MİRAS DİL OLARAK GÖÇMEN TÜRKÇESİ: YENİ BİR KURAMSAL YAKLAŞIM

A NEW THEORETİCAL AGENDA: IMMIGRANT TURKISH BECOMES HERITAGE LANGUAGE

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Öz

Bu durum makalesi yeni bir dil bilimsel olgu olan *miras dil konuşurları*nı araştırmadaki temel etkenlerle ilgili genel bir bilimsel bakış sağlamaktadır. Almanya örneği üzerinden Avrupada azınlık dili konumundaki Türkçenin *miras dili* araştırmaları alanının kuramsal çerçevesi ışığında daha iyi incelenebileceğini ve anlaşılabileceğini tartışmaktadır. Bunu yaparken, *miras dil konuşuru* terimi güncel araştırmalar üzerinden tanımlanacak ve Türklerin Almanya'ya göç tarihi, Türkçenin Almanya'daki Türk toplulukları içerisindeki sosyal, eğitimsel ve dil bilimsel süreci ve aralarındaki ilişkiler üzerinden sunulacaktır. Makale *miras dillerin* özgün dil bilimsel yapısını incelemek üzere özel olarak geliştirilmiş olan kuramsal çerçevenin Türkçeyi göçmen dil olarak inceleyen araştrıma alanına ne kadar faydalı olabileceğini vurgulayacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Miras dil, miras dil konuşuru, Göçmen Türkçesi, Almanya, dil girdisi

Abstract

This position paper provides a general background for the specific factors involved in the study of a recent linguistic phenomenon, heritage language speaker, and by looking at the Germany case, discusses that the current status of Turkish as a minority language in Europe can be better studied and understood within the formal framework of heritage language studies. To do so, the term heritage language speaker will be briefly discussed in the light of recent studies which will be followed by a brief history of Turkish migration to Germany through the relationship between the integration process and social, educational and linguistic journey of Turkish language within the Turkish community. The paper will conclude by highlighting how theoretical formalisms specifically designed to address the unique linguistic characteristics of heritage languages can benefit studies focusing on Turkish as an immigrant language.

Keywords: Heritage Language, heritage language speaker, Immigrant Turkish, Germany, input.

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Introduction

It is not easy to know the exact situation due to lack of reliable statistics; however, according to a Eurobarometer survey in 2012 more than half of the Europeans (54%) are multilingual[1] and it is hypothesised that majority of the world's speakers are actually not monolingual (Grosjean, 2010). So, who qualifies as a heritage speaker in this very large multilingual population?

It would not be too optimistic to assume that most of us know a family who has moved from one country to another. Neither would it be unrealistic to suppose that this family has children who have grown up in that country. Initially, those children would only be in contact with the language spoken by their parents in their home. For instance, it could be a Russian, Greek or Turkish family living in a city in Germany. However, when these children are old enough to go out, start playing with other children, and go to kindergarten, they start getting exposed to German. At some point, these children become bilingual in the home language and German. Eventually, German becomes more dominant and their home language becomes much weaker to the point where they stop speaking the home language and instead speak to their parents in German while their parents still try to speak to them in the home language, which leads to a breakdown of communication amongst the family members.

Just like many other Turkish people living in Turkey, I also happen to have a similar personal experience with my immigrant relatives (first and second generation) and their children (third generation) in Germany. Every time they visited us in Turkey I was fascinated by their use of Turkish and German so interchangeably, especially that of children, but I was even more struck by the way they operated in Turkish as it sounded very different from how the rest of us spoke it in Turkey. This difference surfaced especially when grandparents struggled to communicate with their grandchildren. Indeed, there is a growing body of research proposing that both phonologically and structurally Turkish as spoken in the immigrant communities in Western Europe differs from Turkish as spoken in Turkey (for a detailed account on this issue, see Backus, 2004).

