to religion. In one of the previous sections, I have shown that Armenian teachers are one of the figures that the participants feel an obligation to speak in Armenian to. Likewise, clerics recurred as figures with whom most talk does, or at worst should, take place in Armenian:

Extract 5.10

1 Hermine: Bu arada dernekte çok tabii konuşuyoruz. Dernekte bir büyük biri
2 saygıdeğer bir kişi geldiği zaman hemen bir Ermeniceye dönüyor ortam.
3 Papazlarımız var onlar konuşuyorlar. Onlardan duyuyorum. Kiliseye çok
4 gitmiyorum ama hani o papazlar dernek ziyaretlerine gel- yemeğe vesaire
5 geldikleri zaman hemen bir Ermenice konuşma dönüyor. Tabii ortamda
6 Türkçe konuşulmuyor.

1 Hermine: By the way in the association we speak a lot of course. In the association
2 when someone honorable comes the environment turns to Armenian at once.
3 We have priests, they speak Armenian. I hear from them. I don't go
4 to church a lot but those priests when they visit associations co- come to
5 dinner etc. immediately some talk takes place in Armenian. Of course
6 Turkish is not spoken in the environment.

Interview, February 27, 2021

At the beginning of the extract, Hermine states that at the association she attends, she and others speak a lot in Armenian. I have discussed the role of associations in the previous chapter. As a meeting platform for people of Armenian heritage, there might also be cases when major figures visit an association, in which case talk in Turkish changes into Armenian (lines 1-2). It appears in the excerpt that priests speak in Armenian (line 3). Although Hermine does not attend church regularly, when she encounters priests who visit her association for dinner or other instances, the talk immediately changes into Armenian (lines 3-5). Moreover, as she recounts, in such environments where clerics are present, Turkish is barely spoken (line 6). From these, it can be implied that clerics hold a position of linguistic authority in the Armenian heritage community of Istanbul.

In Hermine's account (Extract 5.10), it is possible to observe a sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language held by the participants of the association that she attends. She explains that when priests visit the association, the ongoing talk switches to Armenian. In that regard, just like the teacher as an entity being representative of the Armenian minority school (Extract 5.6), clerics can be said to represent the Armenian church for the participants. In Extract 5.6, I have discussed how the perception of Armenian as a school language translates into the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language in the presence of teachers from Armenian minority schools. In the present extract, likewise, I claim that the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language goes hand in hand with the perception of Armenian as a language of religion.

In Alik's life, except for church there is not any event that takes place necessarily in Armenian. Church, in her opinion, retains its "traditional" role in keeping the Armenian language in use:

Extract 5.11

1 Alik: Bu hani hangi sınıf olursa olsun o **taran**[16] hep **taran**dır sanki Türkçesi
2 **taran**mış gibi. Hani Türkçe konuştuğu cümlede **taran**. (?) Hani öyle şeyler
3 var da. Hani öyle sırf Ermenice yapılan bir şey yok yani. Kilise o anlamda
4 şeyini koruyor. Nasıl diyeyim? Görev mi denir ona? Bilmiyorum ki görev
5 midir bu? Ya o geçmişten gelen o geleneksel şeyini koruyor diyeyim. Şey
6 eklediler işte. Hani çift dille vaaz veriliyor. Ama bazen sadece Türkçe
7 veriyordu bir ara. Hani o cemaatin çoğu Türkçe diye Türkçe veriyorlardı.
8 Ama tabii bu da şey oldu, sıkıntı oldu. Hani bazıları tarafından "Türkçe
9 niye?" ama halbuki işte sanat sanat için midir,
10 sanat toplum için midir gibi (…)

1 Alik: Whatever the class, that **taran** *is always* **taran** *as if its Turkish were*
2 **taran**. *Like* **taran** *in a sentence spoken in Turkish (?) Things like that*
3 exist but. A thing that's only carried out in Arenian doesn't. In this respect
4 church keeps its well. How shall I say? Is it called duty? I don't know if it is
5 a duty? Or let me say it keeps the traditional thing from the past. Well they
6 added well. Sermons are given in two languages. They But sometimes only
7 in Turkish once. But in Turkish because majority of the congregation spoke
8 it. But it caused problems. Like some, "why
9 Turkish?" but well is art for art's sake,
10 or is art for people's sake (...)

Interview, March 2, 2021

In the first three lines, Alik mentions cases where Armenian words are used sparingly in Turkish sentences, as discussed in the previous chapter. Apart from that, there is no event that takes place completely in Armenian in Alik's life (line 3). She describes in lines 3 through 5 that church keeps its traditional role in being the place where all things take place in the Armenian language. In line 6, it is apparent that at some churches at least, sermons are given bilingually, in Armenian and Turkish. Although at some point in the past, as the recount demonstrates, there was a time when sermons were given only in Turkish because the parishioners in certain parishes prevalently spoke only Turkish (lines 6-7). Back then, this seems to have been questioned by some, in Alik's words "why Turkish?" (lines 8-9) apparently

[16] Depository (to keep books under a desk).

because church is a place where things are carried out in Armenian. In the final two lines, Alik compares the case of Turkish sermons to that of art being for art's or people's sake. That is to say, she indicates the dilemma between the format and the content of a sermon in either case. If Armenian is strictly and solely employed, then non-speakers of Armenian will not understand the moral and religious content of it. If, on the other hand, only Turkish is used in the delivery of a sermon, the given church will apparently be less of an "Armenian" church for some.

Alik's account seems to touch upon different language ideologies held by herself as well as other speakers of Armenian as a heritage language. Firstly, it can be seen that the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language is still prevalent in her life, as in the case of *taran* "depository (to keep books under a desk)" which is exclusively uttered in Armenian. Thereafter moving on to explain the events that "necessarily" take place in Armenian, she mentions the church as one of the sustainers of such events, which indicates the perception of Armenian as a language of religion for her. Moreover, she contemplates different attitudes toward the use of the dominant language during the sermons giving at Sunday Mass for those parishioners who are non-speakers of Armenian as a heritage language (lines 6-7). It is evident that monolingual Armenian language ideologies are at play for some members of the Armenian minority community (lines 8-9).

In an Armenian Apostolic Church, even when a sermon is to be delivered in Turkish, the preceding Sunday Mass is performed in Armenian. The Mass text follows a certain structure over the centuries, yet a sermon text could be less strict. Kami, likewise, says his formulaic prayers in Armenian, which is succeeded by his personal prayers in Turkish:

Extract 5.12

1 Kami:	(…) Dualarımın. Dualarımı da Türkçe yapıyorum aslında hepsi değil.
2 Uğur:	**Hayr Mer**[17]'i de mi?
3 Kami:	**Ayo**[18], **Hayr Mer**i Ermenice söylüyorum. Ama hani **Hayr Mer**'in
4	arkasından dileklerimi Türkçe söylüyorum, çünkü dileklerinizi doğru
5	anlatmanız gerekir.

1 Kami:	*(…) My prayers. I say my prayers also in Turkish but in fact not all.*
2 Uğur:	**Hayr Mer** *too?*
3 Kami:	**Ayo, Hayr Mer** *too I say in Turkish. But like after* **Hayr Mer**
4	*I say my wishes in Turkish, because you have to tell your wishes*
5	*correctly.*

Interview, February 20, 2021

In response to my question whether Kami says his prayers in Armenian, he responds that he says them in Turkish (line 1). In the second line, I ask him if he says even *Hayr Mer*, one of the most well-known scripted prayers in Christendom, in Turkish. He responds that yes, he does indeed say *Hayr Mer* in Armenian. Without any prompt, he moves on to tell me that following *Hayr Mer*, he says his wishes in Turkish and this is because one has to tell one's wishes correctly (lines 3-5). In other words, when it is a text that he has learnt by heart and he has to recite, Kami prefers Armenian even when *Hayr Mer* can be said virtually in any language. Nevertheless, when it comes to his own wording in prayer, he prefers Turkish, the language that he holds he can express his wishes best in.

In Extract 5.12, Kami also displays the perception of Armenian as a language of religion. Nevertheless, this association of the language with religion translates into the use of the heritage language in ritualistic manners. Like the Sunday Mass carried out completely in Armenian, the scripted prayer *Hayr Mer* is recited by Kami in Armenian as well. By analogy with sermons that could be held in Turkish only or in Armenian and Turkish, he says his prayers in his dominant language because he feels he has to "tell his wishes correctly" (lines 4-5). In these linguistic practices of Kami,

[17] Literally, "Our Father" to refer to *Derunagan Aghotʿkʿ*, "The Lord's Prayer."
[18] Yes.

a sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language becomes evident in that instead of reciting the scripted *Hayr Mer* in Turkish, which he could well prefer to, he follows the Armenian text. Nevertheless, the perception of Armenian as a complicated language dominates in the rest of his prayers which are unscripted, for which reason he switches to his dominant language in which he feels himself more at ease.

As discussed above, church is one of the pillars of Armenian as a heritage language. In this line of thinking, Alis reports finding a language other than Armenian in an Armenian church strange:

Extract 5.13

1 Alis: (…) Herhalde kilisede Türkçe ben mesela kabul etmiyorum Türkçe duayı
2 veya şeyi. Kabul etmiyorum derken yapılabilir, ama bu bir artık
3 kemikleşmiş yani. Dolayısıyla orada garip geliyor bana bir Ermeni
4 kilisesinde Türkçe dua. Ama şeye karşı değilim tabii ki vaazlar falan Türkçe
5 verilebilir, çünkü insanların bir kesimi de anlamıyor yani. Anlasınlar herkes
6 anlasın edilen duayı falan ama garip geliyor. Garip. O yüzden ben mesela
7 kiliselerde. Ermeniceyi, Ermenice duayı dinlemesini (?) doğru. Değil, doğru
8 demeyeyim. Oradaki kelime o değil. Garipsemiyorum ve normal geliyor.
9 Garip olan Türkçe dua edilmesi gibi geliyor. Fakat bu mantıklı veya
10 doğrudur manasında değil söylediğim şey. Anlatabildim mi acaba?

1 Alis: (…) Probably I don't accept Turkish in church for instance Turkish prayer
2 or well. By that I mean it can be done, but it is already
3 entrenched. Therefore I find it strange there in an Armenian
4 church a Turkish prayer. But I'm not against of course, sermons etc. can be
5 given in Turkish, because some do not understand I mean. Let them, let all
6 understand the prayer said but it seems strange. Strange. So I for instance in
7 churches. Armenian, listening to Armenian prayers (?) correct. No, let me
8 not say correct. That's not the word. I don't find it strange but normal.
9 Praying in Turkish is what seems strange. But that that's logical or
10 correct is not what I mean. Am I clear?

Interview, February 11, 2021

In the first line, Alis expresses her rejection of any prayer in Turkish in an Armenian church. Nevertheless, it is not something that cannot be done theologically (line 2) given prayers can be said in any given language in Christendom, it is just an entrenched thing to exclusively use Armenian in the church (line 3). That is why, as she recounts in lines 3 and 4, she finds it strange prayers in Turkish in an Armenian

church. When it comes to sermons, less scripted than the prayers said during the Mass as discussed above, she believes that they can be given in Turkish as some parishioners do not understand when they are given in Armenian (lines 4-5). In lines 5 and 6, she contradicts her position about non-Armenian prayers by saying “let them, let all understand” given the fact that not everybody understands Armenian in the church. Nevertheless, she finds it strange (line 6). When prayers are said in Armenian in an Armenian church, she finds it not strange, but rather normal (lines 6-8). Although she is just about to describe Armenian prayers as correct in line 7, she self-corrects since she is aware it is not intrinsically wrong to say prayers in any given language. This can be seen in the last two lines, where she states that what she has just said does not mean it is logical or correct.

In Alis’ recount in Extract 5.13 discussed above, it is possible to observe that she considers Armenian to be a language of religion, in convergence with monolingual ideologies of Armenian in the context of church. In the first three lines, it is evident that it is in the domain of ritualistic uses of language in the church that Armenian is a must for her. From line 4 on, on the other hand, she expresses an embracing attitude toward multilingualism taking into consideration non-speakers of Armenian as a heritage language who are parishioners. Nevertheless, the monolingual Armenian ideology is in conflict with the multilingual ideology in her account. She makes evident this ideological clash in lines 6 through 10, where she describes the use of Turkish in church as “strange” and that of Armenian first as “correct,” then as “not strange” but “normal.” Because in Christendom worship can be carried out in vernacular languages, the monolingual Armenian language ideology cannot easily overcome multilingual ideologies, as evident in line 9, where Alis describes Turkish prayers in church as “strange” but not as incorrect.

Like Alis, Vartan also associates the Armenian language with church and when he hears or sees religious things said or written in a language other than Armenian, he feels out of place:

Extract 5.14

1 Vartan:	(…) Bazı işte de din adamları Türkçe bazı şeyleri söylediğinde
2	mesela garipseriz. Daha doğrusu ben garipserim yani. Atıyorum "**amēn**"
3	yerine "amin" dediğinde yani "nasıl yani amin?" Hani o sanki başka bir
4	dine mensup bir kelimeymiş gibi. Ya da başka bir dine mensup
5	oluyormuşsun gibi onu söylediğinde. Öyle bir his minimal yaratır.
6	Dini şeylerde mesela işte evlerde. Diyelim ki Paskalya bayramı oluyor.
7	Evlerde işte *runner*lar seriliyor, üstünde Ermenice yazılar. İşte ne bileyim.
8	Bir süsler Ermenice falan. O mesela *Happy Easter* yazdığında bana
9	dokunur. Hani o Ermenice olacak. Çünkü o kültürden biz öğrendik
10	Paskalyayı. O olabilir mesela yani. Yine dinle çağrışımlı ama. Onlar evet
11	Ermenice olmalıdır benim için.

1 Vartan:	*(...) Some clerics when they say some things in Turkish, we find*
2	*it strange. Rather I find it strange. For instance, when instead of "***amēn***" he*
3	*says "*amin*," I mean "how* amin*?" Like as if it were a word that belongs to*
4	*some other religion. Or as if you change to another religion*
5	*when you say it. It creates such a feeling minimally. In*
6	*religious things for instance at home. Say it's Easter. At home like*
7	*runners are laid, Armenian texts above. Like. Some*
8	*decoration in Armenian. For instance when there's Happy Easter above*
9	*it hits me. It must be Armenian. Because we learned Easter from that*
10	*culture. That could be one for instance. Again religion-related. They, yes,*
11	*must be in Armenian for me.*

Interview, February 25, 2021

In the first two lines, Vartan recounts that when clerics say some things in Turkish, he finds it strange. He goes on to exemplify by the Turkish *amin* instead of the Armenian *amēn,* which arouses the perception that it belongs to a different religion or as if one were converting to another religion (lines 2-5). It is not limited to Turkish, though, neither is it confined to church where such things can happen. In Easter at home, for instance, Vartan recounts, runners and decorations can have texts on them in English too (lines 6-8). For Vartan, they have to be in Armenian because it is through Armenian culture that he and others learnt Easter (lines 9-10). In other words, the religious and linguistic have gotten so intertwined for him that all the examples he gives of "necessarily Armenian events" are "religion-related" (line 10).

The conceptualization of Armenian as a language of religion is dominant in the extract discussed above. As illustrated in Extract 5.10, the cleric as an entity represents Armenian as a heritage language for Vartan and their use of Turkish in religious contexts leads to feelings of confusion in him. Although, as discussed above, different vernaculars can be used in Christian worship, he feels as if non-Armenian words used in religious services belonged to another religion (lines 2-5). Like the participants discussed above, a monolingual Armenian language ideology is in convergence with the perception of Armenian as a language of religion. For Vartan, not only is this convergence manifest in the church context, but also in secular contexts where religious celebrations take place. The monolingual Armenian language ideology is not only in response to the use of the dominant language but to other non-heritage, foreign languages as well. This is because, as Vartan explains in lines 9 and 10, he learnt his religion by means of his heritage language, which seems to consolidate his perception of Armenian as a language of religion that further reiterates his monolingual Armenian language ideology in religious contexts.

To sum up, the participants recount religious occasions as either actually or hypothetically taking place necessarily in Armenian. The Armenian church and religious motifs seem to have an important role in keeping the language alive to a certain extent. The participants also exhibit different attitudes toward the use of non-Armenian languages in the church and during the sermons. The language ideologies that have emerged in the present subsection are the perception of Armenian as a language of religion and the related sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language. Divergent attitudes have also been observed in relation to the perception and practices of Armenian as a language of religion, which are in line with the dynamic and contested nature of ideations about language.

5.2 Assessment of Armenian

In this section, I will cover two topics: Self-Evaluation of Armenian Today and the "Ideal Armenian". Under the former topic, I will portray the self-evaluations of the participants in Armenian. Then I will try to show whether they identify themselves still as learners of the Armenian language, given proficiency in a heritage language might be less strong than in a dominant language. In the latter topic of the section, I will discuss the beliefs that the participants hold as regards "ideal Armenian," that is to say the Armenian that they deem to be the most ideal. I will also discuss the participants' perceptions of "non-ideal" Armenian in order to get a clear picture of what they deem to be proper and what they do not.

5.2.1 Self-Evaluation of Armenian Today

In this section, I will try to show the self-evaluations of my participants in their skills in Armenian. Toward this aim, I posed them questions such as where they see themselves today as speakers of Armenian and in what areas and skills they are good at. I also inquired whether they see themselves as learners of their heritage language at the present day, considering the possibility that they might feel less proficient in their heritage language than they do in their dominant language or any other foreign language, for that matter.

Many participants report seeing themselves as not quite proficient in their heritage languages. Arlin is one of them:

Extract 5.15

1 Arlin: Bugün Ermenicem zayıf.
2 Uğur: Hangi açılardan zayıf?
3 Arlin: Böyle kelime anlamında kelimeleri kaybettiğimi fark ediyorum. Çok
4 zorlanıyorum hatırlarken. Yani geliyor aklıma bir anda, aa diyorum
5 bunu bu kadar kolay bir şeyi nasıl unutmuşum? Cümle yap- cümle

6 kurabiliyorum yani konuşurken kelimelerim olsa hızlıca
7 konuşabileceğim, ama işte kelimede takılıp kalıyorum. Yoksa cümle
8 kurma anlamında bir sıkıntım yok. Dinlediğimi anlayabiliyorum. Yine
9 okumam zayıfladı. Çok yavaş okumaya başladım. Böyle.

1 Arlin: Today my Armenian is weak.
2 Uğur: Weak in what respects?
3 Arlin: Like in vocabulary, I realize I'm losing words. I have much
4 difficulty remembering. I mean it comes to my mind suddenly, I say oh
5 how have I forgotten something so easy? Mak- sentences I can construct
6 sentences I mean as I speak, if I have the words I'll be
7 able to speak quickly, but I get stuck in words. Otherwise in making
8 sentences I don't have a problem. I understand what I hear. Likewise
9 my reading has weakened. I've begun to read so slowly. Like this.

Interview, February 19, 2021

Arlin begins the extract by making the case that her Armenian is weak today (line 1). In the second line, I inquire in what aspects her Armenian is weak. She recounts in line 3 that she she is "losing words." In other words, she has difficulty recalling them (lines 3-4) and when she recalls them she questions how come she forgot reportedly such easy words (lines 4-5). Although she can make sentences, it is words that she hinders her speed while she tries to talk (lines 5-7). Otherwise, she does not have difficulty in making sentences or in listening (lines 7-8). In reading, though, she reports having begun to get weaker and that she has begun to read slowly (lines 8-9).

Like Arlin, other participants recounted different skills and areas of language that they thought they needed improvement in. Some also compared their abilities in Armenian with those in English. Larisa even did so with her fourth language, German:

Extract 5.16

1 Larisa: Çok hızlı okuyamam. Doğru okurum, ama bir Türkçe, İngilizce, Almanca
2 gibi okuyamam. Almanca gibi bile okuyamam. Ondan sonra yani Türkçeyle
3 kıyaslamayayım bile. Yazarım, gayet rahat yazarım. Ama tabii o şey kelime
4 dağarcığı meselesi. Bütün dillerde herkesin bir meselesidir ya. İşte benim
5 gramerim değil de kelimelerim yetersiz falan. Ermenicede de tabii ki çok
6 ciddi bir gramer, yetersiz şey kelime yetersizliğim var. O da tabii ki günlük
7 kullanmamak işte yeni kelimeyi nerden kapacaksın, gazete okumak yok. İşte
8 kitap okumak yok. Yani kelime nereden gelecek, gibi. Ama yine de şey ay
9 yok ya valla kötüyüm falan demem. Bence en azından benim gerçeklerime
10 göre fena değildir.

1 Larisa: I can't read fast. I read correctly, but I can't read like I do in Turkish,
2 English, German. I can't even like I do in German. Then let me not even
3 compare with Turkish. I write, quite comfortably. But of course it's a matter
4 of vocabulary knowledge. It's a matter in all languages to all. Not grammar
5 but my words are not enough. In Armenian too of course I have a serious
6 insufficiency in grammar, well of words. That too results from not using it
7 daily like where will you get new words, there's no reading newspapers, no
8 reading books. I mean where will the word come from. But still well oh
9 no I won't say I'm bad or something. For me at least based on my reality
10 it's not that bad.

Interview, February 27, 2021

Larisa begins the excerpt by saying that she cannot read fast in Armenian. Although she reads correctly, she cannot read as she does in Turkish, English or German (lines 1-2). She cannot "even" read as she does in German (line 2). German being only one of the languages she began to learn later in her life, she does not even venture to compare her reading skills in Armenian with those in Turkish (lines 2-3). Although she can write comfortably (line 3), like Arlin she has difficulty in vocabulary (lines 3-4). In lines 4 and 5, she relates to a perceivedly common problem in all language learning, the problem that one lacks not in grammar but in vocabulary. In line 6, she is about to say she has an insufficiency in grammar, and immediately self-corrects by vocabulary. It is because she does not use the language daily (lines 6-7). There is no place to learn new words at since she does not read books or newspapers in Armenian (lines 7-8). Still, she does not identify herself as a bad speaker (line 9). Given her own reality, she does not see herself that bad (lines 9-10).

There were only a few who evaluated their Armenian to be in good standing. Those who did, nevertheless, did so not intrinsically but in comparison with others in their lives:

Extract 5.17

1 Aren: Bugün Ermenicemi nasıl görürüm? Kendi gerçek Aren'in
2 Ermenicesiyle kıyasladığımda kötü. Ama Aren'in çevresindeki
3 insanların Ermenicesiyle kıyasladığımda iyi. Çünkü benim
4 arkadaşlarım şu an bir kelime Ermenice oku- okuyamayacak duruma
5 geldiler. İşte liseden ayrılıp gidenler. İlkokuldan sonra direkt liseye

6 işte devlette okuyup veya kolejde okuyup üniversiteye gidip bir daha
7 hiç Ermenice görmemiş olanlar vesaire. Konuşmayanlar olduğu için
8 etrafımda çok, onlara göre evet benim Ermenicem iyi diyebilirim. (…)

1 Aren: How do I see my Armenian today? Compared with my real Aren's
2 Armenian, bad. But compared with people around Aren's
3 Armenian, good. Because my friends have turned into a
4 state where they can't rea- read a word in Armenian.
5 Leaving after high school. After primary school directly going to public
6 schools at high school or going to colleges and then to universities, never
7 having taken Armenian again etc. Because there are many non-speakers
8 around me, compared with them I can say my Armenian is good. (...)

Interview, February 27, 2021

Aren begins his turn by repeating my question. He sees his Armenian as bad compared to real Aren's Armenian in the past (lines 1-2). However, when he compares his Armenian to those around him, he sees it as good (lines 2-3). In the following lines, he explains the situation of his friends whose skills in Armenian weakened in time. There are those who, as he describes, have gotten to a place where they cannot read a word in Armenian (lines 3-5). There are some who left their Armenian minority schools to continue in majority public or private schools and so took Armenian classes never again (lines 5-7). In the last two lines, he mentions that there are many non-speakers of Armenian around him and comparing himself with them, he describes his Armenian as good.

In Extracts 5.15, 5.16 and 5.17, it is possible to see that a sense of inadequacy in Armenian is prevalent in the recounts of the participants. The sense of inadequacy, nevertheless, does not necessarily apply to all domains of the heritage language. For instance, in Extract 5.15, Arlin explains that she does not have difficulty understanding oral input (line 8). Likewise, Larisa, in Extract 5.16, states that she can write comfortably in Armenian (line 3). Unlike Arlin and Larisa, who list the domains of language they deem themselves to be inadequate in, Aren evaluates his self-proficiency in a holistic manner and only compares his present-day proficiency with that in the past as well as with others around him who have limited skills in their

heritage language. That is to say, a sense of inadequacy might not apply to all domains of the heritage language, and moreover it can be affected by the differences in the linguistic practices and engagement observed over the course of the years.

When I asked my participants whether they identify themselves as still learning Armenian, only a few of them responded that they do not. Those participants took my questions literally:

Extract 5.18

1 Hermine:	Yok, hayır. Yani öyle bir çabam yok şu anda oku- yani dille alakalı
2	Ermenice öğrenmek için ekstra bir şey de yapmıyorum. Şu anda
3	geliştirmek açısından da bir şey yapmıyorum. Şu an gerek
4	duymuyorum buna açıkçası.
5 Uğur:	Anladım. Neden gerek duymuyorsunuz?
6 Hermine:	Yani şöyle. Şu anki günlük Ermenice bana yetiyor. Kariyer olarak da
7	herhangi bir bana bir katkısı olmayacak zaten. Gerekli alacağımı
8	almışım benim bu dille dilden. Yani daha bir tık güçlüsünü yani gerek
9	olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Yani dediğim gibi ben çok zorlandığım
10	için öğrenirken belki de soğuma oldu bende bu dille alakalı. O yüzden
11	çabalamıyorum diyebilirim.

1 Hermine:	*No. I mean I don't have such an effort now read- I mean about the language.*
2	*I'm not doing anything extra to learn Armeanian. Now I'm not doing*
3	*anything to improve it too. I don't feel the*
4	*need for it to be honest.*
5 Uğur:	*I see. Why don't you feel the need to?*
6 Hermine:	*I mean like. Now the daily Armenian is enough for me. Career-wise*
7	*it won't contribute to me either. I've gotten the necessary*
8	*what I had to take from that language. A little stronger I mean*
9	*I don't think I need to be. I mean as I've said because I had much difficulty*
10	*learning it maybe I've been put off of that language. For this reason*
11	*I can say I'm not endeavoring.*

Interview, February 27, 2021

In the first three lines, Hermine makes the case that she does not put any effort to learn or improve her heritage language. In fact, she does not feel the need to do so (lines 3-4). In line 5, I ask her to elaborate on why she does not feel a need to improve her Armenian. She responds to my question by saying that daily Armenian is enough for her (line 6) and that it will not have a contribution to her to improve her Armenian (lines 6-7). She recounts that what she has learnt is enough (lines 7-8) and she does not think that she needs to be somehow stronger in the language (lines 8-9).

In the last two lines, she moves on to account for the reason why she does not put any effort in learning the language anymore. It might be because she had quite a lot of difficulty while learning the language, and thus she might have been put off by it (lines 9-10).

In Hermine's account (Extract 5.18), it can be observed that Armenian is considered to be an unresourceful language. In lines 6 and 7, she explains that career-wise her heritage language will not contribute to her. That is to say, she does not deem her heritage language as resourceful as her dominant language as well as her other foreign languages. The perception of Armenian as a school language and the concomitant belief that Armenian is a complicated language seem to be at play in the construction of her view of Armenian as an unresourceful language, as can be seen in lines 9 through 11.

Unlike Hermine, many other participants identify themselves as still learning Armenian. These participants usually did not take my question literally. In other words, they refer to instances where they learn new things in Armenian incidentally from time to time:

Extract 5.19

1 Vartan:	Mutlaka, mutlaka. Yani dili işte o anlamda anadilim olarak
2	sahiplenmek istiyorum. Ama Türkçeden daha iyi kullanamadığım için
3	de bir şey oluşuyor içimde, bir huzursuzluk oluşuyor içimde. Bu
4	anlamda Türkçe için mesela hâlâ öğrenebildiğim bir dil diyemiyorum.
5	Biliyorum diyebilirim. Ama Ermenice için hâlâ öğreneceğim ve öğrenmeye
6	devam ettiğim bir dil diyebiliyorum. Bu biraz şey bırakıyor bende. Yaralıyor
7	beni bunu söylemek. Ama yani eksik kaldığımı hissediyorum. O anlamda
8	yaralıyor.
9 Uğur:	Anladım. Neler öğren- öğrenirsiniz mesela yani?
10 Vartan:	Yani kelime bazında olabilir. Çünkü günlük bir yaşantı yani günlük
11	konuşmada bir problemde ama daha böyle terminolojik şeyler ilgimi çekiyor
12	zaten dillerde de. Terminolojik bazlı şeyler, kelimeler. Kelime dağarcığımda
13	gelişim isterim yani. O anlamda bir gelişmeden bahsediyorum.

1 Vartan:	*Definitely. I mean I want to adopt the language in that regard*
2	*as my mother tongue. But because I can't use it better than I do Turkish*
3	*something arouses in me, some discomfort inside me. In this respect*
4	*for Turkish I can't say it's a language that I'm still learning.*

5	*I can say I speak it. But for Armenian, it's a language that I'll still learn*
6	*and continue to learn, I can say. This makes me a little well. It hurts me to*
7	*say that. But I feel I fall short. In this respect it*
8	*hurts me.*
9 Uğur:	*I see. What do you lear- learn for instance I mean?*
10 Vartan:	*I mean it could be word-based. Because daily life I mean in daily*
11	*talk in a problem or more terminological stuff interest me in*
12	*languages already. Terminology-based stuff, words. In my vocabulary*
13	*I want improvement. I'm talking about such an improvement.*

Interview, February 25, 2021

In the first two lines, Vartan states that he wants to embrace his heritage language as his native tongue, yet because he cannot use it better than he does Turkish, a sense of discomfort is aroused in him (lines 2-3). He identifies Turkish as a language that he cannot describe as one he is still learning (lines 3-4). He states, moreover, that he can say that he has a good command of Turkish (line 5) while he can only say that Armenian is a language he is learning and he is going to learn (lines 5-6). Saying these reportedly hurts him (lines 6-7) and he feels he is lacking (line 7). In line 9, I ask Vartan what it is that he learns today in Armenian. He recounts, in lines 10 through 13, that he learns new words and terminology and that he wants improvement in his vocabulary knowledge. By referring to "daily life" in line 10 and "daily talk" in lines 10 and 11, he can be said to indicate that he is learning new words incidentally rather than by sitting down to study.

Vartan seems to hold a sense of responsibility toward his heritage language. He states that he would like to improve his Armenian skills. Moreover, his sense of inadequacy in his heritage language seemingly exacerbates his sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language, leading to discomfort as he cannot define himself as a fully proficient speaker of his heritage language (lines 2-6).

There are also a few participants who reported intentionally putting an effort to learn and improve their heritage language in the present day in addition to learning new things incidentally, like Vartuhi:

Extract 5.20

1 Vartuhi:	Kesinlikle evet, tanımlarım. Ara ara gelir çünkü bana dediğim gibi.
2	Birsürü defterlerim var. Bilmediğim kelimeleri yazarım. Gramer
3	kurallarını yazdığım ayrı bir defterim vardır. Sırf yazmak için, böyle
4	bir yerden bakıp gazeteden aynısını böyle oraya yazarım ederim.
5	Ermenice öğrenmek isterim hâlâ o isteğim var.

1 Vartuhi:	*Definitely yes, I would identify. Sometimes I do as I've said.*
2	*I've got many notebooks. I write unknown words. Another notebook*
3	*where I write grammar rules. Just for writing, like*
4	*copying from somewhere, the newspaper and writing the same there.*
5	*I'd like to learn Armenian, I still have that desire.*

Interview, February 6, 2021

In line 1, Vartuhi responds to my question whether she identifies herself as still learning Armenian by "definitely." She moves on to the efforts that she puts in studying the language. In the same line, she states that it is "sometimes" (*ara ara*), so it is obvious that those efforts are not constant, but rather sporadic. In lines 2 through 4, she explains that she has certain notebooks that she uses to write the new words she has learnt and another notebook where she writes grammar rules. She also reports copying written texts from newspapers on her notebook (line 4). In the final line, she expresses her desire to further learn Armenian.

In Vartuhi's case, it can be said that her sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language is manifest in her linguistic endeavors. Unlike many participants who report incidental learning of new vocabulary items on given occasions, Vartuhi, in a sporadic manner though, engages in self-teaching practices as illustrated in Extract 5.20.

In addition, there are some participants who report their desire to improve their Armenian, but it is just not the time yet for them to do so. Larisa, for example, has such a concern:

Extract 5.21

1 Larisa: (…) Bence evet. Yani çünkü ben Ermenice evet biliyorum. Ama. Yani
2 Ermenicem, benim İngilizcem kadar değilse. Ya da işte Almancam
3 Ermenicemden daha iyiyse, bence hâlâ Ermenice öğreniyor olan
4 biriyim. Yani çünkü bu kaygıyı da taşıdığım için otomatik olarak evet
5 hâlâ öğrenen biriyim. (…) En azından şey kaygımın olması da bir şey
6 yani. Biraz daha iyi olmasına dair. Mesela işte tezim bitince şimdi (…)
7 Almanca işte bir bitsin dosyada dursun. Ondan sonra Ermeniceye. Mesela
8 hani şeyler olur ya böyle o işte otobüste okuduğunuz kitap ya da işte tuvalet
9 kitapları falan. Böyle biraz daha basittir onlar. Kimisi karikatür okur, kimisi
10 böyle Migros kitabı okur falan. Hani benim de öyle bir tane Ermenice
11 kitabım bugün bile olsa olur. Ama hep işte önüne bir şey koyuyoruz daha
12 önemliymiş gibi olan. Halbuki değil. Ben kardeşime söylüyorum, kendim
13 yapıyor muyum? Yani o Küçük Prens'ten 20 lira verip bir tane daha alsam
14 evime o kitaptan. Her gün ben ona dediğim gibi yarım sayfa okusam. Ama
15 yok işte önüne arkasına hep bir şeyler koyuyoruz. Ama en azından bu
16 kaygıyı hissediyor olmam da bence benim için bir şey gibime geliyor.
17 Çünkü yani ben Ermenice bilmekten dolayı hâlâ memnunum ve özel
18 hissediyorum. Yani bu sadece işle bir ilgisi yok. (…) Bu benim bir parçam.
19 Yani mesela elimin baş parmağına dair niye konuşmuyoruz da benim
20 Ermeniceme dair konuşuyoruz gibi bir şey. Ama bir tık daha işte özen
21 gösterilmesi gereken bir şey ama en azından bu kaygıyı taşıyorum
22 diyebilirim.

1 Larisa: (...) To me, yes. Because I speak Armenian, yes. But. I mean my Armenian
2 is not as good as my English. Or like if My German is better than my
3 Armenian, I think I'm someone still learning Armenian.
4 I mean because I have this concern, automatically yes I'm someone
5 still learning. (...) At least me having the concern is well
6 I mean. To make it a bit better. For example when my thesis finishes (...)
7 Once German finishes and gets in my folder. Then to Armenian. Like
8 there are books that you read on the bus or like books fort he
9 restroom. They're a bit easier. Some read comic books, some read
10 Migros books. Like if I have an Armenian book like that today,
11 it's OK. But we always come up with things that are as if they
12 were more important. But they aren't. I tell my brother, do I do it
13 myself? I mean if I buy home one more of that the Little Prince book paying
14 20 liras. If I read half a page a day as I tell him to do. But no, we always
15 put other things ahead. But at least that I feel that
16 concern seems to me like something.
17 Because I mean I'm still content with speaking Armenian and I feel
18 special. I mean this isn't only related to work. (...) That's a part of me.
19 I mean for example why don't we talk about my thumb but about
20 my Armenian? Something like that. But it's something that should be
21 taken care of a little more bit, but at least I have this concern
22 I can say.

Interview, February 27, 2021

In the first line, Larisa identifies herself as someone who is still learning Armenian. In lines 2 through 4, she compares her Armenian with her English and German, her foreign languages, and because she is better in them than she is in Armenian, she, as

she recounts, someone who is still learning Armenian. Moreover, having this concern to learn the language automatically makes her someone who is learning it (lines 4-5). It is better than nothing that she has such a concern, after all (lines 5-6). Nevertheless, it is only possible after she completes her master's thesis (line 6) and after she finishes her German language course (line 7). Only then can she move on to Armenian. From line 8 onward, she explains what she could do to improve her Armenian. For instance, she could read easier books that are read on the bus or in the restroom (lines 8-9), comic books or books sold at Migros, a supermarket chain (lines 9-10). It would be good if she read one herself (lines 10-11), but there is always something that is more important (lines 11-12). She tells her brother to read the Armenian translation of *The Little Prince* that she bought him (line 12) as she told me elsewhere during the interview, and yet she does not herself do what she tells her brother (lines 12-13) as she indicates by her rhetorical question. In lines 13 and 14, she expresses her wish to buy another copy of the book she bought for her brother and reads half a page every day. But she always has something more important than improving her Armenian (line 15). Having a concern for improving it, though, is better than nothing (lines 15-16). In lines 17 through 20, she states that Armenian is a part of her, that she is content with being able to speak it and it means more than it contributes to her work. It is because it is a part of her that during the interview she and I are talking about her Armenian instead of her thumb (lines 19-20), which is because it has a special place in her life. In the last three lines, she repeats that one must take care of one's Armenian, and Larisa at least has that concern in her, which is better than nothing.

Larisa's account indicates that her sense of inadequacy in her heritage language makes her automatically a learner of Armenian. In her recount, it is evident

that she holds a sense of responsibility toward her heritage language. Nevertheless, the perception of Armenian as an unresourceul language from her high school years seems to be at play in the present day as well. Although this view of unresourcefulness was a reaction and a total deferral of the heritage language back then, it does not imply negative attitudes toward the language in her present day ideations as regards her heritage language. Instead, she lists two things such as her master's thesis study that she is in the process of writing and German which she is in the course of learning as priorities over the pursuit of improvement in her heritage language (lines 6-7). In other words, other languages such as Turkish, English and German seem to be more resourceful to her than does Armenian. Therefore, her sense of responsibility toward her heritage language does not appear to translate into actual practices in the form of an endeavor to self-study her heritage language.

All in all, the participants evaluate their Armenian in relation to their past selves as well as to those around themselves. Although there are some who view themselves as better in some areas of the language than others, there is hardly any participant who claims to have a full command of the language. Most participants identify themselves as still learning their heritage language. Few of those participants actively engage in self-teaching or language courses, while many others only mean they learn new words and usages incidentally. There are also others who take the question literally and in response identify themselves not as still learning Armenian. Even then they usually state their desire to further improve their Armenian skills at one point in their lives in the future. The ideations surrounding language discussed in this subsection are the sense of inadequacy in Armenian, the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language and the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language. From the analysis it is evident that the sense of inadequacy results

in different affective stances in the participants. Moreover, the sense of responsibility turns at times into practices where the participants might be engaged with their heritage language extensively. Nevertheless, the contesting perceptions of Armenian as an unresourceful language and as a complicated language seemingly undermine these practices.

5.2.2 Ideal Armenian

In this section, I will discuss the ways in which the participants describe the Armenian they deem to be ideal. Because it might not always be easy for someone to think of what they perceive as ideal, I also posed the participants questions that pertain to the non-ideal, that is to say "not so good," Armenian in their points of view. With that in mind, I will also portray the responses that the participants gave to me in terms of their perceptions of non-ideal Armenian in the latter parts of the present section.

When they were asked what ideal Armenian meant to them, the participants gave responses that touched upon different aspects of language. A theme that recurs in their recounts is the ability to express oneself in Armenian:

Extract 5.22

1 Larisa:	Ben- benim için benim ideal Ermenicem kendimi gerçekten kastettiğim
2	şekilde ifade etmek olurdu. Yani çünkü dediğim gibi Türkçede kendim ne
3	kastediyorsam onu ifade edebilirim. O nüanslı kelimeleri de ona göre
4	seçebilirim. Hadi bu olmasa bile İngilizcede de kendimi rahat ifade
5	edebilirim ve doğru. Yani ama mesela Ermenicemin de en azından bu
6	düzeyde olması bana, "benim Ermenicem iyi ya, güzel" hani dedirtirdi.
7	İfade meselesi, ifade. Benim için ifade meselesi. Yani çok iyi yazmak
8	isterdim, güzel yazmak isterdim falan. Yani çirkin yazmıyorum zaten. Hani
9	şey bilmeden, kelime bilmeden zaten kendini yazsan ne olur ki? O yüzden
10	hani ben akışkan ve kastettiği şeyi söyleyen bir Ermeniceye sahip olmak
11	isterdim.

1 Larisa:	*I- to me my ideal Armenian would be one whereby I express myself*
2	*really as I intended to. Because as I said in Turkish whatever I intend to say*
3	*I can express. I can choose the nuanced words accordingly*

too. Even if I could not, I could express myself comfortably in
English and correctly. But for instance my Armenian being at at least this
level would make me say "my Armenian is good, beautiful." It's a matter
of expression. To me it's a matter of expression. I mean I wish I could write
so well, beautifully like. I mean I don't write unseemly anyways. Like what
is the point in writing without knowing words? For that reason
a fluent Armenian and one with which I say what I intend to say,
I wish I had.

Interview, February 27, 2021

For Larisa, ideal Armenian means being able to express herself the way she really inteds to (lines 1-2). In her dominant language, she can well achieve that and moreover select amongst nuanced words (lines 2-3). She can "even" express herself comfortably and correctly in English, her foreign language (lines 4-5). In lines 5 and 6, she states that being able to speak Armenian as well as she can Turkish and English would make her think that she speaks good Armenian. In other words, she makes clear that she does not see her abilities in her heritage language as she does in Turkish or English, one of the foreign languages that she speaks. In the line that follows, she describes ideal Armenian to be a "matter of expression" (line 7). She states her wish to be able to write well and beautifully in Armenian (lines 7-8), which she just then realizes that she does (line 8). Nevertheless, as she implies in line 9, she is missing enough knowledge of vocabulary in Armenian, which hinders her abilities to write well in the language. That is to say, without having a vast knowledge of vocabulary, she will not regard herself as someone who uses Armenian fluently and in a way that can express what she means to (lines 9-11).

Some participants also mention the ability to speak in their heritage language without the need to stop to think as the Armenian they see to be ideal. This naturally also means to be able to express oneself fluently in the Armenian language:

Extract 5.23

1 Seta: Güzel Ermenice nasıl bir Ermenicedir? Yani ne diyeceğimi bilemedim şu an.
2 Rahat, yani rahat konuşabildiğin, düşünmeden rahatça gündelik olarak da
3 akademik bir şeyden bahsederken de öyle bir dildir herhalde. Yani aslında

4 şimdi şeyi düşünüyorum da, yani Türkçe gibi hiçbir zaman olamaz gibi
5 geliyor. Ne olursa olsun şimdi mesela Ermenice küfür hiç bilmiyorum ben.
6 Hiç işte argosunu bilmiyorum. Yani şimdi okul ortamında öğrendiğimiz için
7 dili, hani ideal Ermenice dediğin işte **Baron**[19] Arden'in konuştuğu
8 Ermenicedir. Yani ama rahatlıkla konuşabildiğimdir. O hani düşünmeden
9 kasmadan **Baron** Arden gibi olacağım demeden pıtır pıtır konuştuğun
10 zaman herhalde odur.

1 Seta: What kind of Armenian is beautiful Armenian? I don't know what to say.
2 One you can speak comfortably without thinking talking about both daily
3 and academic stuff. Probably a language like that. I mean in fact I think now
4 it can I mean never be like Turkish it seems
5 to me. No matter what, for example I don't know any swearwords in
6 Armenian. I don't know any slang. Because we learnt the language in the
7 school environment, like ideal Armenian is like the Armenian **Baron** *Armen*
8 spoke. I mean but the one I can speak comfortably. Like without thinking or
9 pretending, without saying I'll be like **Baron** *Arden, when you speak*
10 fluently, that's probably it.

Interview, February 20, 2021

In the first line, Seta inquires herself as to what "beautiful" Armenian is like. In the same line, it can be seen that she cannot immediately come up with an answer, as she probably does not always think about it. That she possibly does not always think about what ideal Armenian means to her can also be seen in her use of "probably" (*herhalde*) in her description of ideal Armenian in lines 2 and 3, that it is ideal Armenian when one can use the language both academically and daily without thinking one's words while speaking. Her description apparently gets her to realize that it might be hard for someone to achieve the ability to do so in their heritage language to the extent that they can already in the dominant language (lines 3-5). She exemplifies by her case, stating that she does not know any swearwords in Armenian (line 5), and that nor does she know Armenian slang (line 6). She holds that this lack of vocabulary in the Armenian language is a result of having learnt the language in school settings (lines 6-7). Seta goes back to her description of ideal Armenian in lines 7 and 8, by the example of one of her idol teachers, Arden, at her high school that she talked about elsewhere during the interview. Nevertheless, it is not enough

[19] Mister.

for one to be able to speak as well as Mr. Arden does; it also has to be in a comfortable fashion (line 8). In other words, as Seta recounts, it is when one can speak fluently without the need to think about it (lines 8-10).

There are also some participants who mention structural properties of the language when they think of "ideal" Armenian, such as pronunciation. In their responses, they still talk about fluency while speaking the language:

Extract 5.24

1 Alis:	Demin de dediğim gibi o benim öğretmenimden örnek verdiğim gibi sesleri
2	tam anlamıyla ve vereceksiniz konuşurken o /t͡se/'lere, /t͡sa/'lara, / t͡so/'lara;
3	ondan sonra /d͡ze/'lere. /ʁad/, böyle gırtlaktan gelen bir /ɣe/ var. Onlara
4	dikkat ederek konuşulması lazım mesela konuşulurken Ermenicenin.
5	Yazılırken güzel bir Ermeniceyle yazılması lazım. Abidik gubidik, böyle
6	yani gerçekten o şekilli şukullu bir dil yani. O bir Latin alfabesi değil.
7	Dolayısıyla yazılacağı zaman da o güzel yuvarlakları vererek, güzel
8	yazılması lazım. Okunurken keza yine aynı şekilde o seslerle birlikte güzel
9	bir şekilde ve hiç takılmadan eğer bu iş becerilebilirse gerçekten bu dile çok
10	iyi hakimdir ve konuşabiliyordur diyebiliriz.

1 Alis:	*As I said just before, like my teacher I gave as an example, you'll give the*
2	*sounds thoroughly and when speaking /tse/s, /tsa/s, /tso/s; and then*
3	*/dze/s. /ʁad/, a /ɣe/ that comes from the larynx. These should be paid*
4	*attention to for instance when Armenian is spoken.*
5	*When written, it should be with a beautiful Armenian. Shreds and patches,*
6	*it's like a language with shapes. It's not the Latin alphabet.*
7	*So when written, it should be written with its curves*
8	*properly. When read, likewise, with those sounds properly and without*
9	*getting stuck, if it can be handled so, they really have a very good*
10	*command of that language, we could say.*

Interview, February 11, 2021

Alis begins the extract by mentioning one of her teachers in her Armenian minority school, like Seta. For her, it is important to be able to articulate the sounds that do not exist in the Turkish language, such as the affricates /t͡s/ and /d͡z/ (lines 2-3). Moreover, she mentions a phoneme that corresponds to the Turkish /ɣ/ while transcribing into Turkish, yet that has to be pronouced uvularly as /ʁ/ (line 3). She states that one has to speak Armenian tending to the correct pronunciation of such phonemes (lines 3-4). Likewise, one has to write in beautiful Armenian, with properly giving the many curves that exist in the cursive of the language (lines 5-8).

For her, because Armenian is a language that is of shreds and patches (*abidik gubidik*) with lots of shapes (lines 5-6), it is not the same as the Roman alphabet, so one has to handwrite well in the Armenian language (lines 7-8). In a similar vein, one has to articulate the sounds that are unique to Armenian, at least in comparison with the ones that exist in Turkish (line 8). In the last three lines, Alis refers to the importance of being able to do all of these without getting stuck while using the language, as in the excerpts discussed above.

In the extracts that have been discussed so far in the present section, it is possible to observe an idealization of authenticity. In Extract 5.22, Larisa expresses her idealized authenticity by comparing her skills in Armenian with that in Turkish and English, her dominant and foreign languages, respectively. It is a "fluid" Armenian in which "she can say what she intends to say" that she regards as ideal Armenian (lines 10-11). Obviously, she does not believe she holds these abilities in her heritage language unlike in Turkish and English, which compromises her of self-perceived authenticity in Armenian. In Extract 5.23, Seta exemplifies her idealized authenticity by mentioning Baron Arden. She explains that being able to speak fluently without giving a thought as to what words to use in speech and holding a knowledge of slang and daily use of the language is not enough for a use of Armenian to be described as "ideal." Instead, all of these have to occur in a natural, unpretentious and authentic manner like Baron Arden does. In this regard, her previous teacher Baron Arden represents the authenticity that is idealized by Seta. Likewise, although she mentions more fragmented structures of language such as phonology and orthography unlike Larisa and Seta who have talked about more holistic aspects of the language, Alis also indicates an idealization of authenticity in her recount in Extract 5.24. For her too, correct actualizations of phonology and

orthography do not necessarily imply ideal uses of Armenian, but they need to happen in an authentic and internalized way.

The participants that I have discussed above mention different aspects of abilities in their heritage language as ideal Armenian, such as fluency, vocabulary knowledge and phonetics. For Arev, ideal Armenian means more than these as separate aspects of the language. For her, it is a full command of language to the extent that she can engage in language play comfortably in her heritage language:

Extract 5.25

1 Arev: İdeal Ermenice bence günümüze ayak uydurabilendir ya. Yani nasıl ki
2 normal yaşam konuşmasında nasıl biz işte Türkçede değiştirebilmeye
3 başlıyoruz. Artık dile hakimsin ve artık dille oyun oynuyorsun. Yani
4 bu seviyeye bir türlü gelemedim. Hep kurallar çerçevesinde sadece,
5 Ermenice yazabildim. Dil- dille oyun oynamak. Nasıl denir? İşte
6 başka bir dilden kelimeyi alıp onun içine yerleştirip
7 Ermeniceleştirebilmek mesela yani bunu yapamıyorum. Yani çok
8 basit bir şey diyeyim. Ne diyeyim? "N'aber[20], n'apıyorsun[21]"u ya da nasıl
9 "ne haber" diye ayırmıyorsan çok basit bu yani. Daha birsürü şey
10 vardır da şu an aklıma gelmiyor hani Türkçeleştirebiliyoruz çünkü
11 dile hakimiz. Ama ben onu Ermenicede çok yapamam herhalde. (?) Hâlâ
12 böyle emin olmaya çalışıyorum, bu kelimenin arkasından bu ek gelir mi? Bu
13 böyle mi ek getirmeliydim? Böyle mi söylemeliydim, diye. Şimdi bunu
14 düşünmediğim zaman o dil benim dilim olmuş oluyor aslında. Dili kullanan
15 ve geliştiren ya da değiştiren ben olabilmeliyim. O zaman "iyi
16 konuşuyorum" diyebilirim.

1 Arev: To me, ideal Armenian is the one that keeps up with our day. I mean just like
2 in normal daily talk in Turkish we begin to be able to
3 change. Now you have a good command of and play with the language.
4 I can't get to that level anyhow. Always within the framework of rules only,
5 I could write in Armenian. Playing with lang- language. How to say? Like
6 taking a word from another language and placing it within
7 being able to Armenify for example, I can't do that. I mean a very
8 easy thing I shall say. What shall I say? "N'aber, n'apıyorsun" *or like*
9 you don't analyze into "ne haber", *this is so easy I mean. There must be*
10 many more things but I can't recall, like we can Turkicize because we have
11 good command. But I can't do that much in Armenian probably. (?) Still
12 I'm trying to be sure, does that affix come after this word? Should I
13 add the affix that way? Should I say it so? Now when I don'T
14 think about that, that language becomes my language in fact. I should be
15 the one who uses and develops and changes the language. Then, "I speak
16 well," I can say.