The dramatic increase in immigration around the world in the last decades has made immigrant languages or minority languages a new and interesting phenomenon in the study of bilingualism, which is now generally referred to as heritage language studies. Today the term heritage language generally refers to non-societal and non-majority languages spoken by a group of people regarded as linguistic minority (Valdes, 2005). Montrul (2011) defines heritage languages broadly as ethnic minority languages spoken around the world and divides them into two main categories: a) indigenous languages of a group of speakers who have always inhabited the region where the majority language is now spoken: for example, Welsh in Wales, Catalan in Catalonia, Quechua in Peru; and b) languages spoken by groups of immigrants who move to a host country where another majority language is spoken: Arabic and Turkish in Germany and The Netherlands, Punjabi speakers in the United Kingdom; Spanish, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, Hindi, Russian, and many other immigrant groups in the United States and Canada (Montrul, 2011, p. 156).

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[1] In this paper, "multilingual" is used as an umbrella term to address individuals who know more than one language.

There are also various definitions of heritage language speakers in the literature. Some definitions refer heritage speaker as anybody with a distant cultural and affective connection to a language minority group even without any proficiency in the language. Fishman (2006), for example, broadly defines heritage speaker as child and adult members of a linguistic minority who grew up exposed to their home language and the majority language. Polinsky (2011) defines heritage speaker as a "bilingual who grew up hearing and possibly speaking an immigrant or minority language in the family or home and who has been dominant in the majority language of the wider community since early childhood" (p.306). Montrul (2010a) notes that heritage speakers are a special case bilinguals whose home language is a minority language and who as children do not always get formal education in the heritage language, and grow up with a typically very high proficiency in the dominant language as opposed to varying proficiency and literacy in the heritage language. Other definitions address highly proficient users of the minority language. For instance, Valdés (2001, p.38) defines heritage speaker as "a student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language." Similarlar, Van Deusen-Scholl (2003, p. 221) portrays heritage language learners as "a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed, but who may feel culturally connected to a language." In a similar but more formal and precise way, Rothman (2009, p.156) defines heritage language and heritage language speakers as follows:

> "A language qualifies as a heritage language if it is a language spoken at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially this language is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society. Like the acquisition of a primary language in monolingual situations and the acquisition of two or more languages in situations of societal bilingualism/multilingualism, the heritage language is acquired on the basis of an interaction with naturalistic input and whatever in-born linguistic mechanisms are at play in any instance of child language acquisition. Differently, however, there is the possibility that quantitative and qualitative differences in heritage language input and the introduction, influence of the societal majority language, and differences in literacy and formal education can result in what on the surface seems to be arrested development of the heritage language or attrition in adult bilingual knowledge."

In the last decade, an increasing number of studies have aimed to understand and model linguistic competence of heritage language speakers by comparing their performance with control groups of monolingual speakers as the standard norm. There are heritage speakers all around the world from varying language backgrounds, cultures, education and social status. In the majority of heritage language speaker studies (see e.g. Montrul, 2008; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinsky, 2011, 2013), it has been found that heritage language linguistic competence and performance differ from the age-matched monolingual speaker norms to varying degrees and domains. This linguistic discrepancy is proposed to have resulted from mainly two factors: attrition which is the erosion of previously acquired linguistic properties (e.g., Polinsky, 2011); and incomplete acquisition (or arrested development) in which case heritage speakers fail to acquire the home language completely due to the exposure to the dominant language of the society outside the home environment (e.g., Montrul, 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2011). From an acquisition perspective, Montrul