Interview, March 5, 2021

[20] What's up? (consisting of *ne* "what," and *haber* "news")

[21] Whatcha doing? (consisting of *ne* "what" and *yapıyorsun* "you are doing")

In the first line, Arev describes ideal Armenian as one that can keep up with the present day. She moves on to explain that in Turkish, her dominant language, she can change things in daily talk (lines 2-3). By that, she means that she has a command of Turkish and she can play with the language (line 3). In Armenian, however, she does not believe that she has similar abilities (line 4). As she recounts in lines 4 and 5, it is mostly within the framework of linguistic rules that she can use her heritage language. In other words, she does not see herself to be able to use the language naturally and borrow words from other languages to Armenicize them in Armenian speech (lines 5-8). Although she wants to give an example in Armenian (lines 7-8), she can think of an example in Turkish. When she uses the Turkish phrases *n'aber* and *n'apıyorsun*, it is so natural that she does not analyze them into the two separate words that they consist of (lines 8-9). Probably because these are quite natural occurences in Turkish for her, she cannot think of further examples (lines 9-10). Unlike being able to Turkicize words from other languages, that is to say "playing" with them in Arev's words, she does not hold that she can do the same in her heritage language (lines 10-11). To this day, she has tried to make sure if she uses correct morphology, probably amongst other linguistic aspects, while using the Armenian language (lines 11-13). She states that it is when she does not tackle with such details that she can claim to own a language that she speaks (lines 13-14). In other words, rather than being restricted by rules, she has to be the one that uses, develops and changes the language that she speaks in (lines 14-15). It is only then that she could describe herself as a "good speaker" of Armenian (lines 15-16), a speaker of her perceivedly ideal Armenian.

In Arev's account discussed above, it is possible to see that being exposed to her heritage language in the school environment exclusively, she has used the

Armenian language within the framework of grammatical rules to this day. In fact, educational institutions and press can be said to have an important role in the maintenance of the language within the heritage language community, and so most participants, like the ones illustrated above, either talk about structural aspects of the language or refer to their teachers in their Armenian minority school when they speak of an ideal Armenian. In her recount, Lusin talks explicitly against the way this might restrict people from using their heritage language:

Extract 5.26

1 Lusin: (…) Yani işte bu dil yaşıyorsa bu dil değişecektir. Yani bunun önüne
2 geçmek, bu dili öldürmektir. Yani her şey için bu böyle. Yani güzel olsun,
3 aman yanlış olmasın. Aman işte güzel dilimiz, onu korumalıyız kitaptakini
4 öğre- kitap dili benim dilimi takip edecek. Bu dünyanın her yerinde, tarihin
5 yazının başlangıcından beridir böyleydi, böyle de gidecek, konuşma dilini
6 yazı dili takip eder. Yazı dilini konuşma dili takip etmez. Öyle bir şey
7 olduğu zaman zaten o dil ölüyor demektir. Bugün şu an yapılmak istenen bu.
8 O yüzden olmuyor. O yüzden takip edemiyoruz o yüzden çok *reserve* bir
9 yere tıkılıyor. Aslında bir çocuk niye mesela Facebook ya da Instagram
10 postunun altına Ermenice yazamasın? Çünkü çocuk diyecek ki, "aman,"
11 diyecek "birsürü hata olacak, rezil olacağım" bilmem ne. Aman işte
12 kitaptaki gibi olsun, aman güzel olsun falan gibi o şeyleri düşündüğü için o
13 ideal tırnak içinde ideal dilinden uzaklaşıyor bence. Benim için ideal dil her
14 yerde herhangi bir korkusu, herhangi bir işte dil düzeltme herhangi bir dil
15 polisliği olmadan konuşulan bir dil benim için idealdir.

1 Lusin: (...) I mean as long as this language is alive, it will change. Preventing it
2 is killing it. This is so for everything. I mean let it be beautiful,
3 not wrong. Well our beautiful language, we should protect it lear-
4 the one in the books, book language will follow my language. Everywhere in
5 the world, since the beginning of history this's been so, and will be, written
6 language follows oral language. Oral one doesn't written one. When that
7 happens, it means the language's dying. This's what's aimed at today.
8 That's why it won't happen and we can't follow, so it's stuck in quite a
9 reserve place. In fact why could a child for instance not write in Armenian
10 under a Facebook or Instagram post? Because the kid will say "nevermind"
11 there'll be many mistakes, I'll be ashamed" etc. Well let it be
12 as in the books, let it be beautiful, thinking of these, they get distanced
13 from the ideal, in quotation mark, ideal language. To me, the ideal language
14 is anywhere without any fear, any like any correction any language
15 policing, a language spoken like that is ideal for me.

Interview, February 13, 2021

Lusin begins the extract by stating that as long as Armenian is a living language, it will keep evolving. To her, preventing that means to kill the language (lines 1-2).

One way that she can be said to claim that it happens is that some apparently say that "oh our beautiful language" and "let's protect our language as it is in the books" (lines 3-4). From the fourth line on, she makes clear that the "book language" follows oral language in any given language, and that it should be so in Armenian too. If what is actually happening is vice versa, it means to her that that given language is dying (lines 6-7). In effect, it is exactly what is going on with the Armenian language at present in Lusin's opinion (line 7). In other words, because Armenian is aimed to be protected as it is in the written language, it is stuck in a "reserve" area (lines 8-9). Thus, Facebook and Instagram are apparently not platforms where Armenian speaking youth will write in Armenian, thinking they will be ashamed in case they should make mistakes (lines 10-12). Moreover, thinking they must comply with the "book language," they get even more distanced from ideal Armenian, which Alis describes to be in quotation marks to indicate what many purport to be the "ideal" Armenian. Instead of the "beautiful book language," ideal Armenian means, to Lusin, being able to use the language everywhere without any fear and with no presence of language policing (lines 13-15).

In Arev's and Lusin's accounts too, an idealization of authenticity can be observed. Arev, like the participants discussed above, indicates her sense of inadequacy in her heritage language and states that she mostly uses Armenian within the framework of grammatical rules (Extract 5.25). Nevertheless, what ideal Armenian means to her is being able to engage in language play (line 5) such as Armenification non-Armenian words (line 7). She purports herself to be in contrast to the authentic speaker that she has idealized in lines 11 through 16. In other words, unlike in her dominant language, she cannot achieve these practices in her heritage language, and moreover she cannot actively engage in the use of Armenian but rather

in a limited manner where she has to think about grammatical rules. In Lusin's account, on the other hand, it is possible to observe an idealization of authenticity in response to the ideologies of linguistic purity and language policing (Extract 5.26). For Lusin, authenticity in the language means having no fear of making mistakes in the language. Moreover, it means being open to changes in the use and structure of the language rather than canonically following written language rules. It is evident from the excerpt that her idealized authenticity is shaped in response to romantic ideals of linguistic purism that she has observed around her (lines 1-4). She seems to hold that ideologies of this kind not only deauthenticates language use, but it also aggravates language shift and loss (lines 1-2), as well, by solidifying the belief that Armenian is a complicated language of which use to be avoided (lines 10-13).

Although the responses were diverse in response to what ideal Armenian means to the participants, the participants touched upon structural aspects of the language when they were asked what they deem to be "non-ideal" or "not so good," or "bad" at worst, Armenian. A recurring theme was improper pronunciation:

Extract 5.27

1 Narod: Yani beni rahatsız eden bir şey hissetmedim. Şu ana kadar, "bu da nasıl
2 konuşuyor?" dediğim bir şey olmadı. Ya şeyler biraz rahatsız ediyordu. Ama
3 bu biraz sanki şey. Mesela bazı arkadaşlarım gırtlaktan çıkarılması gereken
4 sesleri çıkartamayıp çok sönük kalıyor böyle öyle o beni rahatsız ediyordu.
5 /xe/ yerine mesela /ɣe/, /he/ der gibi. (…) Şu an tam örnek veremedim ama
6 bazı harfleri böyle tam böyle hakkını vermeden kullanmak beni rahatsız
7 ediyordu. Ama bazı insanlar işte bu şeyden dolayı böyle aslında az
8 konuşmaktan da değil. Bu gırtlak yapısı belki. Yani küçüklükten beri aynı
9 şekilde mesela devam et- geliş- yani çıkaramıyor o sesleri öyle diyeyim.

1 Narod: I mean I haven't felt something that bothered me. To date, I haven't said,
2 "how's that person speaking?" Some things bothered me a bit. But this is a
3 bit like. For example some of my friends could not pronounce the sounds
4 from the larynx, it becomes weak like that would bother me.
5 /ɣe/, /he/ instead of /xe/ for example. (...) I couldn't give a proper example
6 but some letters like not being used properly would bother
7 me. But some people like this is not from like from speaking
8 too infrequently. This is maybe about the larynx. I mean since childhood
9 the same way they contin- devel- I mean cannot utter the sounds.

Interview, February 14, 2021

In the first two lines, Narod claims that there has not been any instance where she has felt discomfort in the response to any incorrect usage in her heritage language. In the second line, though, she changes her mind and recounts that there have happened some things that caused her discomfort. She explains that there are some sounds that some of her friends were not able to articulate properly. As discussed in Extract 5.24, the sound that she mentions as an example is /x/, a sound that is not found in the phonology of Modern Standard Turkish. The friends of hers that she talks about in the excerpt apparently could not articulate the sound properly, but rather assimilate it to similar sounds that exist in Turkish (lines 4-5). Nevertheless, she is aware that their misarticulation might be stemming from the fact that they use the language sparingly, yet she changes her mind and says that it might not be so (lines 7-8). Instead, it might be because of physical reasons, in other words the way their vocal tract has always been might not allow them to articulate those sounds properly (lines 8-9). Another reason, I believe, could well be that they just have not been able to learn to properly articulate the language when they began to learn the language at Armenian minority school after having come from predominantly Turkish speaking households. Whatever the reason might be, of which Narod seems to be aware, the only thing that is obvious is that improper realizations of Armenian phonetics cause her discomfort.

Another theme that recurs in the responses of the participants as regards non-ideal Armenian is the Armenification of non-Armenian words in speech that takes place in Armenian:

Extract 5.28

1 Karun:	(…) "**Aysōr** patlıcan**nerĕ ĕri**."[22] Hani hiçbir anlam ifade etmeyen bir cümle.
2	Veyahut da "**mer** çocu**xnerĕ gu kan gor**."[23] Tamam bugün sizin çocuklar
3	geliyor da bu çocuğun Ermenice bir karşılığı yok mudur? **Zawag**[24]
4	diyebilirsin, evlat diyebilirsin.

1 Karun:	*(…)* **"Aysōr** patlıcan**nerĕ ĕri."** *A sentence that is utter nonsense.*
2	*Or "***mer** çocu**xnerĕ gu kan gor***." OK, your children are coming*
3	*today but is there no equivalent of that child in Armenian? You can say*
4	**zawag***, you can say offspring.*

Interview, March 2, 2021

Karun begins the extract by giving an example sentence, where a Turkish word is inserted in an Armenian sentence. To her, the sentence that she gives as an example does not have any meaning (line 1). Likewise, she gives another example where another Turkish word is incorporated in an Armenian sentence with its final consonant aimed to be Armenicized by means of fricativization. She states in the same line that she well understands that the children are coming, yet she questions whether the hypothetical interlocutors are missing in words that correspond to the Turkish *çocuk* "child" (lines 2-3). She proposes a solution in Armenian, such as *zawag*, which means *evlat* "offspring" in Turkish (lines 3-4). It is possible to see in this extract that insertion of Turkish words into Armenian utterances is a bad example of Armenian usage.

Like Karun, Maral also mentions insertion of non-Armenian words into Armenian utterances as non-ideal Armenian. In her recount, she explains her position in more details:

[22] "Today I cooked the eggplants." Note the Turkish word *patlıcan* is used instead of its Armenian equivalent *սմբուկ, smpug* "eggplant."
[23] "Our children are coming today." Note the Turkish word *çocuk* is used instead of its Armenian equivalent *զաւակ, zawag* "child, offspring" with an Armenified pronunciation with the final /k/ fricativized.
[24] Child, offspring.

Extract 5.29

1 Maral: (…) Ermenice konuştuğunu iddia ediyor, işte böyle iki üç tane kelime
2 Ermenice söyleyip, "**aysōr al** hava**n shad aghuor ē**," hava kelimesini
3 bilmiyorsan zaten bana "Ermenice konuşuyorum" deme. O zaman
4 Ermeniceyi kötü konuşuyorsun demektir. Çünkü o bambaşka bir kelime. O
5 bambasit bir kelime, bambasit bir kelime. Mümkün değil yani Ermenicenin
6 içine gerekli gereksiz Türkçe katamazsın. Ermeniceyi katlediyorsun çünkü.
7 Onu yapamazsın. O konuşan insan, benim için iyi Ermenice konuşuyor
8 demek değil. O, kötü konuşan biri. O, Ermeniceyi çok kötü konuşan biri.

1 Maral: (...) If you claim you speak Armenian, like saying two or three words in
2 Armenian, then "**aysōr al** hava**n shad aghuor ē**," *not knowing the word for*
3 weather, don't say "I speak Armenian" to me. Then you speak
4 Armenian badly. Because it's a completely different word. It's an easy
5 peasy word. By no means can you add into Armenian
6 Turkish regardless of whether it's needed. Because you're killing Armenian.
7 You can't do that. That speaker is not someone who speaks good Armenian
8 to me. They are a bad speaker. They are someone who speaks it so badly.

Interview, February 18, 2021

Maral begins the extract by defining an example of a "bad" speaker of Armenian. It is when they claim to be able to speak in Armenian, but after a couple of words in the heritage language they incorporate a word in Turkish (lines 1-2). In lines 2 and 3, it is possible to understand that it is when such incorporations from Turkish take place in lieue of basic words that are must-know in Armenian, such as *ōt* "weather." She states that if someone does not know a basic word like "weather" in Armenian, they must not call themselves as a speaker of Armenian (lines 2-3). Instead, she believes that they are a bad speaker (lines 3-4) because it is a completely different word than the Turkish *hava* "weather," an "easy peasy" word (lines 4-5). She moves on to explain her stance on the use of language of this kind from line 5 onward. She holds that one cannot incorporate Turkish words into Armenian regardless of whether it is really necessary (lines 5-6); otherwise, they are, in her opinion, murdering the language (line 6). In the last two lines, Maral states that such a speaker is rather a "bad" speaker of the language than they are a "good" speaker. In fact, they are a "very bad" speaker of Armenian in her view.

In their discussions of "non-ideal" Armenian, Narod, Karun and Maral all express ideologies of linguistic purism (Extracts 5.27, 5.28 and 5.29, respectively). Nevertheless, it can be said that the examples that they give remain at basic levels of the language structure. For instance, in Extract 5.27 Narod mentions certain phonemes that some individuals might have difficulty pronuncing at. Karun (Extract 5.28) and Maral (5.29), on the other hand, mention the insertion of non-Armenian, Turkish words in Armenian utterances and Armenification of Turkish words in Armenian talk as cases of "non-ideal" Armenian. The examples Karun and Maral give are nevertheless basic words from everyday life such as "eggplant," "weather" and "child/offspring," which indicates that they encounter such linguistically hybrid uses of language that involve basic everyday words. Moreover, by not pointing to more complex words or concepts, these participants could be said to position themselves in contrast to speakers of their heritage language holding the authenticity that they have idealized. In other words, as they hold a sense of inadequacy in their heritage language to a certain degree, their discourses of "non-ideal" Armenian are not grandiose, but at a level which they deem to be minimal in the correct use of the Armenian language.

Unlike Karun and Maral who talk about clear definitions of non-ideal Armenian, there are also a few participants who do not venture to describe what non-ideal or "bad" Armenian means to them:

Extract 5.30

1 Larisa:	Bunu dert edecek kadar çok iyi bilmiyorum ya. Çünkü orada hani bir
2	şey taslayacak, herhangi bir hataya karşı üstünlük taslayacak kadar
3	biliyor olarak görmediğim için kendimi, ona da var diyemem.

1 Larisa:	*I don't speak it as well as I can worry about it. There like*
2	*patronizing, patronizing against any error, because I do not see myself*
3	*to speak it to that extent, I cannot say that there is.*

Interview, February 27, 2021

In this extract, it is possible to see that because Larisa does not see herself as someone that can speak the language to the extent that she can "worry" about, or better put contemplate, what non-ideal Armenian is, she does not see herself in a position where she can "patronize" in the face of given mistakes and errors, either.

Although she, unlike Larisa, does not identify herself as someone who is not able to speak Armenian to the extent that she cannot philosophize about non-ideal Armenian, Tamar also prefers not to define what non-ideal Armenian means to her. She recounts:

Extract 5.31

1 Tamar: Kusur bulmakta çok şey değilim. Yani kusur bulanlara öyle çok çabuk kusur
2 bulanlara ya da işte dil konusunda "konuştu ama şöyle konuştu, böyle
3 konuştu" diyen tipler de vardır. İşte şunu yanlış dedi, bunu doğru dedi. O
4 konuda benim toleransım çok. Çünkü hani bana da öyle bir toleransla
5 yaklaşılması lazım. Yani Ermenice zor bir dil, çok zor bir dil. Yani okuması,
6 yazması, her şeyi çok zor. Yani dil de çok zor, dil herhangi bir dilde bence
7 çok [zor]. Çünkü düşünceyle doldurulan birçok şey var anadilimizde bizim.
8 Yani aklımıza gelen şeyi bir şekilde kelimelere çeviriyoruz. Acayip bir
9 *process* oluyor burada. Yani kolay bir şey değil o *process*i başka bir dilde
10 sıfırdan başlatmak. Çok zor onun için.

1 Tamar: I'm not so like, in finding faults. Those finding faults, like so quickly
2 or in language issues, "they spoke but in this way, in that way"
3 there are these types too. Like they said this wrong, that correctly. In that
4 I'm quite tolerant. Because I've got to be approached with such
5 a tolerance too. I mean Armenian is so hard a language. I mean reading,
6 writing, everything is so hard. The language is so hard too, language in any
7 language I think it's so [hard]. Because many things are filled with thoughts
8 in our mother tongue. I mean we turn what comes to our ming into words.
9 A strange process takes place here. It's not easy to initiate that process in
10 another language from scratch. It's so hard for that reason.

Interview, February 27, 2021

In the first three lines, Tamar makes clear that there is well a type of people who look out for errors in others' use of language. She positions herself in a different place than they are in lines 3 and 4. In lines 4 and 5, she explains the reason therefor as her needing to be approached with the same tolerance. As a late learner of her heritage language, she experienced the challenges of endeavoring to learn the language rather than taking it for granted from childhood. In lines 5 and 6, she defines Armenian as a

really difficult language, in all aspects such as reading and writing. For her, it is so in all languages around the world (lines 6-7). It is by means of one's mother tongue that ideas fill in the blank spaces in one's mind (line 7) and that ideas are converted into words (line 8). In her words, it is "a strange process" and to initiate this process from scratch in another language is not easy at all, she opines (lines 9-10). In the excerpt, it is possible to see that she empathizes with other heritage speakers of Armenian having faced and still facing the challenges that she has encountered in learning and using the language to this day.

Larisa's and Tamar's accounts indicate a sense of inadequacy in their heritage language in comparison with their idealizations of authenticity. Both participants refrain from making patronizing judgments of others' use of their heritage language. Moreover, as can be seen in Extract 5.31, her belief that Armenian is a complicated language further contributes to Tamar's avoidance of making judgments as to "non-ideal" uses of the language being an adult learner, new speaker of the language herself.

All in all, the participants responded differently to the questions what ideal and non-ideal Armenian mean to them. In terms of ideal Armenian, they mentioned structural properties as one part that constitutes it; nevertheless, extralinguistic factors such as fluency and language play took place in most responses. When it comes to non-ideal Armenian, though, the responses related to improper realizations of the Armenian phonology and perceivedly unnecessary code-switching to other languages. There were also some participants who, based on their own self-perceptions as present-day speakers of Armenian, did not prefer to talk about what they deem to be non-ideal Armenian. One prevalent ideation surrounding Armenian that emerges in the data is idealized authenticity. This idealization is seemingly

constructed in relation to an ideally authentic user of the language and is evident in the recounts of the participants of ideal Armenian and the ideal user of the language. Moreover, the participants, having a sense of inadequacy in the Armenian language, position themselves in opposition with the ideally authentic user of the language. Although ideologies of linguistic purism in Armenian are also at play, the ways in which these ideologies are recounted reiterate the existence of idealized authenticity in Armenian.

5.3 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the engagement of the participants with their heritage language in the present. Few of the participants reported using Armenian in daily communication. The other participants, who reported using the Armenian language sparingly, reported doing so in special instances or for special purposes. Although some participants recounted that they attempt to use Armenian more in communication, their attempts are soon interrupted by feeling the need to turn to the dominant language, with which they feel more at ease in expressing themselves. Most of the participants reported not engaging in extensive reading activities in Armenian. When it comes to the events that take place necessarily in Armenian in the lives of the participants, their responses related to religious motifs most of the time. Most participants stated that church is the place where things are or are to be held in Armenian exclusively. Sermons being given bilingually or only in Turkish was a matter of contention in their responses. The participants reported feeling strange in the face of encountering the use of non-Armenian at church or other religious contexts. Just as sermons, after the Mass carried out in Armenian, need to be given in Turkish for those non-speakers of Armenian of the Armenian descent,

there was a participant who reported saying his personal prayers in Turkish after reciting the scripted Lord's Prayer so as to better express his wishes.

When it comes to the self-evaluations of the participants in Armenian, there were only a few of them who described themselves as good or sufficient, and most self-identified as insufficient in their heritage language. They reported lacking the abilities in different aspects of the language. Even when they described themselves as being able to use the language well, it was often in comparison with others around them, that is to say that they are in a better position than their acquaintances who might have lost much of their abilities in the Armenian language. Some of the participants reported initiatives and plans to improve their Armenian, which they do not always put into practice because they have other things that they deem they need to prioritize. The participants defined what they think to be ideal and non-ideal Armenian in terms of structural properties of the language as well as supralinguistic elements that makes up speech. Although a number of them explicitly described what they deem to be non-ideal Armenian, there were also others who refrained from doing so taking into consideration their self-evaluations of their abilities in Armenian today as well as the challenges that they encountered while learning the language in the later stages of their life.

The ways in which language ideologies are manifest in the present chapter are numerous. Firstly, it is evident from the data that Armenian is perceived as an occasionally spoken language, as evident in the use of the language as a marker of identity in the present lives of the participants when they wish to hide the content of their speech from non-speakers of Armenian around themselves as well as when they want to protect sensitive information from fraud. Morever, the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language is prevalent especially in the case of

the participants who use Armenian in limited contexts such as while referring to certain keywords and phrases. Secondly, the perception of Armenian as a taken-for-granted part of life is at play, and it is evident when speakers intuitively switch to Armenian although they do not use their heritage language intensively in their everyday lives. In other words, their heritage language always remains there for them ready to be used.

Thirdly, a sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language is observed in the interview data. This is sometimes manifest in monolingual Armenian language ideologies and concomitant linguistic practice attempts in the home environment. In these cases, the belief that Armenian is a complicated language dominates and the endeavors to use the heritage language at home go unfruitful shortly. At other times, this sense of responsibility is projected into the efforts of the participants in order to improve their Armenian skills; nevertheless, these efforts are either not prioritized, or they are sporadically pursued, both of which cases can be associated with the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language, in contrast with other dominant and foreign languages that constitute more resourceful languages for them.

Fourthly, Armenian is considered to be a language of religion by the participants. This in turn leads to monolingual Armenian language ideologies in religious contexts. This is evident from the fact that participants indicate a sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language in the presence of clerics around them, who appear to be representative of the Armenian church for them. Nevertheless, when it comes to the linguistic practices in church, participants seem to have conflicting attitudes toward sermons delivered bilingually in the heritage and dominant languages or monolingually in the dominant language due to the linguistic

needs of the parishioners of Armenian descent who are non-speakers of Armenian. In this regard, monolingual Armenian language ideologies and embracing attitudes toward multilingualism can be said to conflict with each other in this domain. Notwithstanding, when it comes to scripted and ritualistic uses of the language during the Sunday Mass, scripted prayers and words, monolingual Armenian language ideologies can be claimed to be prevalent.

Fifthly, the sense of inadequacy is prevalent in the interview data. The perceived inadequacy does evidently not apply to every field of the heritage language for the participants but shows difference instead. In addition, the construction of the sense of inadequacy is not in a static manner, but instead it is constructed in comparison with the past selves of the participants as well as with other speakers of Armenian as a heritage language around themselves. Lastly, an idealization of authenticity emerges from the analysis. This idealization of authenticity is implied by what "ideal Armenian" means to the participants. The authenticity idealized by the participants implies being able to use and play with their heritage language freely, without giving a thought as to what words to use or what grammatical rules to follow while speaking. Moreover, idealized authenticity is also evident in the accounts of the participants regarding their perceived "non-ideal" uses of Armenian as well as their avoidance of delivering such descriptions of "non-ideal Armenian."

All in all, the ideologies surrounding language that have emerged in the present chapter are not only multiple but also in interaction with each other. That is to say, at times they are at an interplay and at other times they are in competition with each other. Not only do the participants hold different ideologies in comparison with each other, but they also hold beliefs that conflict within themselves too. In the present chapter, I have discussed the experiences of the participants as well as the

ideologies that they hold in relation to their heritage language in the present day. In the upcoming chapter, I will discuss their experiences and language ideologies with a focus on the future of their heritage language.

CHAPTER 6

FUTURE PROSPECTS OF ARMENIAN

In the previous chapter, I tried to illustrate the experiences of my participants in the present with Armenian as well as their self-assessments and perceptions of ideal Armenian. In the present chapter, I will try to discuss their recounts of future prospects of Armenian as a heritage language, as well as how language ideologies are situated in the interview accounts. The chapter will begin with a discussion of Armenian's place in Turkey and specifically in Istanbul. Then I will illustrate the future that the participants envision for their heritage language, Armenian.

6.1 Future Prospects of Armenian

There are two topics that will be covered under this section: Armenian in Turkey and Future of Armenian. In the first part of the present section, I will focus on the ways in which the participants regard Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey, specifically in Istanbul, one of the epicenters of Western Armenian. In the second part of the section, I will illustrate the future that the participants envision for their heritage language as an endangered language.

6.1.1 Armenian in Turkey

In this section, I posed questions that related to the place that Armenian holds in the larger sociolinguistic context of Turkey. Although it does not directly relate to the future prospects of the language, I deem this as a topic that should be discussed under the theme Future Prospects of Armenian as the future of the language cannot be thought of as independent from its current state. Moreover, the reason I designed

the questions that pertained to the status of Armenian in Turkey in general was that I wanted to gain an insight into the awareness and positions of my participants regarding the vitality of the Armenian language in Turkey. In other words, as I wrote the questions that fell under this topic, I foresaw that their discussion would in one way or another relate to the future of the Armenian language in Turkey as an endangered language that is now predominantly spoken, in lower rates than before though, in Istanbul.

The questions I wrote in my interview question guide under this topic included where the participants perceive their heritage language in the context of Turkey and what they knew about the varieties of Armenian that are spoken in different parts of the country. The questions I designed specifically focused on the context of Istanbul as it is one of the cities where the Armenian language is actively used institutionally, that is in schools, churches and press.

One of the questions that I asked my participants was whether Armenian is an Istanbul language. By asking that question, I intended to gain their insight into whether they consider their heritage language as an intrinsically Istanbul language, considering Armenian's vitality today depends on the Istanbul context with the higher numbers of Armenian minority population as well as functioning institutions such as school and churches. In other words, I did not mean to ask them a matter of fact, the fact that Armenian is one of the languages that are spoken in Istanbul, which is also evident in the fact that I use the phrasing *Istanbul dili* "Istanbul language," where the word "Istanbul" approximates to an adjective rather than a possessive noun. To put it another way, my aim in asking the question was rather to understand whether the existence of Armenian in comparatively higher rates than elsewhere in Turkey necessarily means that it is an Istanbul language for the participants.

When I asked them whether Armenian is an Istanbul language, many participants expressed their opinion that it is well so. These participants usually took my question literally and referred to the fact that it is a language that is used in Istanbul, like Hermine:

Extract 6.1

1 Hermine:	Şöyle bence öyle, çünkü ben Kurtuluş'a gittiğim zaman hâlâ duyuyorum
2	yani Ermenice. Kurtuluş, Samatya, Yeşilköy, ben sana söyleyeyim. Yani bu
3	üç semtte ben net duyarım bir markette, bir bakkalda, bir manavda. O
4	Ermenicenin yani kesin duyarım. O yüzden benim için bir İstanbul dili. (…)

1 Hermine:	*I think so because when I go to Kurtuluş I still hear Armenian.*
2	*Kurtuluş, Samatya, Yeşilköy, let me tell you. I mean in these three districts*
3	*I hear definitely in a market, grocery store or a greengrocer. Armenian*
4	*I mean I definitely hear. So, to me it's an Istanbul language. (...)*

Interview, February 27-28, 2021

At the beginning of the extract, Hermine states that she regards Armenian to be an Istanbul language. In lines 1 through 2, she lists some of the districts of Istanbul where she observes language to be used around her. In these places, it is in "a market, grocery store or a greengrocer" (line 3) that the language is used; in other words, it is used in communication in daily life. In line 4, she highlights that she definitely encounters Armenian to be used in these places. For this reason, Armenian is an Istanbul language in her opinion (line 4).

As can be seen in Extract 6.1, Hermine can be said to consider Armenian to be an Istanbul language. In her account, she explains that due to the fact that she is able to hear Armenian spoken in a number of districts where there is a considerable Armenian minority population, she considers Armenian to be an Istanbul language. In other words, it is the linguistic reality she observes firsthand around her that she comes to think of Armenian as an Istanbul language.

There are also participants in my study that do not deem their heritage language to be an Istanbul language. For them, Armenian is a language that belongs to Anatolia in general rather than to Istanbul specifically:

Extract 6.2

1 Alis: İstanbul dili değil yani. İstanbul'da ne zamandan beri yaşıyoruz? Ne
2 zamandan beri Ermeniler burada yani? Ermenilerin buraya gelişi
3 benim bildiğim Fatih Sultan Mehmet zamanı. Ondan önce oradalar.
4 Fatih Sultan Mehmet ne zaman geliyor buraya? 1453. Dolayısıyla
5 yani en eski Ermeninin buradaki tarihi 600 senedir. (…) Dolayısıyla
6 ben pek İstanbul şeyidir diyemem, dilidir diyemem Ermenice için.
7 Anadolu dilidir.

1 Alis: It's not an Istanbul language. How long have we lived in Istanbul? How
2 long have Armenians been here I mean? Armenians arrived here as far as I
3 know during Mehmed the Conqueror's time. Before then they are there.
4 When did Mehmed the Conqueror arrive here? In 1453. So I mean
5 the oldest Armenian heritage here dates back to 600 years ago. (...) So
6 I can't say it's much of an Istanbul well, language for Armenian.
7 It's a language of Anatolia.

Interview, February 11, 2021

Right at the beginning of the extract, Alis makes the case that Armenian is not an Istanbul language. In lines 1 and 2, she questions how long the Armenians of Istanbul have been living in the city. She responds to her question by stating that it was during the 15th century that the Armenians began to move to Istanbul from Anatolia (lines 3-4). This means that the earliest Armenian existence in the city dates back to around 600 years ago (lines 4-5). Thus, Alis does not purport Armenian to be an Istanbul language, but that of Anatolia, from where it originally came to Istanbul.

Throughout my interview with Alis, she did not mention having any relatives that have lived in Anatolia for most of their lives. Instead, her family has lived in Istanbul for generations. Nevertheless, she is aware of the origins of the language in Anatolia, which prevents her from deeming Armenian as an Istanbul language. Aren, on the other hand, has seemingly observed his family members that have lived in

Anatolia to use the Armenian language actively. Likewise, he does not regard Armenian as an Istanbul language:

Extract 6.3

1 Aren: Güzel soru. Değil bence. Yani İstanbul'a *fix*leyemeyiz. Tamam
2 **Arewmdahayerēn**[25] şeye **Hayerēn**[26] var ama **Arewelahayerēn**[27]. İstanbula
3 *fix*leyemeyiz. (…) Benim dedemler, **yaya**mlar[28] köyde Sivas'tan yani
4 Sivaslı. Yani on yaşında Sivas'tan gelmiş, geldiğinde patır patır Ermenice
5 konuşuyormuş. İstanbul hiçbir bağlantısı yokmuş benim kendi dedem. Yani
6 **mama**mın[29] babası. Patır patır Ermenice konuşur, Yozgat'tan gelme. Adam
7 vefat edene kadar her sene Yozgat'taydı benim dedem. İstanbul o yüzden
8 asla ve asla İstanbul'a *fix*leyemeyiz. Tamam evet İstanbulun **Hay**ları[30]
9 varmış. İstanbul'da konuşan eden. Evet ama onlar da orada konuşuyorlardı.
10 Baktığımızda aynı Ermenice. Sadece köyde oldukları için belki köylüye bazı
11 kelimelerin onlara özel şeyi var, lehçe gibi diyebiliriz yani onların kullandığı
12 bazı kelimeler var o kadar. (…)

1 Aren: Good question. I don't think so. I mean we can't fix it to Istanbul. OK,
2 **Arewmdahayerēn** *well* **Hayerēn** *is but* **Arewelahayerēn**. *We can't fix it to*
3 Istanbul. (...) My grandfather, **yaya** *are from a village in Sivas.*
4 He came from Sivas at his 10, when he came he spoke Armenian quite
5 fluently. My own grandfather had no connection to Istanbul. I mean my
6 **mama***'s father. He speaks fluent Armenian, coming from Yozgat. Till his*
7 death he was in Yozgat every year my grandpa. Istanbul so never ever
8 can we fix it to Istanbul. OK yes there were **Hay***s of Istanbul, speaking*
9 Armenian in Istanbul. Yes but they spoke it there too. When we
10 look at it, it's the same Armenian. Only because they are in villages maybe
11 some words were unique like to them, like a dialect I mean some words
12 that they use and that's it. (...)

Interview, February 27, 2021

Aren begins his turn by stating that he views the question that was posed to him was is a good one. From the first line forward, he states that Armenian cannot be "fixed" to Istanbul as a unique language where it belongs to (lines 1-3). In lines 1 and 2, he says "OK, Western Armenian," by which he seems to indicate Istanbul as an epicenter of Western Armenian. In the same line, he utters the words "Western Armenian," "Armenian" and "Eastern Armenian" in the same incomplete phrase, which can be said to imply he has difficulty in explaining his stance. Right

[25] Western Armenian.
[26] Armenian.
[27] Eastern Armenian.
[28] My grandmother's family (*yaya* in Armenian and the plural suffix *-lAr* in Turkish).
[29] My mother's (*mama* in Armenian and the possessive suffix *-mIn* in Turkish).
[30] Armenians (*Hay* in Armenian and the plural suffix *-lAr* in Turkish).

afterwards he goes on to restate that the language cannot be “fixed” to be an Istanbul language, and he goes on to recount the example of his family (lines 2-3). One of his grandfathers reportedly moved to Istanbul at his 10 from Sivas, a city in Anatolia, and his other grandfather came from Yozgat, another city in Anatolia, where he had obviously learnt his heritage language quite fluently (lines 3-7). Considering the case of his grandparents that he has just recounted, Aren states the fact that Armenian can “never ever” be “fixed” to Istanbul once again (lines 7-8). He acknowledges the Armenian minority community that has lived in Istanbul (lines 8-9), yet it was also in Anatolia where the same language was spoken (lines 9-10). Although, as Aren holds, there might be differences between the varieties spoken in Anatolia and Istanbul, they are still the same Armenian (lines 9-12). Thus, he maintains that Armenian is a language specific to Istanbul.

Alis and Aren, unlike Hermine, hold the view of Armenian as an Anatolian language. Although they share similar experiences to Hermine in that they have lived in Istanbul where Western Armenian maintains its linguistic vitality in Turkey, this observation is not sufficient for them to perceive their heritage language as an Istanbul language. Instead, drawing on historical facts (Extract 6.2) as well as personal experiences and observations (Extract 6.3), Alis and Aren come to regard Armenian as an Anatolian language, respectively.

Another question that I directed to the participants was the place that the Armenian language has amongst the languages that are spoken in Istanbul. Practically all of the participants shared their opinion that it has a limited range of use in comparison with other languages:

Extract 6.4

1 Larisa: Çok dardır yani yeri çok dardır. Çünkü zaten şurada kaç kişiyiz? Kaç tane
2 okul var? Yani okul dışında zaten ne kadar kullanılıyor? İşte ben mesela bir
3 örneğim, ben gerçi kötü bir örneğim. Ama daha ortalama örnekler de bence
4 çok mutlu edici sonuçlara vardıramaz yani bu soruyu. Dar- daracık bir yeri
5 var bence İstanbul'da. Yani çok büyük bir etkisi var bence. Sonuçta hani bu
6 İstanbul'un tarihine baktığınızda da. Ama o tarihteki etkisini bugün hani
7 somut olarak var olan etkisine kıyasladığınızda tabii bu devede kulak yani.
8 Bence çok dar dar bir alanı vardır yani.

1 Larisa: Its place is quite narrow. How many of us are here already? How many
2 schools? How much is it used outside schools? Like I am for instance an
3 example, in fact a bad example. But more average examples cannot yield
4 gladdening results to this question I think. Nar- quite a narrow place it has
5 in Istanbul I think. I mean it has a very big effect. After all when you look at
6 the history of Istanbul too. But its effect in the history, when you compare it
7 with its concrete, existent effect today of course it's a drop in the bucket.
8 I think it has quite a narrow space I mean.

Interview, February 27, 2021

Immediately after describing the place of Armenian as "quite narrow" (line 1), Larisa vocalizes questions that pertain to the current Armenian population in Istanbul as well as the number of Armenian minority schools in Istanbul (lines 1-2). For her, the extent to which her heritage language that is used outside of the school is indicative of the place of Armenian among the other languages spoken in Istanbul, as can be seen in her question on the use of Armenian outside schools in line 2. She gives herself as an example, a "bad" one as she calls it (lines 2-3). In other words, as her use of Armenian in daily life is limited, she regards herself as a "bad" example in this regard. Nevertheless, the case is reportedly not any better for the "average" ones in comparison with her, either (lines 3-4). Even then, the Armenian language has a "narrow" place in her opinion (lines 4-5). From line 5 onward, Larisa goes on to compare the place of Armenian in Istanbul in the past to that in the present. Although it now has a "narrow" place in the city, it once had a "big effect" in the past (lines 5-6). By "big effect," Larisa probably refers to the higher rates of Armenian use in daily life in Istanbul in the past. In lines 6 and 7, she compares that "big effect" with

the effect that it has today. Thus Larisa completes her turn by re-stating that her heritage language has a “narrow” place in the city.

In Larisa’s account, it is possible to observe that Armenian is considered to have a limited place (Extract 6.4). This belief is further reified for her by the perception of Armenian as a school language (line 2), which means Armenian is predominantly used within the borders of Armenian minority schools. Moreover, she draws on the limited use of Armenian as a heritage language within the wider community by giving herself as an example, a “bad” one, as she describes it, in lines 2 through 4. In addition, she seems to regard Armenian as a language with a limited place from the fact that it has a relatively more limited space in Istanbul in the present day than it did in the past.

Like Larisa, Kami also holds that Armenian has a limited place amongst the languages that are spoken in Istanbul. He views his heritage language as one that arouses feelings of nostalgia and historicity:

Extract 6.5

1 Kami:	İstanbul’da konuşulan diğer diller arasında nasıl bir yeri vardır
2	Ermenicenin? Tarihî bir yeri var ya. Yani sadece bilenlerin konuştuğu bir
3	dil. Hani şimdi şöyle düşün- şimdi böyle diyince şey geldi aklıma. Herkes
4	İngilizce de konuşuyor, işte Çince bilenler var, şey Rusça bilenler var.
5	Bunlar hep şey için konuşulan diller. Ticarette kullanmak için konuşulan
6	diller. Ama hani Ermeniceyi konuşanların veya Ermenice öğrenmek sizin
7	gibi Ermenice öğrenenlerin veya işte Rumca kelimeler öğrenenlerin amacı
8	ticaret yapmak değil. Nostalji olabilir, tarihî olabilir.
9	Öyle bir yere koyabilirim.

1 Kami:	*What kind of a place does Armenian have among the languages spoken in*
2	*Istanbul? It has a historical place. I mean a language that only those know it*
3	*speak it. Now thin- so, now having said that it occurs to me. Everybody*
4	*speaks English, there are those who speak Chinese, well those Russian.*
5	*These languages are spoken for well. Spoken in order to be used in*
6	*commerce. But those speaking Armenian or learn Armenian like you*
7	*those learning Armenian or like those learning Greek words, their goal*
8	*is not to engage in commerce. It can be nostalgia, it can be historical*
9	*reasons. I can place it somewhere like that.*

Interview, February 20, 2021

Kami begins the turn by asking what kind of a place Armenian has amongs the languages that are spoken in Istanbul (lines 1-2). He responds his own question in line 2 by stating that it has “a historical place.” By “historical,” he means that it is a language that only those who have the abilities in Armenian can speak it. In other words, it is not a language that people learn for profitable purposes unlike English, Chinese or Russian (lines 3-5). These languages that he mentions are those that people learn in order to engage in commerce in his opinion (lines 5-6). In line 6, Kami begins to compare the learners of minority languages such as Armenian and Greek with the learners of the languages that he has just mentioned. He holds that learners of Armenian as well as other minority languages that are less commonly used in Istanbul today learn the language not for the sake of commercial activities (lines 6-8). Thus, as a language that is not used for commercial purposes in the present, Armenian evokes feelings of nostalgia and historicity in Kami, compared with the other languages that are spoken in Istanbul (lines 8-9).

Kami can also be said to consider Armenian to be a language with a limited place. By comparing his heritage language with English, Chinese and Russian, Kami makes the case that Armenian does not constitute as resourceful a language as widely spoken languages around the world. In other words, the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language persists to the present day, although it is not reactional as it was once back in the school years. Instead, still an unresourceful language, Armenian has nostalgic connotations and serves exclusively such purposes for its learners.

In order to gain an insight into whether Istanbul has an important place in the lives of the participants as an epicenter of Armenian as a heritage language, I posed the question what the participants’ Armenian would have turned out to be like had

they been born elsewhere or moved to another city after having been raised in Istanbul. I intentionally included both possibilities in the same question so that the participants could themselves elaborate on the difference each case would make in their lives. Most of the participants expressed their belief that they would have somewhat lower abilities in their heritage language and more importantly, it would depend on in what period of their lives if they were to move elsewhere:

Extract 6.6

1 Hermine: Şöyle ilk başta başka bir ilde doğmuş olsaydımı söyleyeyim ben başka bir
2 ilde olsaydım büyük ihtimal Ermenice öğrenmek gibi bir şansım olmazdı
3 zaten. Çünkü Ermeni okulları tamamen İstanbul'da hepsi. Yani bir
4 Ankara'da bir Eskişehir'de vesairede İzmir'de böyle bir seçenek
5 olmayacaktı ve tamamen İngil- yani, İngilizce diyorum hâlâ ya, Ermeniceyi
6 tamamen yani sıfır olacak, ne ailede konuşulacaktı, belki annem bir iki
7 kelime öğretseydi öğretecekti. Ama hani kullanılmadığı için, benim için şu
8 an Almancam neyse Ermenicem de o olacaktı benim için. Ama şeyde burada
9 okuyup liseden sonra başka bir yere gitseydim ya da liseye kalmasaydım
10 ortaokulda çıkıp gitseydim daha kötü olurdu. Benim lise eğitimim benim
11 Ermenicemi geliştirdi zaten. Ama liseden mezun olup gitseydim ve başka bir
12 şehirde yaşamaya başlasaydım şu anda şu ankiyle aynı durumda olurdu.
13 Dediğim gibi o lisedeki süreci geçirdiğim için şu an iyi. Ama ortaokuldan
14 gitseydim ve başka şeylere yoğunlaşsaydım lise hayatımda, yani hiç
15 olmayabilirdi. Çünkü şöyle örnek vereyim benim kuzenim dedim ya size
16 Çiçek Kolejinde okudu diye. O mesela sekizinci sınıftan sonra bir daha
17 Ermenice eğitimi almadı. Şu an mesela konuşamıyor. Çok basit kelimeleri
18 bile söyleyemeyecek durumda. Bu şekilde.

1 Hermine: Like let me talk about if I had been born in another city, if I had been in
2 another city most probably I wouldn't have had the chance to learn
3 Armenian. Because Armenian schools are all in Istanbul. I mean in Ankara,
4 Eskişehir etc. in Izmir there wouldn't be such an option and
6 completely Engl- I mean, I'm still saying English, Armenian would be
7 completely zero, it wouldn't be spoken in the family, maybe my mom would
8 teach me some words if she ever would. But because of not being used, for
9 me my Armenian would be just as my German is now for me. But well going
10 to school here, after high school going somewhere else or not going to high
11 school, leaving after middle school it'd be worse. High school improved my
12 Armenian. But if I had left after high school and begun to live elsewhere it'd
13 be as it is now. As I said, it's good as I had that process in high school. But
14 if I'd left after middle school and focused on other things in high school, it'd
15 be not be possible. Let me give such an example my cousin as I said went to
16 Çiçek College. They for instance after 8th grade have not received
17 Armenian education. They can't speak it now. They can't even say very
18 simple words. Like that.

Interview, February 27-28, 2021

At the beginning of the extract, it is possible to imply that for Hermine, being born in a city other than Istanbul lowers the possibility of fully-fledged learning of Armenian as a heritage language dramatically (lines 1-3). The reason she gives for this situation is the fact that there are no functioning Armenian minority schools in cities other than Istanbul (line 3). Moreover, added to the absence of Armenian minority schools, the lack of use of the heritage language in the home environment would also contribute to her not learning Armenian (lines 3-6). Even if her mother were to teach her some words in Armenian, it would not be more than a foreign language to her as English and German are (lines 5-8). In the hypothetical case where she moves to another city after receiving formal education in an Armenian minority school in Istanbul, she holds that her Armenian would only be worse than it is now (lines 8-10). It is especially thanks to the education she received in her high school that improved her abilities in Armenian (lines 10-12) and were she to move to another city after high school, her Armenian would be similar to what it is like today (lines 11-13). Without receiving a high school education in an Armenian minority school, though, she believes she would be in a less proficient position (lines 13-15), which she exemplifies by the case of her cousin who has not received any formal education further after middle school and is today reportedly not able to utter even very simple words (lines 15-18).

In Hermine's account in Extract 6.6, it is possible to see the view of Armenian as an Istanbul language in convergence with Armenian as a school language. In other words, it is not only her residing in Istanbul that seems to have upheld her abilities in her heritage language but also the fact that she went to Armenian minority schools. Because all the functioning Armenian minority schools are located in Istanbul in the present, it is evident that perceptions of Armenian as an

Istanbul language and as a school language go hand in hand. Moreover, as can be seen in the excerpt, Hermine does not vocalize negative attitudes toward Armenian minority schools that she attended in the maintenance of her heritage language because it was thanks to them that she was able to learn and maintain her abilities in Armenian. In other words, while the perception of Armenian as a school language might have had led to a reaction in participants in the past during their childhood and youth, the same ideation manifests itself in a positive fashion with a prospective glans to the future of the language.

Armenian minority schools not only provide the maintenance of the heritage language as a site of K-12 instruction, but they also help sustain heritage language abilities for people who work there. For Kami, for instance, it is thanks to the Armenian minority school that he has been working at that he has kept his abilities in his heritage language. Let alone moving to another city, were he not to work in an Armenian minority school, he would be at an even worse, as he names it, state than he is today:

Extract 6.7

1 Kami: Çok daha, hiç kullanmamış olurdum ya. Hiç kullanmamış olurdum. Fırsatım
2 olma- yani bunda belki İstanbul değil, ben bir Ermeni okulunda çalışmaya
3 başlamamış olsaydım da büyük ihtimalle daha kötü olacaktı Ermenicem.
4 Çünkü dediğim gibi çevremdeki insanlarla ben Ermenice konuşmadım. Yani
5 onlar benimle Ermenice konuştu ama ben onlarla çok Ermenice
6 konuşmadım. Hep Ermeni okulunda olduğum için ben Ermenice konuşmak
7 zorunda kalmıştım. Yani buna İstanb- benden bunu İstanbul'a bağlayamam.
8 Yani ben şimdi İzmir'de bir işe başlamış olsaydım, ilk şeyimi İzmir'de
9 yapmış olsaydım ve burada bir kolejde başlamış olsaydım aynı şey olacaktı.
10 (…) Şöyle söyleyeyim, ben sizin sorunuzu şöyle cevaplayayım. Eğer bir
11 Ermeni okulunda çalışmasaydım Ermenicem çok daha kötü olurdu.

1 Kami: More, I'd not have used it. Not at all. I wouldn't have the opportu-
2 I mean in this maybe not Istanbul, if I'd not begun to work in an Armenian
3 school most probably my Armenian would be worse.
4 Because as I said I didn't speak to those around me in Armenian. I mean
5 they spoke Armenian to me but I didn't speak to them much in
6 Armenian. Because I was always in the Armenian school, I had to speak
7 in Armenian. I mean this Istanb- I can't relate this to Istanbul.
8 I mean if I'd begun a job in Izmir, done my first well in Izmir and here

9 begun in a college, the same thing would have taken place.
10 (…) Let me say so, let me answer your question that way. If I did not
11 work in an Armenian school, my Armenian would be much worse.

Interview, February 20, 2021

In response to my question what his Armenian would be like in case he were to have born in or moved to a city other than Istanbul, Kami states that he would not have used his heritage language at all in his life as he would not have had the opportunity to do so (lines 1-2). He goes on to state that had he not begun to work in an Armenian minority school, his Armenian would have worsened (lines 2-3). He indicates, in lines 4 through 6, that prior to working at an Armenian minority school, he would not speak to those around him in Armenian even in cases where they would to him. It has been thanks to the Armenian minority school that he has worked in that he has pushed himself to get engaged more in the use of the Armenian language (lines 6-7). Thus he prefers to specifically refer to the hypothetical case where he began to work in a non-Armenian majority school environment such as a private educational institution in Istanbul or elsewhere like Izmir, in which he would have ended up with an Armenian "much worse," in his words, than it is in the present (lines 8-11).

Likewise, Kami's recounts reiterate the convergence of the perception of Armenian as an Istanbul language with the perception of Armenian as a school language. It is by means of school that he was able to learn Armenian as can be seen in lines 4 through 6 in Extract 6.7. Moreover, it is thanks to the fact that he began to work in an Armenian minority school that his abilities in his heritage language could persist, as evident in lines 10 and 11.

When I asked the participants about the place of Armenian amongst the languages that are spoken in Turkey in general, many of them expressed their belief that it has a limited space as it does, in their opinion, in Istanbul. Some of the

participants expressed their stance on the place of Armenian in Turkey by means of metaphors:

Extract 6.8

1 Tamar: Yani kantitatif mi kalitatif olarak mı? Yani kaç kişi konuşuyordur?
2 Diyelim biz elli bin Ermeni varsa, yoktur da, yani bunun belki birkaç
3 bini konuşuyordur Ermenice. En fazla birkaç binidir. Yani beş bin
4 değildir. Yani bunu kafadan atıyorum şimdi, hani tamamen hissi
5 söylüyorum. Ama yani bu hani şey olarak miktarsal olarak çok az.
6 Ama kıymetli midir? Çok kıymetlidir. Yani onu konuşmak. Mesela
7 ben şimdi Dalgacı Mahmut[31] şiiri, ki sevdiğim bir şiir diyelim Orhan
8 Veli'nin, bunu kendimce Ermeniceye çevirdim. Benim çok hoşuma
9 gitti bunu Ermenicede söylemek yani. Çok hoş bir şey yani. Var olsun
10 isterim yani o ses hep çıksın hani Ermenice yani bu atmosfere yayılsın
11 isterim. Bu ses dalgaları gitsin isterim. Ama o kadar az ki yani
12 Anadolu susmuş İstanbul'da da çok az konuşan var. Zaten konuşmaya
13 da pek şey yok, yani sebep mi yok diyeyim? Hani çok da ortam da
14 yok zaten hani. Yani okullar azalmış ve zaten Ermenice çok yaşayan
15 bir dil değil hani şey gibi böyle bir özel bir bitki gibi. Hani yetiştirince
16 güzel, hiç olmazsa öyle var. Yani saksı çiçeği gibi. Yani doğal bir ot
17 gibi değil. Bu benzetmeyi de şimdi konuşurken buldum.

1 Tamar: I mean quantitatively or qualitatively? I mean how many people speak it?
2 Say if there are 50 thousand Armenians, which there aren't, of them maybe
3 a few thousand speak Armenian. At most a few thousand. I mean not five
4 thousand. I'm making this up now, like all in an intuitive
5 manner. But like quantitatively very few.
6 But is it precious? It is very precious. I mean speaking it. For instance I now
7 Dalgacı Mahmut *poem, which I like by Orhan Veli, I translated it*
8 to Armenian in my own way. I really liked it to say
9 it in Armenian. It's a very pleasant thing. I'd like it to exist
10 let the sound come out always like Armenian like let it be dispersed into this
11 atmosphere. I want these sound waves to radiate. But so few that I mean
12 Anatolia is silent, in Istanbul too there are very few speakers. Not many for
13 speaking, shall I say there aren't reasons? Like there's not much of an
14 environment anyways. I mean schools are diminished and Armenian is not
15 quite an alive language like it's like a special like a plant. When raised it's
16 beaufitul, it exists that way at least. Like a houseplant. I mean not like
17 natural plants. I've found this metaphor now as I am speaking.