(2008, p.21) provides the characteristics of incomplete acquisition as "a mature linguistic state, the outcome of language acquisition that is not complete or [of] attrition in childhood. Incomplete acquisition occurs in childhood, when some specific properties of the language do not have a chance to reach age-appropriate levels of proficiency after intense exposure to the L2 begins." Figure 1 below demonstrates a typical path of heritage language and its relation to the majority language.
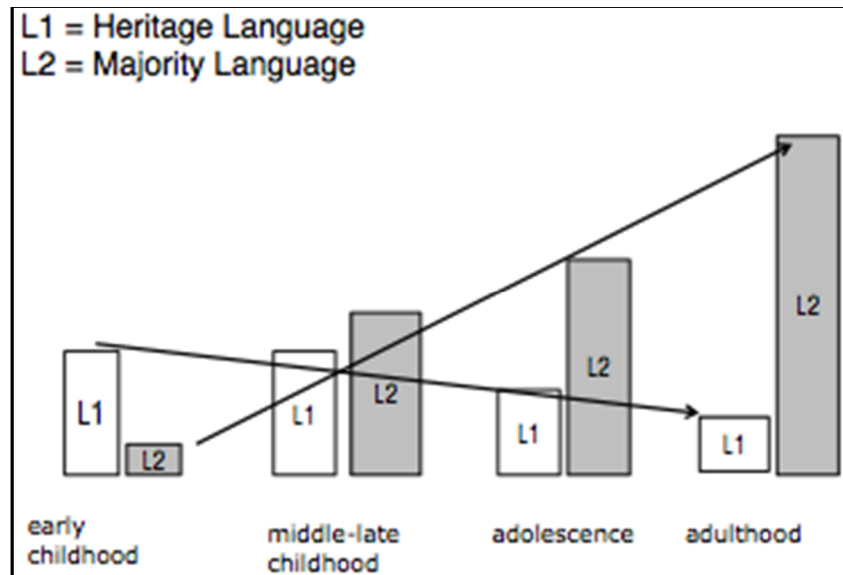

Figure 1: Typical development of a heritage language (L1) in a majority language context (adapted from Montrul, 2012)

Linguistic competence in the family language may range from native-like comprehension skills to intermediate and advanced production skills, depending on the language, the community, and a number of other sociolinguistic circumstances. Arguments on this linguistic outcome generally rely on the non-optimal input conditions disrupting the acquisition of heritage language which is mainly restricted to home environment with much less use in the wider society due to sociolinguistic factors (Montrul, 2012; Schlyter, 1993).

In recent studies heritage speakers have been identified with several problems in their grammatical competence in production in the areas of lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and discourse-pragmatics compared native speaker competency (Benmamoun et al. 2010; Montrul, 2010, 2012). Many of these studies have been done within the generative framework for comparisons of heritage speakers with fully competent monolinguals born, raised and educated in the home country and have shown potential changes between the linguistic abilities of heritage speakers (second/third generation), first generation immigrants, and the full variety spoken in the country of origin. It is generally concluded that heritage speakers seem to develop some core linguistic aspects of their family language though their grammatical system differs from that of monolinguals with a marked tendency to simplify complex structural patterns such as word order, passive and relative clauses that requires syntactic dependency and anaphoric binding especially in languages with pro-drop feature.

In what follows, I begin with a general overview of heritage language studies to shed light on what is understood as incomplete as a linguistic outcomes of heritage language acquisition. Then, to provide reader with the research context, I turn in the next section to explain specific context of Turkish as a heritage language in Germany and present a review of selected linguistic studies.

1. An Overview of Heritage Language Studies

There is a growing body of research and careful analyses of empirical data based on plausible linguistic theories and developmental psycholinguistics that is able to shed promising light on the operational characteristics of heritage language acquisition in constructing ideas about heritage speakers' grammatical knowledge.

1.1. What is *incomplete* in heritage language grammars?

It is generally accepted that monolingual children acquiring their native language under normal circumstances commonly show little variation in the nature of their linguistic knowledge in adulthood (Scheele et al., 2010). Despite exposure to their mother tongue in early childhood similar to their monolingual peers, heritage language speakers differ from their monolingual peers in their linguistic competency both in production and comprehension due to a dramatic decrease in both exposure to and use of their heritage language as they grow older (e.g. Benmamoun et al. 2008; Montrul, 2004, 2006, 2010; O'Grady et al. 2001; Polinsky, 2006, 2008a, 2008b).