Interview, February 12, 2021

At the beginning of the extract, Tamar responds to my question by questioning whether she should evaluate the place of Armenian amongst the languages spoken in Turkey from a quantitative or a qualitative point of view. In the second half of the first line, she goes on to pose the rhetorethical question how many people speak the

[31] "Joculous Mahmut," a poem by Orhan Veli Kanık (1914-1950).

Armenian language. She estimates that whatever the number of Armenian heritage population living in Turkey might be, only a handful of thousand of them must be able to speak the Armenian language (lines 2-4). She displays awareness that she is just "making up" the numbers, speaking intuitively rather than based on statistic data (lines 4-5). From line 6 onward, she moves on to a qualitative point of view. For her, speaking in Armenian is a precious thing, and she reports the positive feelings aroused in her when she is able to say things in Armenian, such as the Armenian translation of a poem in Turkish (lines 6-9). Given these feelings, she wishes the "sound waves to radiate" in Armenian (lines 9-11). On the other side of the coin, though, Armenian is at the brink of dying out due to diminishing rates of its speakers in Anatolia as well as in Istanbul (lines 11-12). After all, as she maintains, there are not many reasons nor settings in which to use the Armenian language with the numbers of schools on the decrease in years (lines 12-14). In lines 14 and 15, she describes the Armenian language as a language that is not much living today, and compares it to a special plant. She uses the metaphor of "houseplant" to describe her heritage language, which keeps its liveliness as long as it is taken after unlike plants that are found outside in the nature (lines 15-17). In the final line of the extract, she adds that she has just thought of the metaphor that she has just used.

The belief that Armenian is a universally owned language, inspired by "universal ownership" (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Hill, 2002; Gal, 2006), can be seen in Tamar's account (Extract 6.8). In the first place, Tamar indicates the belief that Armenian is a language with a limited place by quantitatively evaluating the situation of her heritage language in lines 1 through 5. From the metaphors that she employs in describing her heritage language, it is possible to indicate that Tamar holds the view that Armenian is a universally owned language. By expressing her desire for

Armenian "sound waves to radiate," she makes evident that she regards Armenian as a shared property of humanity. In the extract, Tamar can also be said to hold the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language (lines 12-13) and as a school language (lines 14-15), which poses an obstacle in the maintenance of the language.

Like Tamar, Lusin also uses a metaphor in describing her heritage language when asked to evaluate its place amongst the languages that are spoken in Turkey. For her, it is a "showcase language" and a "bell jar language" as it is not actively used in intellectual production:

Extract 6.9

1 Lusin: Herhangi özel bir statüsü olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Okul açısından belki
2 hani biraz bir tık daha iyi olabilir. Atıyorum Özbekçeye göre ya da ne
3 bileyim Suriye Arapçasına göre. Ama yani çok böyle çok vitrin şeyi gibi,
4 artık fanus dili gibi. Yani öyle çok fazla üretilen, konuşulan. Çok yani hani
5 şimdi mesela Rumca gazete çıkıyordur. Ama Rumca gazete mesela,
6 herhangi bir düşünsel sürece katkısı var mıdır, yok mudur? Mesela Ermenice
7 **Marmara**[32] ve **Zhamanag**[33] için de bence aynı şeyi söyleyebiliriz. Yani
8 herhangi bir oradan beslenen bir insan topluluğunun olduğunu
9 düşünmüyorum ben açıkçası. Yani şey anlamda, yani bu entelektüel dünya
10 görüş olarak. Yani herhangi bir şey katmadığı için. Tabiri caiz değildir belki
11 ama, biraz vitrin dili olarak kaldığını düşünüyorum maalesef. Bunlar bizim
12 dillerimiz çok tatlı diller, çok güzel diller. İstanbul'un işte kültür mozaiği
13 falan. Yani öyle bir şey. (…)

1 Lusin: I don't think it has a special status. School-wise maybe it might be a bit
2 better. Say in comparison with Uzbek or say in comparison with
3 Syrian Arabic. But like it's so like a showcase thing, like a
4 bell jar language. Like much produced, spoken. Much like for instance
5 there must be a newspaper in Greek. But a newspaper in Greek for instance,
6 does it contribute to the intellectual process or not? For example for
7 **Marmara** *and* **Zhamanag** *in Armenian too we can say the same thing.*
8 I don't think there's a community of people who are nourished from
9 there to be honest. I mean as regards like, I mean this intellectual
10 world, opinions. Because it doesn't contribute. Maybe it's not the best way
11 to put it, but I think it's a bit of a showcase language. These are our
12 languages, so sweet and pretty languages. Istanbul's cultural
13 mosaic etc. I mean, something like that. (...)

Interview, February 13, 2021

In the first line, Lusin makes the case that Armenian has no special status amongst the languages that are spoken in Turkey. Thanks to there being schools where

[32] "Marmara," the name of a newspaper published in Armenian in Istanbul.
[33] "Time," the name of a newspaper published in Armenian in Istanbul.

Armenian is taught as a heritage language, Lusin holds that it has a little more advantaged position than unrecognized minority languages such as Uzbek or Arabic (lines 1-3). Nevertheless, Armenian seems to her as a "showcase" and a "bell jar" language (lines 3-4), both of which can be said to indicate that it is something to be kept under special attention and for display to an audience. She goes on to explain the reason for using the metaphors of showcase and bell jar from line 4 onward. For one thing, Armenian is not a language that is used in communication or intellectual production (line 4). She gives the example of newspapers published in Greek in Istanbul, and rhetorethically questions whether they have a contribution to the intellectual processes (lines 4-6). Likewise, she holds that newspapers in Armenian are not used by a considerable amount of people in intellectual production (lines 7-10). Considering these reasons that she has mentioned, she re-states her stance that Armenian is a "showcase language" (lines 10-11). She then moves on to refer to multilingual ideologies surrounding heritage languages, such as "sweet" and "pretty" languages as well as the "cultural mosaic" metaphor in reference to them. In other words, wishful descriptions of Armenian as a heritage language of this kind reinforce the showcase status that she assigns to Armenian.

Lusin's account (Extract 6.9) begins with the perception of Armenian as a school language (lines 1-3), which indicates that as an institutionalized language Armenian is at a relatively advantaged position in comparison with other heritage languages in Turkey. As in Tamar's account discussed above, Lusin also refers to the view of Armenian as a universally owned language in lines 3 and 4, by means of metaphors. Nevertheless, she defies this idea of universal ownership of her heritage language as it does not lead to authentic uses of the language. By giving newspapers published in Armenian and Greek, two of the heritage languages in Turkey, she

expresses her belief that they do not contribute to the intellectual production processes. In lines 11 through 13, she reiterates the romantic view of Armenian as a universally owned language which contrasts with the authenticity that she idealizes as regards her heritage language in the wider Armenian minority community in Turkey at large.

All in all, the participants hold different perceptions of Armenian as an Istanbul language based on whether they take the question literally or historically. Nevertheless, most of them regard Armenian as a language that has a limited place amongst the languages spoken in Istanbul as well as in Turkey. In the accounts of the participants, it is possible to see Istanbul as an important setting in terms of the learning of their heritage language. Most participants presume that had they been born elsewhere they would not have had the opportunity to learn their heritage language or their abilities in Armenian would worsen in case they were to move to another city after having learnt the language.

There are different manifestations of language ideologies in this subsection. A couple of them are in relation to the locus of Armenian. The view of Armenian as an Istanbul language and the view of Armenian as an Anatolian language were in competition with each other. In both cases, these beliefs were shaped by personal experiences and the sociolinguistic realities the participants have been surrounded with. The view of Armenian as an Istanbul language was in proximity with the perception of Armenian as a school language in that all the functioning Armenian minority schools are located in Istanbul in the present. There was also the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language in relation to the status of Armenian today as one of the languages of Turkey. The idealization of authenticity is, in this subsection, contested by the belief that Armenian is a universally owned language.

The differences between the beliefs and attitudes above show different ideations toward language endangerment and maintenance.

6.1.2 Future of Armenian

In this section, I will portray the accounts of the participants in relation to the future of Armenian as a heritage language. In this section, I posed them questions that pertain to their insights into the future of Armenian as well as what could be done in order for Armenian as a heritage language to maintain its status as a living language.

Practically all the participants expressed their belief that Armenian is in danger as a heritage language in Turkey and that it is in the brink of extinction in an unforeseeable future, like Vartan:

Extract 6.10

1 Vartan: Teorik anlamda baktığımda kaybolacak gibi. Ama bir sene beş sene on
2 sene değil tabii. Ama düşüş yaşadığı aşikâr. Bununla ilgili nasıl bir
3 aksiyon alınmalı? Açıkçası bilmiyorum veya bunun sebepleri daha
4 böyle nitelikli araştırılıp ne yapılması gerekir, diye bir soru. Mutlaka
5 üzerinde çalışılmalı. İyi görmüyorum maalesef. Çünkü biraz önce size
6 söylediğim nesil, yani ‘88 ‘96 dediğim nesil. Büyük bir bölümü anne
7 baba olmaya başladı ve bunlar zaten kendileri ilgili değiller.
8 Dolayısıyla ailelerin de çocuklarında, evet belki Ermeni okullarına
9 gönderiyorlar ama sizle ilgilenmedikten sonra, benim anneannemin
10 babaanemin konuştuğu kadar bile veremedikten sonra çok muhtemel
11 bunun düşüş yaşaması.

1 Vartan: Theoretically it seems to vanish. But not in a year, five years, ten years
2 of course. But it’s obvious it’s on decline. What kind of action needs to be
3 taken regarding that? To be honest I don’t know or the reasons for that need
4 to be researched in a more quality way what should be done, a question like
5 that. It should definitely be studied. I don’t see it well unfortunately. The
6 generation I mentioned before, I mean ’88 ’96. Majority of them began to be
7 parents and they are not interested themselves.
8 So families in their children, yes maybe they send them to Armenian schools
9 but if they don’t pay attention to you, if they can’t give you even as much as
10 my maternal and paternal grandmothers did it is very probable for it
11 to diminish.

Interview, February 25, 2021

Vartan begins the extract by stating that the Armenian language seems to go extinct someday in the future (line 1). Although he does not expect this extinction in the near

future (lines 1-2), it is obvious that the language is on the decrease (line 2). He responds to his self-directed question what kind of action need be taken against this situation by saying that he does not know the answer (lines 2-3). Nevertheless, the situation of Armenian needs a thorough examination in his opinion (lines 3-5). In line 5, he makes the case that he does not view the future as Armenian as bright. The generation that was born between 1988 and 1996, whom he has mentioned in the previous parts of our interview, have just begun to be parents, as he recounts (lines 5-7). As he has mentioned in the previous parts of the interview, he regards them as uninterested in Armenian, their heritage language (line 7). With that given, even when people from that generation send their children to Armenian minority schools, Vartan holds that they will not be able to transmit their heritage language to their offspring due to lack of interest, which will eventually result in the diminishing of the rates of use of Armenian as a heritage language (lines 8-11).

In Vartan's account (Extract 6.10), it is possible to see that he associates the perception of Armenian as a school language with shift from and loss of Armenian as a contributing factor. In lines 8 through 11, he makes the case that regarding Armenian as strictly tied to Armenian minority schools and not engaging in outside-the-school practices of the heritage language aggravates the situation of Armenian as an endangered language.

Like Vartan, Anahid also vocalizes pessimistic prospects of Armenian as a heritage language. She holds that Armenian being seen as something less important than other languages or subject matters is a reason for the decline in the use of the Armenian language:

Extract 6.11

1 Anahid: Gitgide körelen bir dil. Çünkü yeni nesil için çok fazla şey var öğrenmeleri
2 gereken. Ermeniceden genelde feragat ediyorlar. Çünkü dünyanın küçülmesi

3 sebebiyle tabii ki başka diller daha öncelikli oluyor onlar için ya da başka
4 bilgiler. Zaten çok az bir zamanı bir şey öğrenmek için harcadıklarından
5 dolayı yeni gençler, sağolsunlar, Ermeniceden vazgeçebiliyorlar çok kolay
6 bir şekilde. Yani sadece günlük bir şekilde konuşacak kadar öğreniyorlar.
7 Ondan sonrası gereksiz olduğu düşüncesi yaygın olduğu için gitgide
8 azalacaktır.

1 Anahid: A language dying more and more. Because the new generation has to learn
2 many things. They usually renounce Armenian. Because of the world getting
3 smaller of course other tongues get the priority fort hem or other types of
4 knowledge. As the new youngsters already spend too little time to learn
5 thing, they can easily give up on Armenian in quite an easy
6 manner. I mean they learn only to the extent they can speak daily.
7 Because the idea that further is not needed is prevalent, it will gradually
8 diminish.

Interview, February 7, 2021

At the beginning of the extract, Anahid describes Armenian as a language that is "dying more and more" (line 1). She goes on to explain the reason therefor as there being too many things for the youth to learn in the present, which results in the new generations to give up on Armenian (lines 1-2). Moreover, with the world globalizing, there come into existence other languages that are deemed to be of more importance and priority (lines 2-4). Thus, added to this the little amount of time to engage in learning new stuff, the youth give up on Armenian easily in Anahid's opinion (lines 4-6). By that she means they learn their heritage language to the extent that they can use it daily (line 6). With the idea that further is not needed being pervasive, Anahid maintains that her heritage language is to keep being on the decrease in terms of use (lines 7-8).

Anahid refers to the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language amongst the youth in the endangerment of Armenian as a heritage language (Extract 6.11). She points to globalization and the concomitant prioritization of other languages over Armenian as a heritage language. In other words, the dominant language and other foreign languages take over the heritage language in that they constitute more resourceful languages. Anahid holds that this perception of

Armenian as an unresourceful language results in the learning of Armenian at basic levels without the need to further learn the language.

Like the participants discussed above, Arlin is also pessimistic concerning the future of Armenian as a heritage language and she emphasizes the role of people opting for non-Armenian majority schools:

Extract 6.12

1 Arlin: Görmüyorum. Büyük ihtimalle hakikaten unutulup gideceğini düşünüyorum.
2 Ne kadar bir zamana yayılır bu, ondan emin değilim. Ama büyük ihtimalle
3 günün birinde evet yok olup gidecek gibi hissettiriyor bana. Zaten artık
4 eskisi kadar okullara da yönlendirmiyor, yani bunun öğrenileceği tek yer.
5 Tek yer olmasa da aslında ama en önemli yer okul olduğu için, insanların da
6 artık Ermeni okullarını çok fazla tercih etmiyor oluşu. İşte çok fazla kolej
7 açıldı, kolejlere yöneliyor artık insanlar vesaire. Bunlar yavaş yavaş bence
8 sonu getirecek gibi gözüküyor.

1 Arlin: I don't see. I think it will probably be really forgotten and go extinct.
2 In how much time, I'm not sure of that. But most probably someday
3 yes it will go extinct, that's how I feel. They don't send them
4 to schools as much as they did back then, I mean the only place to learn it.
5 Not the only place though, but as school is the most important place, and
6 people not preferring Armenian schools much anymore. Like there've been
7 many colleges opened, people opt for colleges now etc. These seem, I think,
8 to bring an end to it gradually.

Interview, February 19, 2021

Arlin begins the extract by stating that she does not see a future for Armenian. She goes on to explain her belief that her heritage language will go extinct (line 1); nevertheless, she cannot predict exactly when (line 2-3). After all, people do not prefer to send their children to Armenian minority schools (lines 3-4). Although Arlin first describes Armenian minority schools as the sole place where to learn Armenian as a heritage language (line 4), she then states that they are the most important place for the learning of the Armenian language (line 5). Notwithstanding, people do not seem to prefer to send their kids to Armenian minority schools (lines 5-6), but rather to non-Armenian schools such as private educational institutions (lines 6-7). With these given, Arlin holds that Armenian is about to go extinct gradually over time.

Arlin's account revolves around the perception of Armenian as a school language (Excerpt 6.12). From line 3 onward, she describes Armenian minority schools as the place where Western Armenian can be transmitted to the coming generations. Although it is one of the most important places where Armenian language maintenance can be achieved (line 5), the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language seems to be dominant in that families prefer to send their children to private schools for the sake of better academic success.

In response to the same question, Karun also mentioned the importance of Armenian minority schools in the transmission of abilities in Armenian as a heritage language to the next generations. In her account, she also touched upon the fact that some Armenian minority schools were closed due to insufficient number of students:

Extract 6.13

1 Karun: Türkiye'de Ermenicenin geleceğini şöyle görüyorum. Eğer hani bu şekilde
2 devam ederse, hani dediğim gibi çocuklar işte Ermeni'yken kalkıp
3 anaokulundan itibaren kolejlere konursa. Lisede işte lise eğitimi demeyeyim
4 ama hani en ufak bir Ermenice duymadan bile büyümeye devam ederse. Bu
5 süreç aynı hızla devam ederse. Birkaç seneye Ermeni okullarının da öğrenci
6 sayısının az olduğu okulların kapanacağını düşüyorum. Nitekim mesela
7 babamın anaokulunda okuduğu okul şu an kapalı, çünkü
8 öğrencisi yok. (…) Bu hızla giderse kültürümüz tamamen unutulacak diye
9 düşünüyorum.

1 Karun: I see Armenian's future in Turkey like this. If it goes on like this,
2 as I said, if kids while being Armenian are sent to colleges
3 from kindergarten on. At high school, let me not say high school education,
4 but like if they keep growing up without even hearing Armenian at the least.
5 If this process goes on as fast. In a few ears Armenian schools too, the
6 schools where there are few students will close I think. Indeed for instance
7 the school where my father went to at kindergarten is now closed because
8 it has no students. (...) If this goes on our culture will be completely
9 forgotten I think.

Interview, March 2, 2021

In the first three lines, Karun refers to the importance of Armenian minority schools in the maintenance of Armenian as a heritage language (lines 1-3). Then she moves on to the importance of being exposed to the Armenian language within and outside schools for the same purpose (lines 3-4). From line 5 onward, she expresses her

prediction that there will be some Armenian minority schools that will have to close due to lack of sufficient number of students (lines 5-6). In lines 6 through 8, she gives the school that her father went to during his childhood which is now not functioning as a factual example (lines 6-8). With all of these considered together, Karun holds that her heritage culture, language included, will be subject to shift and loss.

Speaking of the importance of Armenian minority schools in maintaining the heritage language, Seta states the fact that even within her Armenian minority school there has been a shift to the dominant language over the course of years:

Extract 6.14

1 Seta:	Zaten sabahtan akşama kadar Ermeni okulundasın. Eve geliyorsun, ders
2	yapıyorsun. Hani bir de o zamanlar matematiği de Ermenice öğreniyorduk.
3	(…) Şimdi de öyle de, ama o zaman mesela
4	şeyi çok fazla hatırlamıyorum. Artı eksi işte çarpma işlemi falan bunların
5	Türkçelerini. Şey gibi hatırlıyorum beşinci sınıfta işte ortaokul sınavlarına
6	giriyorduk. Şimdinin işte TEOG'u[34] o zaman biz beşinci sınıftaykendi.
7	Mesela o zaman daha yoğun bir şekilde bunların Türkçelerini bize
8	öğrettiklerini hatırlıyorum. Yani eskiden ilköğretimde de ortaokulda da
9	Ermenice çok hâkim bir dildi. Sonradan sadece böyle biraz din dersi yani
10	dinle Ermenice dersinde kalmış gibi oldu.

1 Seta:	*You're in an Armenian school morning through evening. You come home,*
2	*study your lessons. Back then we'd learn Maths in Armenian too.*
3	*(…) Now it's so too, but back then for instance I don't remember*
4	*much about well. Plus minus like multiplication and so on the Turkish words*
5	*for these. I rememberlike at 5th grade we'd take middle school placement*
6	*tests. Today's TEOG was at 5th grade back then For instance then*
7	*I remember they taught us these in Turkish more intensively.*
8	*I mean in the past in primary and middle school Armenian was quite a*
9	*dominant language. Later it's like become a little like religion class I mean*
10	*stuck in religion and Armenian lessons.*

Interview, February 20, 2021

In the first two lines, Seta makes the case that during her childhood she would get exposed to the Armenian language intensively by means of school where she spent most of her time during the day. Back then, she and her peers at school would learn mathematics in the Armenian language too (line 2). Although students at her school

[34] The abbreviation for one of the many different standardized high school placement testing systems.

still learn them in mathematics (line 3), Turkish is more at play in education today. Back in the day, it was when she was at fifth grade preparing for middle-high school placement tests that she intensively learnt Turkish terminology for mathematics (lines 4-8). In other words, in her years at the Armenian minority primary and middle schools, Armenian was the predominant language used in the school (lines 8-9). In the last two lines, she compares the situation in the past with that in the present. Today, Armenian is rather "stuck in religion and Armenian lessons" (lines 9-10). This shows the shift from the heritage language even within heritage language school environments over the years.

In Extract 6.14 discussed above, Seta seems to perceive Armenian to be a school language, as well. Comparing the linguistic practices during her school years with those in the present day, she implies that Armenian has a relatively limited place. In other words, not only is Armenian used in a more limited fashion in the community at large, but it also finds a narrower place in Armenian minority schools compared with the past, too. In lines 9 and 10, it is possible to see that the perception of Armenian as a school language has changed over the course of years, in that back in Seta's childhood immersion into Armenian was at a wider level whereas in the present day it is rather confined to be a subject matter by itself as in the case of Armenian language, literature and religion lessons.

When I asked the participants what could be done in response to the diminishing rates of Armenian use, many mentioned the importance of Armenian minority schools as places where next generations can learn their heritage language:

Extract 6.15

1 Aren: Dediğim gibi yani en basiti **Hay**[35] okullarına teşvik. Yani çocuklar ilk başta
2 en azından **Hay** okullarına giderse temelini alacaklardır. Ondan sonrası gelir

[35] Armenian (adjective).

3 bir türlü. Temeli aldıktan sonra konuş- ya konuşacaksınız yani. Bu hiç
4 öğrenmeden giderlerse bu sadece hiçbir alt taraftan bilinç yetişmeyeceği için
5 üstteki insanlar yok oldukça alt tamamen bomboş kalacak.

1 Aren: As I said the simplest thing is to encourage **Hay** *schools. If kids first g oto*
2 **Hay** *schools at least they'll have a solid background. Then things will come*
3 anyway. After having a background you'll spe- speak I mean. If they leave
4 without learning at all, because there'll be no awareness from beneath
5 as people above go extinct, below will be completely void.

Interview, February 27, 2021

Aren begins the extract by stating that the simplest thing for the preservation of Armenian as a heritage language is the encouragement of Armenian minority schools within families. He holds that children should be sent to Armenian schools at the beginning of their education lives at the least, so that they can get a solid foundation in their heritage language (lines 1-2). With a solid foundation of Armenian, they will learn a way to speak the language (lines 2-3). Nevertheless, should they not learn the Armenian language at all by going to Armenian minority schools, the older generations who have the "awareness" of Armenian as a heritage language will not be replaced by younger generations as they lack the necessary foundations in their heritage language (lines 4-5).

Although many participants touched upon the importance of school in the transmission of Armenian as a heritage language, there are also many among those same participants who regard Armenian minority schools as not enough on their own toward the same purpose:

Extract 6.16

1 Vartan: (…) Yani ama benim tespit ettiğim problemlerden biri işte bu, daha çok
2 şundan da kaynaklanıyor. Hani dedim ya bu işte diğer derslere yoğunlaşıp
3 da onu bir kenara atmak, okulun görevi gibi görmek problem. Yani şu an
4 tespit ettiğim nokta bu. Yani siz bunu okulun görevi öğretmek gibi
5 gördüğünüz zaman bunu, ipin ucu kaçıyor. Yani hayır, senin görevin asıl
6 öğretmek. Okulun görevi pekiştirmek. Yani imlayı vermek dilbilgisini
7 vermek. Ama sen çocukluğundan itibaren bunu verirsen mesela. Ama tabii
8 vermen için de edinmen de gerekiyor bu da var, ki demin söylediğim işte o
9 nesilde bu yok zaten. Artık kaybolmuş neredeyse. Ne verecek? Olduğu
10 kadar yaparsan bence başarılı olunur yani. Kullanımın artış artması
11 gerekiyor önce. Yani bu çok söylenir bizim okullarda, hani evinizde

12 Ermenice konuşun ve yani bu bir söylem kadar hani öneri kadar basit. Daha
13 böyle etkili bir aksiyon almak mutlaka şart bununla ilgili. Ama tabii bu
14 sorumluluğu hissetmek ben hep aynı kelimeyi kullanıyorum o sorumluluğu,
15 sahibiyeti hissetmek yani siz bunun sahibisiniz. Dolayısıyla bunu taşıma
16 sorumluluğu da sizde. Bunu hissetmek, bunu edindirmek zaannediyorum
17 önce başta gerekli.

1 Vartan: (...) But one of the problems I've detected stems rather from
2 that too. Like I said focusing on the other lessons and putting it
3 aside, seeing it as the responsibility of the school is the problem. Now
4 that's the point I've detected. I mean when you see the responsibility of the
5 school is to teach, you lose control. I mean no, it's essentially your
6 responsibility to teach. School's is to reinforce. I mean to give spelling,
7 grammar. But if you give it from childhood. But of course for you to
8 give it you need to acquire it too, there's that, which I said just before, it's
9 not so in this generation. Almost vanished. What'll they give? If you do it
10 as you can, there'll be success I think. The use should increase in the first
11 place. I mean this is said so much in our schools, like in your homes
12 speak in Armenian and this is as simple as a suggestion. More like an
13 an effective action is a must as regards that. But of course feeling that
14 responsibility I always use the same word, that responsibility,
15 ownership I mean you're the owner of this. So the responsibility of carrying
16 it is on you too. Feeling this, transmitting this I think is needed
17 in the first place.

Interview, February 25, 2021

Vartan begins the extract by describing the problem in regarding the Armenian minority school as the sole place for the learning of Armenian as a heritage language (lines 1-2). It is a problem when one considers the responsibility of teaching Armenian to be on the school only (lines 2-3). He states that when one does so, one loses control (lines 4-5). It is instead one's own responsibility to teach their heritage language to their offspring (lines 5-6), and the school is only to reinforce by teaching spelling and grammar for that matter (lines 6-7). In line 7, Vartan ventures to talk about the opposite scenario where one assumes the responsibility to teach their child the Armenian language. In the same line, he interrupts his utterance and states the fact that for one to teach one's child they also need to have learnt in the first place (lines 7-8), which he regards as missing in the generation born between 1988 and 1996 that he also discussed in Extract 6.10 (lines 7-9). It is essential that the heritage language be used more (lines 10-11) as reinforced by Armenian minority schools

(lines 11-12). After all, it is about feeling the responsibility to take effective action as regards the maintenance of Armenian as a heritage language as the owners of the language (lines 13-17) rather than merely relying on Armenian minority schools in the teaching of Armenian as a heritage language.

In Aren's and Vartan's accounts (Extract 6.15 and 6.16, respectively) it is possible to see conflicting attitudes toward the place of school in the maintenance of Armenian. In fact, both participants attribute a certain degree of importance to Armenian minority schools in the maintenance of Western Armenian as a heritage language. Aren (Extract 6.15) holds that once a child receives formal education in an Armenian minority school, they will be able to speak in their heritage language in one way or another (lines 2-3). Vartan (Extract 6.16), on the other hand, challenges the perception of Armenian as a school language in his account. In so doing, he identifies the school as the place where already existing skills in Armenian as a heritage language can be reinforced rather than taught from scratch. He holds that Armenian has a more limited place in younger generations than in the older ones, as evident in lines 8 through 11. Just like the scope of the use of Armenian has narrowed in the wider community, he makes the case that the language has a narrower extent of use within families too. With that given, it seems that the perception of Armenian as a school language is consolidated, which, in Vartan's opinion, does not have much validity as it is the family who should first construct a certain level of proficiency in the heritage language.

To sum up, the participants prevalently express pessimistic accounts of the prospects of Armenian as a heritage language. Among the reasons they express that support their predictions are the decrease in enrollment in Armenian minority schools, preference to learn other third languages, and lesser engagement with the language in

formal and informal settings alike. The participants suggest that enrollment in Armenian minority schools be encouraged in order for Armenian as a heritage language to remain. On the other hand, school is not to be viewed as the only place where heritage language learning takes place so that children learn their heritage language not only as a subject matter to be excelled in class but as an actual means of communication in daily life.

It appears that the perception of Armenian as a school language is a prevalent view in this subsection. The participants hold that Armenian minority schools hold an important position in the intergenerational transmission of Armenian as a heritage language. Nevertheless, the prioritization of the Armenian minority school brings with it different ideas surrounding language, as well, as evident in the accounts of the participants. For instance, leaving the responsibility of teaching the heritage language completely to the Armenian minority school might not be a good choice for the maintenance of the heritage language. Moreover, the school context might and in effect does result in the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language due to the perception of Armenian as one of the many subjects to be excelled, and in fact an extra one in comparison with the majority schools in which students are not liable for extra Armenian classes.

6.2 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I tried to illustrate the ways in which the participants envision the future for their heritage language Armenian. In so doing, in the first section of the present chapter I have presented their recounts of the place of Armenian in Turkey. Although this topic does not directly relate to the prospects of Armenian, it is an important base of understanding how the present situation might be involved in the

imagining of a future of their heritage language. In the latter part of the present chapter, I have recounted the prospects that the participants envision for their heritage language in Turkey.

Many participants express their opinion that the Armenian language has a limited place amongst the languages that are spoken in Istanbul and in Turkey, sometimes employing metaphors. For many of the participants, Armenian is an Istanbul language when they think about it literally whereas for many others, it is not a language that could be specified to Istanbul considering the history of the language that predates the earliest settlements of Armenian communities in Istanbul. Nevertheless, as of today Istanbul is a central hub for the learning and transmission of Armenian as a heritage language so much so that hypothesizing the case where they had been born elsewhere, many participants believe they would not have been able to learn their heritage language.

The future that the participants can envision for their heritage language does not seem to be bright. Most of them believe Armenian will vanish in an unforeseeable future with the diminishing rates of language use and enrollment in Armenian minority schools. For many, school needs encouraging so that younger generations can learn their heritage language although this does not come without its consequences. With too much reliance on the school as the place where one's heritage language can be learnt, it is easy to "lose control," as Vartan puts it in Extract 6.16, and confine the Armenian language to the boundaries of the school.

In the present chapter, I have discussed various ways in which language ideologies are embedded in the interview data. Firstly, the two views of locus of Armenian have been discussed: the view of Armenian as an Istanbul language and the view of Armenian as an Anatolian language. Secondly, the perception of

Armenian as a school language is at play in the excerpts and it is closely associated with the view of Armenian as an Istanbul language. In other words, because Western Armenian remains its linguistic vitality as a heritage language in Istanbul in which all the functioning Armenian minority schools are also located, the two views go hand in hand in the recounts of the participants.

Thirdly, the belief that Armenian has a limited place appears in the interview data. This belief applies to the context of Istanbul as well as to Turkey as evident in the recounts of the participants and is constructed by comparison with the situation of the language in the past. Moreover, the perception of Armenian as a school language further consolidates the view of Armenian as a language with a limited place because the vitality of the language is mostly restricted to the boundaries of Armenian minority schools. Fourthly, the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language is emergent in the interview accounts, which is highly related to the belief that Armenian has a limited place.

Fifthly, the belief that Armenian is a universally owned language and the idealization of authenticity seem to be in competition with each other. To be precise, the view of Armenian as a universally owned does not preclude the search for idealized authenticity, but an idealized authenticity stance casts a critical glance at the belief that Armenian is a universally owned language in that it makes the language to be a showcase item that is delicate and needs special care in order to maintain its vitality. Lastly, the perception of Armenian as a school language seems to be a factor involved in the maintenance of the language as well as its loss because on the one hand, Armenian minority schools serve as sites of heritage language maintenance and on the other hand, the close-knit association of Armenian with the school exacerbates the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language by

confining it to the boundaries of the school as one of the subject matters.

Having discussed my participants' perspectives of the prospects of Armenian as a heritage language and the embedded language ideologies emerging from the interview data in the present chapter, I will move on to an overall discussion of the findings of the present thesis study in the upcoming chapter.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

With a view to investigating language ideologies of Turkish-born speakers of Armenian as a heritage language, the present thesis study, as has been set in Chapter 1, has sought to answer the following research questions:

> Research Question 1: How do Turkish-born speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language construct their language ideologies with respect to Western Armenian as a heritage language?
>
> Research Question 2: How are these constructions manifested in the interview discourse?

In the previous chapters, I have tried to answer the preceding research questions by discussing the ways in which language ideologies were embedded in the interview accounts as emerging from data in detail. In the present chapter, I will provide an overall discussion of the findings of the present thesis study drawing on the literature covered in Chapter 2. The first section below will begin the chapter with the language ideologies that emerge from the accounts of the participants in relation to their past experiences. In the second section, I will cover the language ideologies that pertain to the participants' accounts of their present-day experiences with their heritage language. Finally, in the third section, language ideologies in relation to the prospects of Armenian will be discussed, followed by an overall discussion of the findings.

7.1 Language ideologies in relation to the past

A number of language ideologies have emerged in Chapter 4, which rendered the accounts of the participants in relation to their past experiences with their heritage language Armenian. In the linguistic patterns of the childhood homes of the participants, a recurrent perception is that Armenian is an occasionally spoken language. This perception has manifested in Extracts 4.4, 4.16 and 4.17 among others, where the participants reported having used their heritage language in their homes in given occasions such as certain words and phrases. Moreover, in some cases as in Extracts 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7, Armenian was reportedly used as a marker of identity whereby the participants as well as their families aimed to hide the content of their talk in public spaces as well as in front of those who are not speakers of Armenian although they might be of Armenian descent. As discussed in Chapter 4, Extracts 4.16 and 4.17 reveal that linguistic practices of this kind that are in line with the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language results in the distinction between the heritage and dominant languages in the participants at some stage of their lives. In other words, it is thanks to these practices where they learn what language and phrases to use to whom that they can tell which language belongs to what context. All in all, the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language not only leads to the exclusive use of the language in certain occasions further leading to its disuse in regular daily life communication settings, but it also seemingly helps the construction of a linguistic in-group identity as well as its distinction from the linguistic out-group identity. In this regard, Armenian can be said to serve “exclusionary” (Paugh, 2016, p. 131) ends in case of private public talk as well as a symbolic unifier when it is used sporadically within intraethnic settings

(Bakalian, 1993; Makihara, 2007). Similar linguistic practices are also evident in Baykal (2011), Karapetian (2014) and Barış (2017).

Another belief surrounding language that has recurred multiple times in the data is the perception of Armenian as a regular, taken-for-granted part of life. This perception can be seen as a metadiscourse in that it reveals the level of awareness that the participants have in relation to their heritage language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2016). In other words, the perception of Armenian as taken-for-granted reflects the belief of the participants that they engaged in ideations in unconscious manners. For instance, for Alis, learning Armenian was as dull and not thought-provoking as having "potatoes for dinner" (Extract 4.11, lines 4-5), which in itself was an ideation though unrecognized. As illustrated in Extracts 4.12, 4.13, 4.14 and 4.15, there have been breaking points where the participants came to the realization that Armenian is not a given part of many other people's lives, like the time when they went out of their "little, protected Armenian world" (Extract 4.14, line 4), that is, Armenian minority schools, and playing in the street at earlier stages of their lives (Extract 4.12). Much as the participants display in their interview accounts the perception of taken-for-grantedness during their childhood, they also do so in relation to the attitudes of their families toward their development in their heritage language Armenian. As illustrated in Extracts 4.30 and 4.31, the families seem to have much contemplated the development of their children in their heritage language, but instead considered it sufficient as long as their kids were successful at school. This fact not only points to the intergenerational reproduction of the perception of taken-for-grantedness, but it also leads us to the perception of Armenian as a school language, a perception that has recurred numerous times in the interview data.

As stated above, many participants have had the perception of Armenian as a school language situated within their interview accounts. This perception is particularly evident in the recounts of the participants who were introduced to the Armenian language when they first began to go to an Armenian minority school from home environments where Armenian was used to a limited extent, such as Extract 4.23. In other words, coming from a family background in which the heritage language is not predominantly used and being immersed into the heritage language only after beginning formal education, the participants have seemingly developed a perception of Armenian as a school language.

One of the beliefs about language that appears to go hand in hand with the perception of Armenian as a school language is the perception of Armenian as a complicated language. Because the majority of the participants attended Armenian minority schools, when I asked them about what their experiences were like in learning their heritage language, their responses related to the time period when they learnt the 38-letter Armenian script and spelling rules, as discussed in Extracts 4.18 through 4.22. The fact that the Armenian alphabet and correct spelling were deemed to be more complex than its Roman counterpart in Turkish as well as the need for them to pay more effort in preparing for Armenian lessons seem to have developed the perception of Armenian as a complicated language in the minds of the participants.

Another idea about language that seems to be related to the perception of Armenian as a school language is the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language, as discussed in Extracts 4.25 through 4.28. In Extract 4.25, it appears that that the significance that Armenian minority schools attach to the Armenian language and the concomitant policies whereby the school aims at the maintenance of the

heritage language result in the perception of the Armenian language as a complicated and as an unresourceful language. It is evident in the recounts of the participants that the multitude of the subject matters to excel at school makes Armenian as an extra burden that they must deal with in order to obtain passing grades. Moreover, because the high school and university placement tests are held monolingually in the official, dominant language, the participants report having had to double-learn the content of their study subjects in both languages. Some of the participants report coming up with different solutions in the face of the perceived complication of their heritage language such as choosing science track (Extract 4.25), changing to a majority school after middle school (Extract 4.27) and not sending the younger sibling to an Armenian minority high school (Extract 4.28). As discussed in literature review, Barış (2017) shows students' disengagement results in less strict language policies in Armenian minority high schools in Turkey, which Seta has implied in Extract 6.14 through a chronological lens. Nevertheless, the findings of the present study indicate that well-intended and zealous language policies that aim at the maintenance of Armenian as a heritage language might result in backlash whereby the students further perceive Armenian to be a school language which serves no further for communicative purposes outside, to be a complicated language which requires a lot of effort with little return, and as an unresourceful language that only constitutes an extra burden on their shoulders as one of the many subject matters that they have to take. The perception of Armenian as an unneeded language evident in the present study corraborates Baykal (2011) and Turgaleyeva (2017), who found that Armenian is deemed to be not as resourceful a language as the dominant and foreign languages of the contexts in which the studies took place.

7.2 Language ideologies in relation to the present

The interview data has revealed a number of beliefs and ideas that have emerged in the interview accounts of the participants in relation to their experiences with their heritage language in the past, as discussed in Chapter 5. From the participants' accounts, it is possible to observe the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language at play in the present lives of the participants. As discussed in Extracts 5.1 and 5.2, the use of Armenian as a marker of identity whereby the participants can hide the content of their speech from those non-Armenophone around themselves is a linguistic practice that is associated with the perception of Armenian as an occasional language. Moreover, as evident in Arlin's account (Extract 5.3), Armenian might sometimes constitute part of a linguistic toolbox thanks to which an individual might try to avoid fraud by use of Armenian letters to protect sensitive information online. This perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language is also manifest in the exclusive use of the language in reference to certain keywords and phrases from time to time, whereby the Armenian heritage linguistic identity can be said to be reinforced amongst family members and friends.

Another perception that apparently goes hand in hand with the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language is the perception of Armenian as a taken-for-granted part of life. That is to say, the participants seem to regard Armenian as a natural, given thing in their present lives whether or not they use it to a considerable (Extract 5.1) or to a limited (Extract 5.2) extent. In either case, Armenian remains there as part of a linguistic repertoire to which one can switch for the sake of communication or without even realizing that others around might not actually be Armenophones. Moreover, this perception has been best illustrated as connected with the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language in

Extract 4, where Arev reports resorting to her heritage language “intuitively” in certain situations (line 2).

A different belief that has recurred in the interview accounts in relation to the present experiences of the participants with their heritage language is the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language. It seems that many participants hold a sense of responsibility of this kind in that they hold the belief that they should engage more in the use of their heritage language in their daily lives. One of the ways this sense of responsibility is reportedly manifested in the lives of the participants is their attempts at using the heritage language in daily communication as illustrated in Extract 5.5. At other times, they might engage in self-teaching practices that are aimed at improving their abilities in Armenian (Extract 5.20). The sense of responsibility, in general, is in parallel with the findings of Karapetian (2014). Her study shows that in the face of the decline of Eastern Armenian as a heritage language in Los Angeles, her participants develop feelings of responsibility toward the maintenance of their heritage language (p. 184). Likewise, with the awareness of the decline in the use of their heritage language both in their own lives and in the community at large, the participants of the present thesis study can be said to develop a sense of responsibility toward their heritage language Armenian.

The analysis in the present thesis study has revealed that there are a number of beliefs and ideas that are in competition with the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language. From the interview accounts of the participants, it appears that the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language does not necessarily translate into actual, monolingual Armenian linguistic practices at all times. One of the beliefs that seems to overcome the sense of responsibility is the

perception of Armenian as a complicated language. This is evident in the interrupted or failed attempts of the participants at using the heritage language extensively in communication (Extracts 5.4 and 5.5) and at engaging in extensive reading activities (Extracts 5.8 and 5.9), which are rooted in the sense of responsibility but are challenged by the perception of Armenian as a complicated language resulting in the switch to the dominant language.

Another belief that seems to be related to the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language is the perception of Armenian as a school language. As illustrated in Extract 5.6, teachers from Armenian minority schools seemingly represent the Armenian minority school, to which Armenian as a heritage language is strictly attached as mentioned in the discussion of the perception of Armenian as a school language in the previous section. Thus, in the face of the teachers from Armenian minority schools from the past, the participants report feeling an obligation to converse in their heritage language so as not to disappoint them and thereby get embarrassed. Given that this is an occasional use of the language in the presence of former teachers, it can be said that the perception of Armenian as an occasionally spoken language is at play as well. In a way, the making of the Armenian minority teacher as an entity, into the representative of the Armenian language could be read, by analogy with the elder members as holders of linguistic authority in Meek (2007), as one of the contributing factors in language shift due to the exaltation of the linguistic authority and detachment from the use of the language in daily communicative settings. In other words, associating the heritage language closely with holders of linguistic authority, that is the Armenian minority school teacher in this case, might result in elevated expectations of using one's own heritage language and thus in anxiety and further detachment from the language.

Another way language ideologies have manifested in the data is the perception of Armenian as an unresourceful language, and this perception can be said to go hand in hand with the consideration of Armenian as a school language which plays a role in the construction of the linguistic practices that are informed by the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language as discussed in Extract 5.9. It seems that the co-ideation of Armenian as a school language, as a complicated language and as an unresourceful language overdo the feeling of responsibility toward Armenian in that they may have resulted in inhibition in Maral and therefore might cause blockage in the manifestation of the sense of responsibility toward actual linguistic practice in the form of extensive reading in the heritage language. The perceptions of Armenian as a school language, as a complicated language and as an unresourceful language in the light of the language policies observed in their Armenian minority schools that consequently resulted in negative attitudes toward the heritage language can also be observed in Extracts 5.18 and 5.21. In addition to the negative perceptions created in the minds of the participants due to the experiences at school with their heritage language, the fact that they have other interests that are of relatively more benefit to them, such as other languages (Extract 5.9 and 5.21), and professional (Extract 5.18) and academic pursuits (Extract 5.21), seems to reinforce the belief that Armenian is an unneeded language in their lives.

One of the ideologizations that the participants have had situated within their interview accounts is the perception of Armenian as a language of religion. In other words, many participants associate their heritage language closely with the Armenian church and religion. The perception of Armenian as a language of religion is evident in such practices as reciting the scripted Lord’s Prayer in Armenian followed by

unscripted prayers said in the dominant language (Extract 5.12), in which case the belief that Armenian is a complicated language overdoes the perception of Armenian as a language of religion. Likewise, much as the Sunday Mass is carried out ritualistically in Armenian, the attitudes toward sermons delivered bilingually or monolingually in Turkish differ. On the one hand, monolingual Armenian ideologies are at play (Extract 5.13), that are for the exclusive employment of Armenian in the sermons. On the other hand, there is the question whether religious services are offered for the sake of the parishioners' participation or for the sake of the exclusive use of the heritage language, given the non-Armenian speaking parishioner body of Armenian descent (Extract 5.11). Moreover, Armenian monolingual ideologies and embracing attitudes toward the sermons delivered bilingually are not independent on each other, but instead reflect different perspectives observed by the participants, which results in confusion and ideological conflict within themselves. All in all, the perception of Armenian as a language of religion is manifest in the attitudes toward the use of non-Armenian in religious out-of-church settings (Extract 5.14) and in the fact that a sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language is at play in the face of clerics who seemingly represent the church and Armenian as a heritage language (Extract 5.14) just as teachers do the school and the heritage language as discussed in Extract 5.10. In parallel with the studies on Hispanophone Mexican (Baquedano-López, 2000) and Punjabi speaking Sikh (Klein, 2013) religious instructional settings in the United States contexts, the ideology of Armenian as a language of religion and the linguistic practices that align with it indicates the church as a significant site in which language ideologization and socialization take place. Moreover, this shows that although the engagement with the heritage language might be relatively symbolic (Bakalian, 1993) and ritualistic manners, the extensive use of

the language within the church as well as for religious matters seems to result in the association of Armenian with church and religion.

When it comes to the perceived self-proficiency in Armenian, the participants seem to hold a feeling of inadequacy in Armenian, in line with the accounts of the participants in Karapetian (2014). Although this ideology is prevalent in the interview accounts, it does not seem to apply to all domains of the heritage language of the participants. Instead, the participants might feel a sense of inadequacy in oral (Extract 5.15) or written (Extract 5.16) domains. Moreover, a self-reflection of this kind might result from the changes in the use and engagement with the heritage language within a participant over the course of the years (Extract 5.17). Combined with the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language, the feeling of inadequacy in Armenian can result in discomfort in heritage speakers as discussed in Extract 5.19, owing to the discrepancy between the perceived and idealized proficiency levels.

In close association with the sense of inadequacy in Armenian is the idealization of authenticity in language use. Many a participant reveals idealizations of authenticity that they purport to be their version of "ideal" Armenian. For the participants, the authenticity they idealize means the ability to use their heritage language in a natural, automatic and thoughtless fashion by which they can engage in meaningful communication. At times this idealization appears in the form of hypothetical situations where the ideally authentic use of the language is rendered in comparison with the real present day self-perceived proficiency in the heritage and dominant languages, as in Extract 5.22. At other times the participants might recount the examples they have observed around themselves such as teachers at Armenian minority schools, as in Extract 5.23. All in all, the idealization of authenticity is

based on the use of language in a natural and unpretentious way and is concerned with fluency and comprehensibility even in excerpts that might touch upon structural aspects of language such as phonology and orthography. Moreover, in their idealization of authenticity, the participants might situate and recount themselves in contrast with the ideally authentic users of the language (Extract 5.25). What authenticity means furthermore is the openness to change in language, not allowing for language policing as it could well result in inhibition and exacerbate the belief that Armenian is a complicated language and concomitantly language shift and loss (Extract 5.26). The idealization of authenticity and the participants' positioning of themselves in contrast with the authentic users of their heritage language is evident in their accounts reflecting the ideology of linguistic purism (Extracts 5.27 through 5.29), where they mention articulate judgments of phonological misarticulation and linguistic hybridity in terms of lexicon. Nevertheless, the examples the participants provide in these cases are relevant to rather basic words such as "weather" and "child" (Extract 5.28), which suggests that they encounter linguistically hybrid practices of this kind that pertain to basic lexical items instead of more advanced concepts such as scientific or academic ones. In other words, this fact points to the perceived lack of authenticity in their linguistic environments. In addition to the recounts on "ideal" Armenian, a similar idealization and self-positioning in contrast with it is evident in the avoidance of coming up with judgments as to what constitutes "non-ideal" Armenian (Extracts 5.30 and 5.31). It can thus be said that many of the participants consider themselves to be in a symbolic relationship with their heritage language (Bakalian, 1993). This can be said to be the way in which the authenticity (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Gal, 2006) is idealized. In other words, unlike their ability to use their dominant language in "authentic" ways, the participants' use

of and abilities in their heritage language is perceived to be limited, and thus symbolic in this regard. In the recounts that reflect the idealization of authenticity in Armenian, it is evident that the participants look for an authenticity that transcends the symbolic and perceivedly inauthentic use of the language.

7.3 Language ideologies in relation to the future

The discussion in Chapter 5 has revealed different beliefs surrounding language held by the participants. Two of them pertain to the source of Armenian as a heritage language. On the one hand, there are those participants who hold the view that Armenian is an Anatolian language as in Extracts 6.2 and 6.3 and on the other, there are others who hold the view that Armenian is an Istanbul language as in Extract 6.1. The participants who hold the former ideology can be said to draw on historical facts and personal experiences and observations within their families. Those who hold the latter ideology, on the other hand, do so by relying upon the linguistic reality that surrounds them, in other words, they live in a linguistically cosmopolitan city where Western Armenian as a heritage language remains its linguistic vitality in the country amongst many other languages. In this regard, the ideology of Armenian as an Istanbul language is strongly influenced by the perception of Armenian as a school language, too. Due to there being all the functioning Armenian minority schools in Istanbul, as well as the opportunity that Armenian minority schools offer in terms of the maintenance of the heritage language, the perception of Armenian as a school language seemingly goes hand in hand with the view of Armenian as an Istanbul language as in Extracts 6.6 and 6.7. This also indicates that the negative attitudes toward Armenian minority schools may have turned into relatively positive ones over

the course of time with the possibilities they provide in terms of language maintenance.

Another belief that is related to the situtation of Armenian in Turkey is the view that Armenian is not a resourceful language. This perception seems to be shaped by the experiences and observations of the participants. Seeing that Armenian has a limited share in the wider community of Istanbul and in Turkey, the participants come to perceive their heritage language as an unresourceful one, as in Extract 6.4. Moreover, this belief is closely associated with the perception of Armenian as a school language in that the language is mainly confined to the borders of Armenian minority schools and is not as productively used in daily life communication as other languages. The belief that Armenian is an unresourceful language is most evident in Extract 6.5, where, Kami compares his heritage language with other dominant and foreign languages that are used to higher degrees and describes the learning of Armenian as having nostalgic connotations rather than resourceful ones.

Two beliefs that are in contrast with each other pertain to the ownership of Armenian. On the one hand, there is the belief that Armenian is a universally owned language, which can be seen in Extracts 6.8 and 6.9, where the Armenian language is described and defined with metaphors. These metaphors describe the Armenian language as a delicate, fragile item that requires special effort in order to remain its vitality. In Extract 6.9, on the other hand, the idealized authenticity that is sought after by many as discussed above seems to contrast with romantic attitudes toward Armenian as a universally owned language. For its authentic maintenance, rather than symbolic production in the language which cannot reach out to a considerable audience such as newspapers published in Armenian, actual intellectual production

and active engagement with the language is of significance in Lusin's opinion (Extract 9.9). The belief that Armenian is a universally owned language can be said to be based on the endangered status of the language, in which case well-intended, protective discourses are in circulation (Hill, 2002). In Extract 6.8, Tamar seems to reproduce a discourse of this kind whereas in Extract 6.9, Lusin defies this ideology by speaking up for authenticity (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Gal, 2006). For her, the actual maintenance and revitalization of the language lies beyond its emblematic displays, such as actual intellectual production. This contestation between the two language ideologies resemble the language ideological debate discussed in Connor (2019) on Occitan. Likewise, these differing standpoints surrounding language endangerment and maintenance resemble the existence of contesting ideologies and discourses discussed in Jaffe (1999a, 1999b). In other words, it can be seen that in the face of the linguistic reality of endangerment, different attitudes can be adopted and verbalized by the speakers of a given language.

There are a number of beliefs and opinions that have emerged in relation to the future of Armenian as a heritage language in Turkey. Firstly, the participants refer to the perception that Armenian is an unresourceful language as discussed in Extract 6.11. Because Armenian does not perceivedly constitute as resourceful a language as the dominant or other widely spoken foreign languages, younger generations do not feel the need to learn their heritage language with an aim to obtain advanced levels of proficiency. As discussed in Extract 6.16, Armenian comes to be perceived as a language with a limited place, and thus an unresourceful one, by the consolidation of the view of Armenian as a school language, through which the Armenian minority school is made to be the epicenter of Armenian linguistic vitality. Although, as evident in the accounts of the participants, Armenian minority schools

play an important role in the maintenance of Armenian as a heritage language, they are not the sole place where the language can be integrated fully into the lives of the speakers of the language. Not only does the lack of out-of-school engagement with the language affect the transmission of Armenian to the coming generations negatively (Extract 6.16), but the perception of Armenian as a school language also results in the reproduction of the view of Armenian as a complicated and unresourceful language (Extract 6.10). Moreover, not all parents send their kids to Armenian minority schools anymore as they feel the need to equip their children with more "resourceful" types of knowledge and languages (Extract 6.12) with a view of Armenian as an unresourceful language. Likewise, it is evident that the extent to which Armenian minority schools engage in the extensive use of the heritage language within their boundaries has reportedly decreased over the course of the years (Extract 6.14), which can be said to get Armenian more and more to be perceived as even more unresourceful language which is one of the many study subjects.