As a result of non-optimal exposure to input within the home language environment in the early years of language acquisition (approximately birth-4 years) and during the period of school years (4-13 years), "many aspects of grammar may not reach full development and remain incompletely acquired" (Montrul, 2009, p.241). This is shown to result in heritage speakers' having a non-native like competence in early adulthood with better receptive skills than productive skills and gaps in linguistic knowledge (in gender agreement, verb paradigms, pronouns, case marking, word order, prepositions, etc.), and thus attain a considerable variability in the range of their linguistic competence when they become adults (Kondo-Brown, 2004; Montrul, 2008, 2012; Montrul & Bowles, 2009; O'Grady et al., 2011; Polinsky, 2006; Song et al., 1997). In this line of approach, incomplete acquisition is arguably seen as the product of a process, which is identified as "the non-target like ultimate attainment of adult early bilinguals (heritage speakers), which may be the result of many different situations leading to input reduction in childhood" (Montrul, 2009, p.241).

Within this perspective, studies have investigated the richness of heritage speaker vocabulary and found gaps in their vocabulary and difficulty in retrieving words they do not use very frequently. For instance, Polinsky (1997, 2007) found that vocabulary proficiency correlated positively with structural accuracy in Russian heritage speakers: Those speakers who knew more basic words from a list of 200 items exhibited better control of agreement, case markers, and subordination in spontaneous speech. Similarly, in her thesis study, Hulsen (2000) investigated Dutch heritage speakers in Australia in their lexical retrieval of nouns and found accuracy level of lexical retrieval by second generation Dutch speakers was significantly lower than that of first generation speakers in Australia and the native-speaker control group in the Netherlands.

Commonly studied speaker of heritage languages (e.g., Spanish, Portuguese, Russian and Korean) have been shown to differ from their monolingual peers in their

heritage language competence in various morphological and syntactic areas due to the flexible word order and grammatical relations established by nominal and verbal morphology. This also applies to Turkish grammar, which will be explained below. In the nominal domain, heritage speakers seem to show high error rates in the production of gender, case marking and number. Monolingual Russian and Spanish-speaking children control gender marking by age 4 or earlier with almost 100% accuracy (with the exception of most irregular, less frequent, and marked forms), while heritage speakers display very high error rates with gender marking (ranging from 5% to 25% accuracy) (Montrul et al., 2008 for Spanish; Polinsky, 2008a for Russian). In her study, Polinsky (2008a) reported that the neuter and feminine genders are the most affected areas in heritage speakers and found that higher-proficiency heritage speakers of Russian had a three-way gender system compared to lower-proficiency speakers who had a two-way distinction: only masculine and feminine, and no neuter. Similarly, Montrul et al. (2008) found that Spanish heritage speakers made gender errors where they made simplification of marked forms and overextended the use of the default marking.

In the nominal morphology, heritage language speakers also encounter problems with case marking. Polinsky (2006, 2008b) observed a reduced case system and problems with case and aspect a wide range of areas in production among low-proficiency heritage Russian speakers in the USA, some of whom only used the structural cases, others only the most unmarked case. Russian is a language with six-way distinction in nouns: nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, oblique, and genitive. Compared to six case markings in the native speaker Russian, in these studies heritage speakers have been shown to use only two cases: nominative and accusative by replacing dative case by accusative, and accusative case by nominative.

Song et al. (1997) investigated case marking and word order among Korean heritage speakers and their monolingual peers. Although nominative and accusative case markers are typically dropped in Korean, monolingual children and adults gain full control of the case system, including the discourse-pragmatic conditions under which case markers can be dropped or retained. It was found that while 5- to 8-year-old monolingual Korean children were 86% accurate at comprehending OVS sentences in Korean with nominative and accusative case markers, 5- to 8-year-old Korean heritage speakers performed at less than 34% accuracy. They tended to interpret OVS sentences as SOV sentences, ignoring the case markers. Montrul and Bowles (2009) also reported on Spanish heritage speakers who omit of case markers and retain a more fixed SVO nominative-accusative order. Similarly, Montrul (2010) found that Spanish heritage speakers accepted and comprehended SVO sentences accurately; however, they were much less accurate with sentences with preverbal objects. It was also found that heritage speakers are more likely to overuse overt subjects in topic shift and switch reference contexts where null subjects would be pragmatically more appropriate (Montrul, 2004 for Spanish; Polinsky, 2006 for Russian).

The relevance of case marking to incomplete heritage language grammars was also studied in Arabic. Benmamoun et al. (2008) investigated productive control of agreement patterns in noun phrases in heritage speakers of Egyptian Arabic, heritage speakers of Palestinian-Jordanian Arabic, and native speakers of the two dialects in spontaneous oral production and elicited oral production tasks, and found that the native speakers performed at 99–100% accuracy; but the heritage speakers produced

up to 30% error rates with some words. Arabic has a very complex system of gender and plural morphology where different endings mark masculine and feminine plural nouns and adjectives as well as nouns for people (human) and nouns for things (nonhuman). The most frequent ending is the feminine human ending -aat, and the masculine human ending is -uun/-iin (mudarris "teacher," mudarrisun "teachers"), but there are numerous exceptions to these patterns. Arabic also has the broken plural: a productive process involving a change of root rather than simply suffixation as in kitaab "book" becoming -kutub "books" and film "film" becoming -aflaam "films." Benmamoun et al. (2008) found that the heritage speakers produced up to 30% error rates with some words compared to the native speakers with 99–100% accuracy. They also used wrong patterns with broken plurals and made similar errors as monolingual Arabic children in the early stages of language development where they overgeneralised the use of the plural feminine suffix -aat to masculine contexts.

In addition to the problems in nominal morphology, heritage language speakers have also been found to experience problems with verbal morphology. Montrul (2002) and Polinsky (2007) have investigated tense, aspect and modality in Spanish and Russian respectively and found that heritage speakers of these languages seem to use regular forms of the present and past tenses correctly but confuse aspectual distinctions between perfective and imperfective forms. Montrul (2007) also reports a poor command of the subjunctive mood (in both present and past) by Spanish heritage speakers in production and in comprehension. Similarly, Brazilian Portuguese heritage speakers do not develop knowledge of inflected infinitives which is learned at school by exposure to written registers (Rothman, 2007).

It is also argued that as a result of incomplete mastery of inflectional morphology, heritage speakers exhibit problems in their syntactic knowledge too. For instance, Montrul (2010a) argues that a poor mastery of case-agreement morphology and a non-flexible word order in heritage language grammars result in problems with the basic clause structure and pronominal reference and lead to an overuse of null and over subjects in null subject languages. In a similar line, Montrul (2010b) also reports that Spanish heritage speakers accepted and comprehended SVO sentences more accurately than sentences with preverbal objects. Moreover, in Spanish, Russian and Arabic where null and overt pronouns are grammatical and discourse-pragmatic features such as topic continuation, topic shift, or switch reference govern the distribution of null and overt subjects, heritage speakers of these languages have been found with a tendency to overuse overt subjects in topic shift and switch reference contexts where null subjects would be pragmatically more appropriate (Albirini et al, 2011; Montrul, 2004; Polinsky, 2007).

Studies have also shown that heritage language grammars show vulnerability in syntactic dependencies especially in complex structures such as relative clauses and passives. Polinsky (2009) reported at a conference presentation that when compared to monolingual Russian control group, English-dominant heritage speakers of Russian had problems with passives and demonstrated significantly lower accuracy rates when they were asked to match active/passive constructions to pictures. With respect to long-distance dependencies, various studies found problems in relativisation and pronominal reference within and beyond the sentence such as reflexive pronouns (anaphors like English *himself*). Kim et al. (2009) looked at long-distance preferences among adult Korean heritage speakers. In Korean, there are three reflexives: (1) *caki*,

which is subject oriented and prefers long-distance antecedents beyond the clause; (2) *casin*, which can take local or long-distance antecedents; and (3) *caki-casin*, which requires a local antecedent within the clause. Kim et al. (2009) found that Korean heritage speakers' interpretation of long-distance relations differed significantly from that of monolingual Korean speakers, in which heritage speakers preferred local binding for *caki* and treated *casin* and *caki-casin* indistinguishably, as if they had a two-anaphor system.