7.4 General discussion

All in all, there are many ideas, beliefs and attitudes in relation to Armenian as a heritage language that diverge and do overlap across the time periods focused on in the present thesis study. It can be seen from the analysis that ideologies are not necessarily constructed as political ideologies, but in a more general and Bakhtinian sense, as a "system of ideas" that shape the way language speakers come to be "ideological becoming[s]" (Freedman & Ball, 2004, p. 5). As illustrated in the previous chapters and the discussion above, language ideologies are manifested in many different beliefs and attitudes surrounding language that point to the way

different contemplations over language come into existence. Moreover, it can be seen that speakers of Armenian intensively contemplate language and come up with deep constructions of ideologies that are manifested discursively in the interview data. This shows that as a pervasive part of life, language is ideated and ideologized over intensively in conscious and unconscious ways.

The findings of the present study have shown that, instead of being intrinsically related to the inherent, structural qualities of the language, ideologizations surrounding language are seemingly shaped by social and cultural structures (Irvine, 1989). As evident in the interview accounts, it is the different contexts and experiences therein that lead to the construction of different ideologizations surrounding language. This is most evident in the case of the perception of Armenian as a complicated language which the participants relate to the experiences that they went through in their schools amongst the other languages and subject matters that they had to study rather than attributing the perceived difficulties of the language to their heritage language per se.

In a similar manner, the findings of the present thesis study reify the fact that language ideologies are shaped by individual lived experiences rather than coming into existence in a vacuum (Lytra, 2016). This can be seen from the fact that the participants hold different beliefs regarding a given topic, such as the perception of Armenian as a church language, the view of Armenian as a school language and the locus of Armenian as being Istanbul or Anatolia. All of these discussions have shown the importance of lived experience in the construction of language ideologies as mentioned in the introduction chapter. This divergence in the ideologies is in parallel with the responsibility that the present thesis study has undertaken, that speakers'

voices must be attended to in the investigation of language ideologies as the firsthand users and experiencers of Western Armenian as a heritage language.

The findings of the present thesis study also corraborate the definition of language ideologies by Kroskrity (2016) as discussed in the literature review. Firstly, the language ideologies held by the participants are positional in that the ideologizations they come up with are influenced by the immediate environments and realities that they have been exposed to. This is especially evident in the divergent ideologizations of Armenian as an Istanbul and an Anatolian language. Secondly, the language ideologies that are embedded in the data are multiple. As can be seen from the discussions in the present and precedent sections, language ideologies are not static, but they range across different scales of time. Moreover, as has been illustrated, for instance, in the perception of Armenian as a school language and as an unresourceful language, ideas about language might be subject to change in the perception of a given language speaker over time. In addition, as illustrated in monolingual Armenian language ideologies as well as the perception of Armenian as a language of religion, there might occur a clash between ideologies within a single individual, let alone among different individuals. These all point to the dynamic, evolving and multiple nature of language ideologies. Lastly, the level of awareness seems to be a factor in the construction of language ideologies. It can be seen for example in the perception of Armenian as a taken-for-granted part of life. While the participants sometimes explicitly define the ideas and beliefs that they hold in regards with their lived experiences, at other times they do not indicate an awareness as to the beliefs that they ascribe to.

The findings of the present thesis study are also telling in relation to the case of Western Armenian as a heritage language. As discussed in the introduction

chapter, as an inherently heritage language Western Armenian can be categorized as an immigrant heritage language in the United States context (Fishman 2001, 2006) and as an immigrant minority language in the context of Europe (Extra & Gorter, 2005). Nevertheless, the peculiar situation of Western Armenian as one of the ancient and established languages that has existed in the borders of Turkey makes it difficult to classify Western Armenian under a specific category of heritage languages. This is also evident in the recounts of the participants that differ in their definition of their heritage language as an Istanbul and as an Anatolian language, which makes it hard to define it as a regional minority language as it cannot be fixed to a certain territory (Rindler Schjerve, 2006). This does not, nonetheless, mean that Western Armenian is a non-territorial language as it does not belong to a community who have recently moved into the borders of Turkey, but instead settled there for many centuries (European Center for Modern Languages, 2007). Likewise, as discussed in the introduction chapter, Western Armenian cannot be considered as an indigenous heritage language, either, as the language has existed in these territories for centuries, having been actively used in daily lives (Fishman 2001, 2006). These altogether reify the fact that the heritage language concept cannot be used as a "one-size-fits-all-brand" given the plethora of definitions and categorizations of the concept (Wiley, 2005b, p. 595).

Like the situation of Western Armenian as a heritage language in the context of Turkey, the findings of the present study also indicate that there exist different patterns of heritage language learning and use in speakers' lives. For instance, many a participant like Kami and Seta in the present thesis study constitute a counterexample to Polinsky's (2008a) view of the heritage language speaker as one who acquires their heritage language earlier than the dominant language in a given

context. Some participants report having been exposed to their heritage language in quite a limited and symbolic, if any, fashion while a few others like Vartuhi and Aren state they had been raised in home environments where Armenian was predominantly used in interaction until a certain point of time. Tamar, on the other hand, was an exceptional speaker of Armenian as a heritage language, having begun to learn her heritage language only in her adulthood, which can be said to make her a "new speaker" of the language (Robert, 2009; O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2013; O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013; Costa, 2015; Hornsby, 2015b; Jaffe, 2015, O'Rourke et al., 2015). These examples show that Armenian as a heritage language in one way or another has a "family relevance" (Fishman, 2001, p. 81) and "cultural connection" (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 222) in the lives of the participants although it is not always learnt as the first fully-fledged home language. Moreover, it is evident in the findings of the present study that the participants display difficulty in their definition of Armenian as their heritage language, describing it as their native tongue, foreign language and both in self-contradictory ways, which corraborates the need for the heritage language speaker as a separate entity (Lynch, 2003). In other words, the ways in which heritage language acquisition and speaker status can be constructed are manifold with different practices and patterns at play.

In Polinsky's (2008a) definition discussed above, the focus is on a switch to the dominant language from the heritage language at a certain point of time, which results in "incomplete acquisition" of the heritage language (Montrul, 2002, 2008; Polinsky, 2006). Although this is a highly structural and cognitive approach to the study of heritage languages, the ideologies embedded in the recounts of the participants reveal a similar perspective. The fact that many a participant have come to identify with a sense of inadequacy in their heritage language can be said to reflect

the belief that they hold in relation to the perceived incompleteness that they have obtained as a result of their learning of Armenian. In this regard, although the learning of the dominant language prior to the heritage language does not preclude the heritage quality of the heritage language, it can be said that higher exposure to and engagement with the dominant language might result in perceived incompleteness of acquisition in at least some domains of the heritage language. For instance, it has been shown in the analysis that the participants report holding different degrees of abilities in oral and written domains in their heritage language. All in all, monolingual dominant language ideologies seem to hinder the perceived fully-fledged acquisition of the heritage language.

The sense of inadequacy in Armenian is a factor involved in the construction of other ideologies and practices, too. It appears that the participants come up with an idealization of authenticity that they seek in the use of their heritage language as illustrated in the discussions above and in the previous chapters. This idealization can be explained as "ideal heritage language self," inspired by Dörnyei's (2005) "ideal L2 [second language] self." In other words, the authentic use of the language which includes not only high command of the language but also its use in natural, unpretentious ways, that is idealized by the participants is where they wish to reach someday. Likewise, "ought-to heritage language self," as borrowed from Dörnyei's (2005) "ought-to L2 [second language] self," can be observed in the construction of the sense of responsibility toward Armenian as a heritage language. With a view to "meet[ing] expectations and [in order] to avoid possible negative outcomes," the participants come up with a feeling of responsibility toward their heritage language of which endangerment they are aware given its decline in both their lives and in the community at large (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 86). Nonetheless, it seems that

different beliefs regarding Armenian as a heritage language contest the ought-to heritage language self, such as the belief that Armenian is an unresourceful as well as a complicated language, which results in the endeavors (such as holding communication in Armenian at home influenced by Armenian monolingual ideologies or extensive reading and self-teaching for the improvement of Armenian skills) to reach an ideal heritage language self getting interrupted or sporadic. This points to the fact that language ideologies might not always match actual linguistic practices (Kroskrity, 2016).

Heritage language learning experience, by analogy with Dörnyei's (2005) "L2 [second language] learning experience," appears to have shaped the constructions of participants' ideologies surrounding Armenian. Armenian minority schools and the experiences the participants went through therein seem to play an important role in their language ideologies. Although Armenian minority schools reportedly provide language immersion settings whereby the students might be exposed to their heritage language, intensive instruction of Armenian seems to be negatively perceived by many participants. Added to that the obligation to double-learn things in Armenian and in Turkish renders the view of Armenian not only as a complicated language but also as a school language. In other words, Armenian gets to be confined to the boundaries of school as one of the many subject matters, and in fact as an extra burden on the shoulders of students in comparison with their peers attending non-Armenian majority schools. Moreover, because Armenian is not thought to be as resourceful as the dominant language as well as other more widely spoken foreign languages, it is perceived as an unresourceful language. With all these ideologies conflicting and converging, a cycle of shift from Armenian is reproduced. In addition, well-intended attempts at language maintenance might not

always be received positively due to the existence of contesting ideologies surrounding language. In this respect, heritage language learning experience at school can be said to influence the motivation for improvement in the heritage language negatively due to consequent ideas and beliefs about Armenian as a heritage language, overcoming the ideal and ought-to heritage language selves (Dörnyei, 2005).

The experiences pertinent to church and religion are another part of heritage language learning experience that seems to have shaped the construction of language ideologies by the participants. The high degree of use within church and religious events seemingly results in the perception of Armenian as a language of religion. Moreover, the participants vocalize monolingual Armenian language ideologies in relation to the use of Armenian and non-Armenian within religious services. Nevertheless, these ideologies are contested by the actual reality, that is, the existence of non-Armenophone parishioners of Armenian descent in the church. Likewise, similar practices and ideations can be observed in the recounts of the participants in relation to the acts of worship that they engage in within the privacy of their homes. The monolingual Armenian language ideologies can be said to be inspired by a "traditional" sense of Armenianness whereas linguistically hybrid practices make the use of Armenian into a "symbolic" manner given the need for the use of another language for the non-speakers of the language (Bakalian, 1993). Moreover, it can be said that not only do services in the church as well as secular religious event introduce the participants to religion, but they are also contexts in which the participants are socialized into their heritage language, which further results in different ideologizations in heritage language speakers (Baquedano-López & Figueroa, 2012; Fader, 2012; Klein, 2013).

The institutionalized state of Western Armenian is thus manifested in the language ideologies of heritage speakers of the language. The school and the church seem to constitute and important part in the construction of the language ideologies, and thus can be described to be some of the pillars of heritage language maintenance in the context of Turkey. Nevertheless, the institutionalization of the language does not necessarily indicate its security in terms of the linguistic vitality of Western Armenian, a point that is made by Manoukian (2017). Instead, as has been discussed above, Turkish-born speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language share negative attitudes toward their heritage language that are informed by their experiences at school and the concomitant perceived "useless[ness]" of the language amongst the other dominant and foreign languages (Austin & Sallabank, 2011, p. 11). According to Sallabank (2013), negative beliefs and attitudes regarding endangered languages are both the reason and the result of language shift. As illustrated in the discussions above, nevertheless, the participants come to construct different ideologies that relate to the place of school as regards the future of their heritage language with the awareness of external forces such as the extant shift from the Armenian language. Thus, it can be said that shift can come into existence within the domain of attitudes and beliefs regarding heritage language over time (Sallabank, 2013).

Overall, the findings of the present thesis study have shown that a chronological approach is fitting in the investigation of language ideologies held by Turkish-born speakers of Western Armenian as a heritage language. Given that the language has a long history in the context in which it has been spoken, a chronological lens that focuses on the personal past, present and future of the participants yield numerous common as well as diverse ideologizations surrounding

Armenian as a heritage language. In addition, the present study has shown that although Western Armenian is at risk as an endangered language, it remains its vitality to a considerable degree in the minds of its speakers. In many conscious and unconscious ways, the participants come to contemplate their heritage language and construct their ideologies as embedded and evident in interaction. Moreover, the different discourses on the endangerment of the language point to the very concept itself as a vibrant source of ideologization around language.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Following the overall discussion in the previous chapter, I will conclude the present thesis study in the present chapter. This chapter will consist of three sections. In the first one of them, I will provide an overview of the present thesis study. The second section will cover its implications. In the final section, limitations of the present study will be discussed and suggestions will be offered for the studies to be carried out in the future.

8.1 Thesis overview

The present thesis study consists of seven chapters with the present chapter excluded in which I am providing an overview. In the first chapter, I set the basis for the present thesis study. The first section dealt with language ideologies with a focus on the two epicenters around the world. The types of heritage languages discussed in the first subsection related to the United States context were indigenous heritage languages, colonial heritage languages and immigrant heritage languages. In the second subsection I discussed heritage languages in the context of Europe under the categories of regional minority languages, non-territorial languages and immigrant minority languages. In the second section of the first chapter, I illustrated the situation of Western Armenian as an intrinsically heritage language in Turkey as well as around the world. The third section laid out the terminology to be used in reference to Western Armenian as a heritage language in the present thesis study. In the fourth section, I discussed the aims and significance of the study, laying out the research questions that the present thesis study has undertaken to find an answer to.

In the fifth and final section of the first chapter, I provided the layout of the thesis.

Chapter 2 included the review of relevant literature. The first section of the chapter was about language ideologies in general. In the second section, I discussed heritage language ideologies. The third section focused on Armenian heritage language ideologies.

In Chapter 3, the methodology in the implementation of the present thesis study was discussed. The first section began with a discussion of how I accessed my participants. In the second section, I introduced my participants, their linguistic profiles and relevant background information. The third and final section pertained to the interviews that I conducted for the present thesis study. In the first subsection of the third section, I described the process of the preparation of the interview question guide. In the second subsection, online interview procedures were described. The third subsection focused on the procedures of transcription of the data obtained from the interviews. In the fourth subsection, I described the processes of the analysis, interpretation and representation of the interview data. The fourth subsection dealth with ethical issues surrounding the present thesis study. In the fifth and final subsection, I reflected on the ways in which my reflexivity as a researcher might influence my positionality before, during and after the implementation of the present thesis study.

Chapter 4 focused on the accounts of the participants in relation to their experiences with their heritage language Armenian in the past. The first section dealt with their use of Armenian during their childhood homes. The first subsection in the first section covered the languages that were used in their childhood homes. The second subsection inquired into their perceptions of Armenian during their childhoods. The second section in Chapter 4 was related to the educational lives of

the participants. The first subsection in the second section was about their experiences of learning their heritage language with a focus on formal learning settings. The second subsection covered the perceived effects of K-12 education on the participants' heritage language. The third and final subsection in in the second section covered the effects of formal and informal education on the participants' Armenian. In the third and final section of Chapter 4, I provided an overall summary of the chapter.

In Chapter 5, I illustrated the participants' accounts of their experiences with their heritage language Armenian in the present. There were three sections in Chapter 5. The first section focused on the use of Armenian in the present by the participants. In the first subsection, I discussed participants' use of Armenian in their everyday lives. The second subsection covered their participation in events that take place "necessarily" in Armenian. The second section of Chapter 5 included the assessments of the participants of their own Armenian and their idealized Armenian. The first subsection was about their self-evaluation of their heritage language abilities in the present. In the second subsection, their "ideal" Armenian was discussed. In the third and final section, a summary of the chapter was provided.

Chapter 6 was related to the interview accounts of the participants in relation to the future of Armenian as a heritage language. There were only two sections in this chapter. In the first section, I rendered the prospects of Armenian as recounted by the participants. The first subsection covered the place of Armenian today as a heritage language in Turkey. In the second subsection, the participants' accounts of the future of Armenian were illustrated. The chapter concluded with the third section, that is, the overall summary of the chapter.

Chapter 7 included an overall discussion of the findings of the present thesis study. The first section covered the language ideologies that emerged in relation to the past. In the second section, the language ideologies relating to the present were discussed. Lastly, in the third section, the language ideologies in relation to the future of the Armenian language were discussed.

8.2 Implications, limitations and suggestions for future research

Having provided an overview of the present thesis study, I will discuss the implications of the present thesis study as well as its limitations and make suggestions for future research in the present section.

The findings of the present thesis study have shown that Western Armenian remains its vitality in Istanbul as a heritage language in the Turkish context. Moreover, it is evident that the institutionalized structure of the language puts it in a relatively more advantaged position in comparison with the other heritage language that do not have the same opportunity. School and church are the two ideological sites that have recurred in the interview data that seem to have a role in the construction of the language ideologies that the participants hold. In this regard, future research could be conducted with a focus on the ways in which school and/or church are involved in the linguistic vitality of Western Armenian as a heritage language. Moreover, future studies could focus on specific stakeholders such as teachers, administrators, students and parents as well as clerics and other holders of religious authority in the Armenian church. With that in mind, a narrower focus on different Armenian denominations such as the Armenian Apostolic, the traditional Oriental Orthodox denomination, Armenian Catholic and Armenian Protestant churches could yield various insights into the linguistic practices and ideologies in

relation to Armenian as a heritage language within these sub-ethnoreligious communities.

The findings also reveal that there might be different patterns of heritage language speaker and learner statuses. Tamar, for instance, stood out amongst the participants in that she constituted a new speaker, learning her heritage language well past her youth, during her adulthood. In this regard, new studies could focus on individuals with different patterns of heritage language acquisition as well as particularly on those who are the new speakers of the language. These perspectives will also possibly render valuable insights into such concepts as authority, legitimacy and ownership of Western Armenian as a heritage language. In addition, studies on the learners of Western Armenian as a foreign language by those who do not hold heritage status would further contribute to the sociolinguistics and applied linguistics literature.

The findings have also shown that language ideologies are not necessarily explicitly referred to in speech but they can be embedded in interaction. With that in mind, a limitation to the present thesis study is that it has focused predominantly on the interview methodology. In order to get a better grasp of the language patterns, awareness and ideologies, fieldwork and ethnographic methods should definitely be considered as options. Methods of this kind would help obtain language data in more naturalistic settings compared with relatively more formal interview settings.

The present study holds a number of limitations that pertain to the structure of the interview methodology. One of the limitations is the fact that the interviews had to take place online due to the recent pandemic. Future research should definitely consider in-person, face-to-face data collection methods in order to reach rapport in more efficient ways. Another limitation is that the interviews were conducted in

Turkish. Conducting the interviews in the heritage language Armenian would allow richer language data that could reveal more about linguistic practices and language ideologies. Myself being an “outsider” to the Armenian heritage community can be said to be another limitation to the present study. As discussed in the section on reflexivity issues, this might have led to some reservation and inhibition in some of the participants. Future studies could be conducted by in-group members of the Armenian heritage community, which would moreover affect the reflexivity of the researcher in different ways during the course of the study in their planning, implementation and analysis.

The convenience sampling employed in the recruitment of the participants can also be said to be a limitation to the present thesis study. The snowball sampling technique seemingly led to the recruitment of participants with similar linguistic and educational backgrounds, compromising the generalizibility of the findings of the study. For instance, many of the participants were born and raised in Istanbul and went to similar Armenian minority high schools. There was only one participant, Tamar, who was born elsewhere and did not attend an Armenian minority school whatsoever in her life. With that in mind, future studies could consider reaching out to a wider body of speakers of Armenian as a heritage language from different linguistic, educational and professional backgrounds. As discussed in some of the extracts, for instance, to a lesser degree though, different dialects of Armenian remain their vitality in the Turkish context. Likewise, although it is not an inherently heritage language all around the world, Eastern Armenian also constitutes a heritage language within the context of Turkey. Research in the future could delve into the ways in which Eastern Armenian is in contact and interaction with Western Armenian as well as other languages of Turkey.

APPENDIX A

MEANS OF ACCESS TO THE PARTICIPANTS

Participant Number	Name	Means of Access
1	Raffi	Participant 2
2	Vartuhi	Direct Contact
3	Anahid	Direct Contact
4	Alis	High School Teacher
5	Tamar	Direct Contact
6	Ara	High School Teacher
7	Lusin	High School Teacher
8	Narod	High School Teacher
9	Maral	Direct Contact
10	Arlin	High School Teacher
11	Kami	High School Teacher
12	Seta	Participant 3
13	Vartan	Participant 12
14	Larisa	High School Teacher
15	Hermine	Participant 12
16	Aren	Participant 12
17	Alik	Participant 2
18	Karun	Direct Contact
19	Arev	High School Teacher
20	Tavit	Participant 17

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Name	Age	Sex	Occupation
Raffi	51	Male	Non-governmental organization
Vartuhi	52	Female	Teacher (Special education, at an Armenian school)
Anahid	30	Female	Teacher (Physics, at an Armenian school)
Alis	33	Female	Student (Master's)
Tamar	53	Female	Retiree
Ara	28	Male	Salesperson
Lusin	30	Female	Teacher (Armenian, at an Armenian school)
Narod	28	Female	Teacher (Science, at a Turkish school)
Maral	25	Female	Freelance translator
Arlin	27	Female	Teacher (English, at a Turkish school)
Kami	38	Male	Teacher (At an Armenian school)
Seta	35	Female	Teacher (Armenian, at an Armenian school)
Vartan	28	Male	Salesperson
Larisa	31	Female	Librarian, student (Master’s)
Hermine	24	Female	Operations manager
Aren	25	Male	Consultant, student (Bachelor's)
Alik	37	Female	Teacher (Primary, at an Armenian school), on leave
Karun	25	Female	Teacher (Kindergarten, at an Armenian school)
Arev	32	Female	Teacher (English, at an Armenian school)
Tavit	38	Male	Faculty member

APPENDIX C

LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Name	Home Language During Childhood	Languages Studied	Primary School	Middle School	High School	Order of Acquisition
Raffi	Turkish only	English	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish →[36] Armenian
Vartuhi	Predominantly Armenian	English, Italian	Armenian	Italian	Italian	Armenian → Turkish
Anahid	Turkish only	English, Italian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish → Armenian
Alis	Predominantly Turkish	English, French	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish → Armenian
Tamar	Predominantly Turkish	English	Turkish	Turkish	Turkish	Turkish → Armenian
Ara	Predominantly Turkish	English, German	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian → Turkish
Lusin	Predominantly Turkish	English, French, Persian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian =[37] Turkish
Narod	Predominantly Turkish	English	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian → Turkish
Maral	Armenian and Turkish	English, Russian, Spanish	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian = Turkish?[38]
Arlin	Turkish only	English, Spanish	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish → Armenian

[36] Rightwards arrow (→) indicates the sequence of acquisition of languages: first → second

[37] Equal sign (=) indicates simultaneous acquisition of the languages.

[38] Question mark (?) indicates lack of clear evidence of order of acquisition

Kami	Turkish only	English	Armenian	Turkish	Turkish	Turkish → Armenian
Seta	Turkish only	English, French	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish → Armenian
Vartan	Predominantly Turkish	English, French, Russian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish → Armenian?
Larisa	Predominantly Turkish	English, German	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish → Armenian
Hermine	Predominantly Turkish	English	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish → Armenian
Aren	Predominantly Armenian	English	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian → Turkish
Alik	Predominantly Turkish	English	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish → Armenian
Karun	Predominantly Armenian	English	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish	Armenian → Turkish
Arev	Armenian and Turkish	English, Spanish, Korean	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian	Armenian = Turkish?
Tavit	Predominantly Armenian	English	Armenian	Turkish	Turkish	Armenian → Turkish?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

A. Demographic Background

1. Kaç yaşındasınız?

(*How old are you?*)

2. Nerede doğdunuz ve büyüdünüz?

(*Where were you born and raised?)*

3. Eğitim durumunuz nedir?

(*What is your educational status?*)

4. Mesleğiniz nedir?

(*What is your occupation?*)

5. Ermenice ve Türkçe dışında bildiğiniz diller var mı?

(*Do you know languages other than Armenian and Turkish?*)

B. Past

6. Çocukluğunuzda evinizde Ermenice kullanımı nasıldı?

(During your childhood, how was Armenian used at home?)

7. Çocukluğunuzda evde konuşulan dilin dışarıda konuşulan dilden farklı olduğunu ne zaman anlamaya başladınız?

(During your childhood, when did you begin to notice the language spoken at home was different than the language spoken outside?)

8. Çocukluğunuzda ailenizin Ermenice kullanımını nasıl bulurdunuz?

(What did you think of your family's use of Armenian during your childhood?)

9. Çocukluğunuzda Ermeniceyle ilgili nasıl deneyimleriniz oldu? Bu dili kafanızda nasıl/hangi duygularla yerleştirmiştiniz?

(What kind of experiences did you have with Armenian during your childhood? How/what kind of emotions did you associate this language with in your mind?)

10. Ermenice okuryazar olduktan sonra bu dile olan tutumunuzda nasıl değişiklikler oldu? Mesela Ermenice kitap okumaktan hoşlanır mıydınız?

(What sort of change came into place after you became literate in Armenian? For instance, did you like reading books in Armenian?)

11. Çocukluğunuzda Ermeniceyi iyi kullanan bir idolünüz var mıydı? Bulunduğunuz topluluklarda böyle idollerden bahsedilir miydi? Bu kişiyi neden idol olarak görürdünüz?

(Did you have an idol who used Armenian well during your childhood? Were there such idols talked about in the communities you were in? Why did you regard that person as an idol?)

12. İlkokuldan üniversiteye kadar gittiğiniz okulların Ermeniceniz üzerinde ne gibi etkileri olmuş olabilir?

(What kind of impact might the schools you went to from primary school up to university on your Armenian?)

13. Özellikle ilk gençlik yıllarınızda Ermeniceyi bir kimlik meselesi olarak algıladığınız oldu mu?

(Did you ever take Armenian as a matter of identity especially during your early youth years?)

14. Çocukluğunuzda, aile ve çevre öğretilerinde Ermenicenizi büyüyünce belli bir seviyeye getirmek gibi planlar veya hayaller var mıydı?

(In your family and environment during your childhood, were there plans or dreams of getting your Armenian to a certain level when you would grow up?)