Similarly, relative clauses and filler-gap dependencies (O'Grady et al., 2001; Polinsky, 2011) were investigated in Korean and Russian; it was found that heritage speakers performed better in subject relative clauses than object relative clauses in comprehension and production tests, but overall they performed worse than monolinguals in both tests. For instance, Polinsky (2008c, 2011) investigated Russian heritage speakers' comprehension of subject and object relative clauses. O'Grady et al. (2001) looked at the acquisition of subject and object relative clauses by heritage and non-heritage learners. Lee-Ellis (2011) studied the factors effecting the relative clause production among Korean heritage speakers (e.g., gap position, animacy, and topicality). In all these studies, both Russian and Korean heritage speakers performed significantly better with subject relative clauses then object relative clauses. Thus, in relativisation, there is an advantage for subject relative clauses as opposed to non-subject relative clauses in heritage language grammars, as in many languages of the world (Montrul, 2011). This generalised subject relative clause preference is arguably connected to the general formation order of relative clauses captured in the accessibility hierarchy by Keenan and Comrie (1977), (i.e., subject is the highest in the hierarchy, thus is easier to access and relativise than other grammatical functions lower in the hierarchy).

1.2. Key Theoretical Approaches to Heritage Language Acquisition

As discussed above, in the last two decades, the number of studies scrutinising the linguistic competence of heritage speakers around the world has increased rapidly. According to Albirini et al. (2011), heritage speakers do not fit within the traditional L1-versus-second-language (L2) dichotomy either since they are exposed to their home language as L1 in early childhood while this exposure to L1 gets interrupted and limited in its scope and domain, and they become bilinguals when they start school in the majority language at around ages 3-4 onwards.

For instance, Montrul (2008, 2010), referring in part to a formal generative framework, relates this linguistic variability in the competence of heritage speakers to the "hybrid" nature of the heritage language acquisition which combines features of child L1 (guided by UG) and adult L2 acquisition (no access to UG), but goes on to propose that the outcome may be due to a variable amount of input and language use triggered by socio-affective factors such as motivation, identity, the prestige of home language within the larger society, availability of education in the home language, availability of L1 community to use the language, and peer pressure. While acknowledging that the affect of such factors is not fully understood on the linguistic outcome of heritage language situations, Montrul (2008, p.126) develops " The Weaker Language as L1 Hypothesis" which predicts that the development of the weaker language in bilinguals may lag behind due to insufficient exposure to input and use; however, it is acquired "as a first language, through the same cognitive and linguistic means used to acquire the stronger language available in early childhood." In

Montrul's hypothesis, a linguistic feature-based proposal is offered to account for the areas of grammar that are likely to be affected which are uninterpretable formal features at the morphology-syntax interface (an internal interface) as well as the syntax-discourse interface (an external interface), as is the case in L1 attrition and L2 fossilisation. This hypothesis is offered as a response to Schlyter's (1993) "Weaker Language as L2 Hypothesis", according to which the weaker language acquired by early bilinguals (e.g., heritage speakers) develops as would an L2 in contexts of late acquisition. However, Montrul's proposal goes beyond feature-based accounts by also referring to Ullman's (2001) Declarative/Procedural Model, which, broadly speaking, places grammatical knowledge to procedural memory. Montrul (2008), then, predicts that heritage speakers acquire the knowledge of core phonology and morphosyntax (which emerges very early in childhood) through procedural-based access to UG while context-dependent features of language, acquired procedurally after the age of 5 by monolingual children, and reinforced through reading and schooling may be missed or get incompletely acquired as a result of insufficient input received in late childhood.