15. O yıllarda aldığınız Ermenice eğitiminin bu dilin kültürünü de size iyi öğrettiğine inanıyor musunuz?

(Do you believe the Armenian education you received during those years taught you the culture of the language well, too?)

C. Present

16. Bugün Ermenicenizi nasıl görüyorsunuz?

(What do you think of your Armenian today?)

17. Kendinizi hâlâ Ermenice öğrenen biri olarak tanımlar mısınız? Neden?

(Do you identify yourself as someone who still learns Armenian? Why?)

18. Bugün günlük hayatta kimlerle Ermenice konuşursunuz?

(Whom do you talk to in Armenian in daily life today?)

19. Kendi konuşmanızdan bağımsız olarak Ermenice konuşulduğunu duyduğunuz yerler var mı?

(Are there places where you hear Armenian spoken regardless of whether you speak it yourself?)

20. Hangi durumlarda/nerelerde Ermenice konuşursunuz?

(In what circumstances/places do you speak Armenian?)

21. Ermenice konuşurken kendinizi nasıl hissedersiniz?

(How do you feel when you speak Armenian?)

22. En iyi Ermenice konuşan tanıdığınız kimdir? Neden?

(Who is the best speaker of Armenian that you know? Why?)

23. Ermenice konuşan birey ve topluluklarla ne sıklıkta ve nerelerde bir araya geliyorsunuz? Bu durumlarda kimlerle, hangi dilleri kullanıyorsunuz?

(How often and where do you gather with Armenian speaking individuals and communities? In those cases which language do you use with whom?)

24. Hayatınızda Ermenicenin ayrılmaz bir parçası olduğu durumlar nelerdir?

(What are the situations of which Armenian is an inseparable part in your life?)

D. Descriptive questions

25. Sizin için "olması gereken" Ermenice nedir/nasıldır?

(What/how is the "must-be" Armenian for you?)

26. Sizi rahatsız eden, hatalı Ermenice kullanımlar nelerdir?

(What are the incorrect uses of Armenian that disturb you?)

27. Bilmeyen birine Ermeniceyi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

(How would you define Armenian to someone who does not speak it?)

28. Ermeniceyi özgün bir dil yapan özellikleri nelerdir?

(What are the properties of Armenian that makes it a unique language?)

E. Future

29. Sizce Ermenicenin, Türkiye'de konuşulan diller arasında nasıl bir yeri vardır?

(What kind of a place do you think Armenian has amongst the languages that are spoken in Turkey?

30. Sizce Ermenice bir İstanbul dili midir?

(Do you think Armenian is an Istanbul language?)

31. Ermeniceyi İstanbul'da konuşulan diller arasında nasıl konumlandırırsınız?

(How would you position Armenian amongst the languages that are spoken in Istanbul?)

32. İstanbul dışındaki şehirlerde bulunan Ermeni topluluklarında Ermenicenin nasıl bir yeri olduğuna dair bilginiz var mı?

(Do you know what kind of a place Armenian has in the Armenian communities that exist outside Istanbul?)

33. İstanbul'dan başka bir şehirde doğmuş veya yaşıyor olsaydınız Ermenicenizde nasıl bir değişiklik olurdu?

(How would your Armenian be different if you had been born or were living in a city other than Istanbul?)

34. Ermeni bir birey Ermenice öğrenmeli midir? Neden?

(Should an Armenian individual learn Armenian? Why?)

35. Türkiye'de Ermenicenin geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?

(How do you foresee the future of Armenian in Turkey?)

36. Ermenicenin gelecek kuşaklar tarafından yaşatılmaya devam etmesi için neler yapılmalıdır?

(What should be done for Armenian to be maintained by the future generations?)

APPENDIX E

STATISTICS OF THE INTERVIEW DATA

Name	Date of Interview[39]	Interview Platform	Camera during Interview	Length of Interview[40]
Raffi	24 & 31/01/2021	Zoom	On	04:09:48
Vartuhi	06/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:57:33
Anahid	07/02/2021	Zoom	Off	00:49:45
Alis	11/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:21:05
Tamar	12/02/2021	Skype	On	01:53:20
Ara	13/02/2021	Skype	Off	00:41:22
Lusin	13/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:36:53
Narod	14/02/2021	Zoom	Off	00:50:54
Maral	18/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:57:52
Arlin	19/02/2021	Zoom	Off	00:56:58
Kami	20/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:06:40
Seta	20/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:41:13
Vartan	25/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:18:02
Larisa	27/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:17:42
Hermine	27 & 28/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:20:53
Aren	27/02/2021	Zoom	On	01:04:13
Alik	02/03/2021	Zoom	On	02:33:33
Karun	02/03/2021	Zoom	On	01:17:18
Arev	05/03/2021	Zoom	On	01:48:50
Tavit	05/03/2021	Zoom	On	01:34:25
		Total Length of Interviews		31:18:19
		Mean Length of Interviews		1:33:54

[39] Day/Month/Year.
[40] Hours:Minutes:Seconds.

APPENDIX F

LIST OF TOPICS TALKED ABOUT

IN MORE THAN 300 WORDS BY 10 OR MORE PARTICIPANTS

Topic	Number of Participants with More than 300 Words	Total Word Count	Average Word Count
PARTICIPANTS' USE OF ARMENIAN IN THEIR EVERYDAY LIVES	19	13,457	708.27
ARMENIAN IN TURKEY	17	11,688	687.53
FUTURE OF ARMENIAN	17	9,915	583.23
PERCEPTION OF ARMENIAN DURING CHILDHOOD	15	16,259	1,084
FORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATION	15	11,239	749.26
IDEAL ARMENIAN	15	9,042	602.8
ARMENIAN LEARNING EXPERIENCE	12	7,799	650
SELF-EVALUATION OF ARMENIAN TODAY	11	6,832	621.1
LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME DURING CHILDHOOD	10	5,610	561
EFFECT OF K-12 EDUCATION ON ARMENIAN	10	4,947	494.7
PARTICIPATION IN EVENTS THAT TAKE PLACE NECESSARILY IN ARMENIAN	10	4,679	467.9

APPENDIX G

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

(Adapted from Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, pp. x-xii)

Türkçe	Turkish (regular font)
Hayerēn	Armenian (**bold**)
English	English (*italic*)
(?)	Unclear fragment(s)
(...)	Skipped segment(s)
word- word	Incomplete word
[completion]	Logical completion

APPENDIX H

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 12/12/2020-256

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ ETİK İNCELEME KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI TUTANAĞI

Toplantı Sayısı	:	10
Toplantı Tarihi	:	10/12/2020
Toplantı Saati	:	13:00
Toplantı Yeri	:	Zoom Sanal Toplantı
Bulunanlar	:	Prof. Ebru Kaya, Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra Seggie, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen
Bulunmayanlar	:	Prof. Dr. Özlem Hesapçı Karaca

Uğur Çakıroğlu
Yabancı Diller Eğitimi

Sayın Araştırmacı,

"Heritage Language Ideologies: Speakers' Perspectives" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığınız SBB-EAK 2020/54 sayılı başvuru komisyonumuz tarafından 10 Aralık 2020 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. COVID-19 önlemleri kapsamında kurul üyelerinden ıslak imza alınamadığı için bu onam mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen tarafından bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin
SOHTORİK İLKMEN
ÜYE

e-imzalıdır
Dr. Öğr. ÜyesiYasemin Sohtorik
İlkmen
Öğretim Üyesi
Raportör

SOBETİK 10 10/12/2020

Bu belge 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanununun 5. Maddesi gereğince güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

APPENDIX I

CONSENT FORM

BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
EĞİTİM FAKÜLTESİ
YABANCI DİLLER EĞİTİMİ BÖLÜMÜ

Yüksek Lisans Tez Araştırması
KATILIMCI BİLGİ VE ONAM FORMU

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum:	Boğaziçi Üniversitesi
Araştırmanın adı:	Heritage Language Ideologies: Speakers' Perspectives (Miras Dil İdeolojileri: Konuşanların Perspektifleri)
Proje Yürütücüsü:	Dr. Işıl Erduyan
E-mail adresi:	isil.erduyan@boun.edu.tr
Telefonu:	+90 212 359 4612
Araştırmacının adı:	Uğur Çakıroğlu
E-mail adresi:	ugur.cakiroglu@boun.edu.tr
Telefonu:	+90 542 362 5489

Projenin Konusu, Amacı ve Kapsamı

Sayın Katılımcı,

Çalışmamıza gösterdiğiniz ilgi için teşekkür ederiz. Bu çalışma, yüksek lisans tezine yönelik bir araştırmayı kapsamaktadır. Araştırma, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi, Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü yüksek lisans öğrencisi Uğur Çakıroğlu tarafından Öğretim Üyesi Dr. Işıl Erduyan danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir.

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de bir miras dil olarak Ermenice konuşan bireylerin, miras dilleri olan Ermenice ile olan deneyim, duygu, görüş ve düşüncelerini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Miras diller, bulundukları ülkede resmî dil olmamasına rağmen ev ve topluluk ortamlarında kullanılan diller olarak tanımlanabilir. Bu kapsamda Ermenice, Türkiye'nin miras dillerinden birini oluşturmaktadır.

Gerek ülkemizde gerekse dünyada bir miras dil olarak Ermenice üzerine uygulamalı dilbilim alanında yapılmış çalışmalar kısıtlıdır. UNESCO tarafından kaybolma tehlikesi altında olan diller arasında olduğu belirtilen Batı Ermenicesine yönelik olarak yapılacak çalışmalar, mevcut durumun belirlenmesine ön ayak olacaktır. Aynı zamanda bu çalışma, Türkiye'de bir miras dil olarak Ermenice üzerine uygulamalı dilbilim alanında gerçekleştirilmiş ilk çalışma olacaktır. Bu kapsamda mevcut çalışma, miras dil olarak Ermenice (Batı) konuşan 18 yaşın üzerinde olan erişkin, Türkiyeli Ermeni bireylerle röportajlar yapılmasını öngörmektedir.

Çalışmanın Yöntemi

Çalışmada yer almayı kabul ederseniz size uygun bir tarih ve zaman diliminde Araştırmacı Uğur Çakıroğlu sizinle bir röportaj gerçekleştirecektir. Küresel koronavirüs hastalığı salgını nedeniyle röportajların sosyal mesafe endişesi gözetilerek, çevrim içi ortamda gerçekleştirilmesi uygun görülmektedir. Bu kapsamda röportajlar **Skype** veya **Zoom** platformları üzerinden gerçekleştirilebilecektir. Röportaj randevusu ve diğer her türlü düzenleme için Araştırmacı Uğur Çakıroğlu sizinle iletişime geçecektir.

Röportaj, Türkçe olarak gerçekleştirilecek ve yaklaşık bir saat sürecektir. Röportaj sırasında size anadiliniz olan Ermeniceyle olan deneyimleriniz ve Ermenice üzerine duygu, düşünce ve görüşlerinize yönelik sorular yöneltilecektir. Uygulamalı dilbilim alanında gerçekleştirilen röportaj çalışmaları, röportaj sırasında dil kullanımının (örneğin duraklamalar, çeşitli diller arasında geçişler, birbirinin ardına veya üzerine eklenen konuşmalar gibi) yakın incelemesini gerektirmektedir. Bu nedenle, ayrıntılı analiz gerçekleştirilebilmesi için röportajlar sırasında ses kaydı alınması gerekmektedir. Ses kayıtları Araştırmacı tarafından, Katılımcının bilgisi dahilinde alınacak, dijital

ortamda saklanacak ve korunacaktır. Mevcut çalışma, röportajlara ait yalnızca ses kaydı alınmasını öngörmektedir. Bu kapsamda, **siz görüşme sırasında kameranızı açık bulundursanız dahi görüntü kaydı alınmayacaktır; yalnızca ses kaydı alınacaktır.**

Zoom platformu üzerindeki görüşmelerde, kameranızı kapalı bulundurmayı tercih ederseniz Zoom platformunda yüklü olan kaydedici vasıtasıyla kayıt alınacaktır. Buradan elde edilecek kayıt bir adet video dosyası, bir adet de sesli dosya oluşturmaktadır. Ancak kameranızın kapalı bulunması nedeniyle, video dosyasında size ait bir görüntü bulunmayacaktır; yalnızca Araştırmacının görüntüsü elde edilen video kaydında bulunacaktır. Elde edilen bu video kaydı, röportajın sonunda ivedilikle geri dönüşü olmayacak biçimde silinecektir ve **yalnızca elde edilen sesli dosya araştırma kapsamında kullanılacaktır**. Yine Zoom platformu üzerindeki görüşmenizde kamerayı açık bulunduracak olursanız, röportajın ses kaydı "OBS Studio" programı (versiyon 26.0.2) üzerinden alınacaktır. Bu durumda, **yalnızca ses kaydı alınmış olacaktır ve herhangi bir görüntülü kayıt dosyası oluşmayacaktır.**

Skype platformunda yüklü olan kaydedici, video ve sesli dosya olmak üzere iki dosya oluşturmak yerine, yalnızca video dosyası oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında yalnızca röportajlara ait sesli kayıtların gerekli olması nedeniyle, Skype platformu üzerinde gerçekleştirilecek tüm görüşmelerin ses kayıtları, (kameranızı açık veya kapalı bulundurmayı tercih etmeniz fark etmeksizin) "OBS Studio" programı (versiyon 26.0.2) üzerinden gerçekleştirilecektir. Bu durumda, **yalnızca ses kaydı alınmış olacak ve herhangi bir görüntülü kayıt dosyası oluşmayacaktır.**

Her hâlükârda Araştırmacı, kamerasını açık bulunduracaktır. **Belirtildiği üzere, kameranızı açık bulundurup bulundurmama hususunda karar size aittir**. Sizden yalnızca, yukarıda belirtilmiş olan ses kayıt prosedürlerinin sağlıklı şekilde uygulanabilmesi için, kameranızı açık bulundurup bulundurmayacağınıza dair kararınızı beyan etmenizi rica ediyoruz.

Verilerin Gizliliği, Korunması ve Saklanması

Röportajlardan elde edilen ses kayıtlarının, analiz edilebilmesi için yazılı transkripsiyonu Araştırmacı tarafından gerçekleştirilecektir. Ses kayıt, transkripsiyon ve analizleri uygulamalı dilbilim alanında sıkça kullanılmakta olup, etik ilkeler gereğince bunların gizliliği ve muhafazası titizlikle temin edilecektir. Bu kapsamda, röportajlara ait ses kayıt dosyaları ve bunların yazılı trankripsiyon dosyaları, şifreyle korunmuş haricî bir USB bellek aygıtında saklanacak ve analizler bu aygıt üzerinde, çevrim dışı ortamda gerçekleştirilecektir. Uygulamalı dilbilim alanında yapılan çalışmalarda alışılageldiği üzere, gerek mevcut yüksek lisans tez çalışmasının hazırlanma ve yayınlanma aşamasında gerekse sürekli değişen bir olgu olan dil kullanımının ilerleyen yıllarda elde edilebilecek başka verilerle karşılaştırmalı incelenmesi olasılığı göz önünde bulundurularak, mevcut araştırmadan elde edilecek verilerin (röportajlara ait ses kayıtları ve bu seslerin yazılı transkripsiyon dokümanları) araştırma sonrasında da saklanması planlanmaktadır. Bu kapsamda röportajı tamamlamanız hâlinde tüm veriler gizlilik esası gözetilerek yukarıda açıklanmış yöntemlerle, çevrim dışı ortamda ve şifreyle korunmakta olan haricî bir USB bellek aygıtında saklanacaktır.

Hassas Bilgilerin Gizliliği ve Korunması

Ses kayıtları ve yazılı transkripsiyonlara ek olarak, etik ilkeler uyarınca size ve bütün Katılımcılara ait kişisel bilgilerin ve kimliğinizi açığa çıkarması ihtimal dahilinde olan tüm bilgilerin gizliliği temin edilecektir. Bu bağlamda, mevcut çalışmadan ortaya çıkacak olan yüksek lisans tezi ve bunu takip etmesi muhtemel sunum, bildiri, makale vesair her türlü yazılı ve sözlü yayında kimliğiniz ve kimliğinizi ortaya çıkarabilecek bilgiler (örneğin isim-soyisim bilginiz, ikamet ve çalışma muhitleriniz, bağlı olduğunuz ve/veya çalıştığınız ve/veya eğitim gördüğünüz kurumlar vs.) gizli tutulacaktır. Bu amaçla, çalışmada gerçek adınız açığa çıkarılmaksızın bir rumuzla yer alacaksınız. Aynı şekilde bahsi geçen diğer hassas bilgiler de çeşitli takma adlarla değiştirilerek çalışmada yer bulacaktır.

Bu çalışma tamamıyla gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Katılımınız karşılığında size finansal veya başka bir karşılık sunulmayacak ve sizden de bir karşılık beklenmeyecektir. Çalışmadan istediğiniz herhangi bir zamanda ve herhangi bir sebep göstermeksizin çekilme hakkına sahipsiniz. Çalışmadan çekilmeniz durumunda size ait yazılı ve sesli veriler (doldurmuş olduğunuz onam formu ile röportaja ait ses kayıtları) geri dönüşü olmaksızın imha edilecektir.

İletişim Bilgileri

Çalışmayla ilgili tüm sorularınızı Dr. Işıl Erduyan'a (telefon: +90 212 359 4612, e-posta: isil.erduyan@boun.edu.tr) veya Uğur Çakıroğlu'na (telefon: +90 542 362 548229, e-posta: ugur.cakiroglu@boun.edu.tr) yöneltebilirsiniz. Aynı zamanda Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonuna (SOBETIK) da (e-posta: sbe-ethics@boun.edu.tr) ulaşabilirsiniz.

Çalışmaya Katılım Daveti

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde bu formu doldurmanızı ve doldurulmuş şekilde Araştırmacıya elektronik posta üzerinden (ugur.cakiroglu@boun.edu.tr) ulaştırmanızı rica ediyoruz. Artan küresel koronavirüs salgını vakaları nedeniyle, doldurulabilir form olarak hazırlanmış PDF formatındaki bu belgeyi doldurmanız yeterli olacaktır. Elektronik ortamda imza atmanın güçlüğü nedeniyle, formda belirtilen "Katılımcının Ad ve Soyadının Baş Harfleri" kısmına, adınız ve soyadınızın ilk harflerini belirtmenizi rica ederiz.

Doldurup Araştırmacıya ulaştıracağınız bu form, Araştırmacı tarafından PDF formunda şifreyle korunmuş haricî bir USB bellek aygıtında saklanacaktır. Doldurulmuş onam formları, çevrim içi ve yukarıda belirtilen şifreyle korunmakta olan haricî USB bellek aygıtı dışında çevrim dışı ortamlardan imha edilecektir.

Bu formu doldurup Araştırmacıya teslim etmeniz hâlinde, doldurmuş olduğunuz formu dilediğiniz şekilde, çevrim içi veya çevrim dışı ortamda saklama veya imha etme konusunda karar size aittir. Dilerseniz doldurup teslim etmiş olduğunuz onam formunu yazdırarak basılı şekilde de saklamanız mümkündür. Bu hususta karar size aittir.

Sesli Onam Prosedürü (Opsiyonel)

Onamınızı sunmak için, bu formu doldurmak yerine röportajın başında sesli şekilde onamınızı belirtmeniz de mümkündür. Bunun için sizden ses kaydı altında, onam metnini okuyup adınız soyadınızla birlikte kaydın gerçekleştiği tarihi sesli olarak belirtmeniz istenecektir. Sesli onam prosedürünün kolay şekilde gerçekleşmesi için Araştırmacı size yardımcı olacaktır.

Sesli onam prosedürü opsiyoneldir. Diğer bir deyişle, bu formu yazılı olarak doldurup Araştırmacıya teslim ederseniz, sözlü onam vermenize gerek yoktur. Aynı şekilde sözlü onam vereceksseniz, bu formu doldurup Araştırmacıya teslim etmenize gerek yoktur. **Yazılı ve sözlü onam prosedürlerinden yalnızca birinin uygulanması yeterlidir.**

Çalışmaya katılım onamınızı yazılı şekilde belirtmek istiyorsanız, lütfen ilerleyen sayfada bulunan boş metin kutucuklarını gerekli bilgilerle doldurup, boş bırakılan kutucuklara tıklayarak ilgili tercihlerinizi belirtiniz.

ONAM:

Ben, [ ],
(Adınız-Soyadınız)
çalışmanın amacı ve kapsamı hakkında bana anlatılanları dinledim. Yukarıda yazılanları okudum ve anladım. Gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları anladım. Çalışma üzerine soru sorma imkanı buldum. Çalışmadan herhangi bir zamanda ve herhangi bir sebep göstermeden çekilebileceğimi ve çalışmadan çekilmem durumunda herhangi bir olumsuzlukla karşılaşmayacağımı anladım.
Bu koşullar altında bu araştırmaya herhangi bir baskı veya zorlama olmaksızın, kendi isteğimle ve gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

Röportajı gerçekleştirmek istediğim platform:	□ Skype'tır.	□ Zoom'dur.
Röportaj sırasında kameramı	□ açık tutacağım.	□ kapalı tutacağım.
Röportaj sırasında ses kaydı alınmasını	□ onaylıyorum.	□ onaylamıyorum.

Katılımcının Adı ve Soyadı: [ ]

Elektronik Posta Adresi: [ ]

Telefon Numarası: [ ]

Skype Kullanıcı Adı: [ ]

Not: Zoom üzerinden gerçekleştirilecek röportajlar için Araştırmacı, Katılımcıya Zoom toplantı bağlantısı gönderecektir.

Katılımcının Ad ve Soyadının Baş Harfleri: [ ] . [ ].
(Örnek: [K] . [Y] .)

Tarih (Rakamla, Gün-Ay-Yıl): [ ] - [ ] - [2021]

İlginize teşekkür ederiz. En yakın zamanda görüşmek dileğiyle.

4

APPENDIX J

ROMANIZATION AND PRONUNCIATION OF WESTERN ARMENIAN

(Romanization adapted from *ALA-LC Romanization Tables*, 2017;

IPA[41] representations adapted from Ager, 2021)

Western Armenian[42]	Romanization[43]	IPA representation
Ա ա	A a	/ɑ/
Բ բ	P p	/pʰ/[44, 45]
Գ գ	K k	/kʰ/
Դ դ	T t	/tʰ/
Ե ե	E e, or Ye ye[46]	/ɛ/, or /jɛ/
Զ զ	Z z	/z/
Է է	Ē ē	/ɛ/
Ը ը	Ĕ ĕ	/ə/
Թ թ	Tʿ tʿ	/tʰ/
Ժ ժ	Zh zh	/ʒ/
Ի ի	I i	/i/
Լ լ	L l	/l/
Խ խ	Kh kh	/x/
Ծ ծ	Dz dz	/d͡z/[47]
Կ կ	G g	/g/
Հ հ	H h	/h/
Ձ ձ	Ts ts	/t͡sʰ/
Ղ ղ	Gh gh	/ʁ/
Ճ ճ	J j	/d͡ʒ/

[41] International Phonetic Alphabet

[42] Rendered in UPPER- and lowercase.

[43] Rendered in UPPER- and lowercase.

[44] An aspiration modifier letter /ʰ/ henceforth denotes aspiration of the preceding sound. Note the lack of unaspirated voiceless allophones or phonemes in the table, unlike Eastern Armenian which to date keeps aspirated and unaspirated phonemes in its phonological system.

[45] Note there are two separate letters that correspond to a single aspirated voiceless, such as բ and փ to /pʰ/, and գ and ք to /kʰ/. Notwithstanding being homophonous, using the correct Armenian letter is important and spelling should be learned by heart. The historical and etymological difference between the letters that represent same aspirated voiceless sounds are evident in the difference in the Armenian letters as well as the romanized forms of these letters.

[46] The letter ե is pronounced /ɛ/ when it follows a consonant, and it is pronounced /jɛ/ in the beginning of a word. I deemed it proper to change the romanization "Y y" suggested by the Library of Congress into "Ye ye," in order to make transparent the sound is /jɛ/ and not /j/ as in երբ, "yerp" and not "yrp" (meaning "when").

[47] A tie bar /͡/ henceforth denotes affrication.

Մ մ	M m	/m/
Յ յ	Y y, or H h[48]	/j/, or /h/
Ն ն	N n	/n/
Շ շ	Sh sh	/ʃ/
Ո ո	O o, or Vo vo[49]	/ɔ/, or /ʋɔ/
Չ չ	Ch‘ ch‘	/t͡ʃʰ/
Պ պ	B b	/b/
Ջ ջ	Ch ch	/t͡ʃʰ/
Ռ ռ	Ṛ ṛ	/ɾ/[50]
Ս ս	S s	/s/
Վ վ	V v	/v/
Տ տ	D d	/d/
Ր ր	R r	/ɾ/
Ց ց	Ts‘ ts‘	/t͡sʰ/
Ւ ւ[51]	W w	/v/
Փ փ	P‘ p‘	/pʰ/
Ք ք	K‘ k‘	/kʰ/
Օ օ	Ō ō	/o/
Ֆ ֆ	F f	/f/
	Digraphs[52]	
ԵՒ[53]	yew	/jɛv/
ու	u	/u/
էօ	œ	/œ/
իւ	iw	/ʏ/, or /ju/[54]

[48] The letter յ is pronounced /h/ when it is the first phoneme of a given word such as *Յակոբ*, “Hagop” (a proper name). It is pronounced elsewhere and is silent as the last phoneme of a given word except in monosyllabic words with a number of exceptions like *կայ*, “ga” (meaning “there is”), cf. *թէյ* “t‘ēy” (meaning “tea).

[49] The letter ո is pronounced /ɔ/ when it follows a consonant, and /ʋɔ/ in the beginning of a word. I deemed it proper to change the only romanized form “O o” suggested by the Library of Congress into “O o, or Vo vo” in order to make transparent the sound is /ʋɔ/ and not /ɔ/ at the beginning of a word as in ոչ, “voch‘” and not “och‘” (meaning “no”).

[50] Note there are two letters that correspond to the voiced alveolar tap/flap.

[51] The letter ւ rarely stands on its own and usually follows a vowel to give the /v/ sound.

[52] Not an extensive list.

[53] A merge of the letters և and ւ, և means “and” on its own. The digraph և is not officially found within words in Western Armenian although it is used by some, while it is considered a ligature in Eastern Armenian, as a letter on its own.

[54] Pronounced /ju/ mainly in words with the suffix -ությիւն /utʰjun/ such as բարությիւն, parutʿiwn /pʰarutʰjun/ meaning “goodness.” The pronunciations /ʏ/ and /ju/ are usually interchangeable elsewhere.

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