In a similar vein, by addressing Spanish heritage speakers from an assimilationist community[2] perspective, Bolger and Zapata (2011) argue that the most affected level of language seems to be the syntactic structures at the semantic/pragmatic domain. Bolger and Zapata (2011) also refer to Ullman's (2001) Declarative/Procedural Model, by proposing that lexical knowledge is more vulnerable in that it is stored in declarative memory, and making it more susceptible to the relative frequencies of its overall membership. Thus, according to Bolger and Zapata (2011), in the case of inhibition of L1 acquisition in early years of development, various necessary syntactic structures may have not been in place before procedural memory starts to mature for more efficient processing, and consequently, declining plasticity.

The weaker language as L1 account (Bolger and Zapata, 2011; Montrul, 2008) view the variability in the linguistic outcomes for heritage speakers from a quantitative perspective based on language use. The overall aim is to provide an explanation to the nature of linguistic variability for late acquired grammatical features among heritage speakers by addressing the source of linguistic knowledge from a descriptive perspective on the surface level. However, there remains the question of how different types of grammatical information interact with each other for core or late acquired grammatical structures, and how they are operationalised in the cognitive system of heritage speakers in a way that may lead to either complete or incomplete acquisition throughout their language development process.

Following the arguments on socio-affective factors in previous heritage language studies, He (2010) also proposes that heritage language development is affected by heritage speakers' multiple speech environments in various settings which are motivated and adjusted by different goals and factors like identity, motivation to use either of the languages in their social context (seemingly parallel to what is argued to be affecting variability as addressed in L2 mainstream research; e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1982; Dörnyei & Shekan, 2008). Heritage speakers begin to switch to the majority language when they realise their home language is not valued as the majority

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[2] The term assimilationist community refers to a society where conformity to the dominant culture (i.e., language, customs) is expected and highly valued. (see Bolger & Zapata, 2011; Jeon, 2008)

language in the community, which results in a decrease in the use of their home language leading to the lack of will to seek more input and to use the heritage language, which eventually results in a weaker linguistic competence in their heritage language.

Different from an emphasis on the weaker language, O'Grady et al. (2011) propose an emergentist approach addressing the interaction between language processor and various non-grammatical factors, and argue that changes in the phonetic composition and difficulty in spotting the semantic functions may cause heritage speakers to have problems in mapping form-meaning connections. In the emergentist view (MacWhinney, 2001) language emerges from the interaction of various non-grammatical factors, such as processing and working memory, perception and physiology, general conceptual capacities and social interaction. The processor is responsible for strengthening form-meaning mappings made available to it by other cognitive systems. O'Grady et al. (2011) specifically investigated the scopal patterns by Korean heritage speakers, including children and adults who were raised in Korean speaking homes in the United States, from the perspective of input-related factors such as salience, frequency, and transparency and the establishment and strengthening of form-meaning mappings at word and morpheme levels. According to their findings, it is argued that the phenomena that are likely to be non-acquired are the ones whose form-meaning mappings are problematic to the processor, due to the acoustically compromised phonetic profile of the form or the difficulty of recognising their precise semantic function and that the high-frequency of instantiations in the input is required for the acquisition of such mappings. Lack of high-frequency exposure to those mappings in the input may lead to non-acquisition of such features in the case of heritage language acquisition.

Another input-related approach is suggested by O'Grady and Lee (2011) who investigated a number of representative phenomena such as case, differential object marking and disjunction among Korean heritage speakers and monolinguals. In addressing the differences in the competence of heritage speakers and monolinguals, O'Grady and Lee (2011) assume that the problems with form-meaning mappings are likely to occur when the form has low perceptual salience or the corresponding meaning is clouded by contextual indeterminacy, confounds with other potential contrasts. O'Grady and Lee (2011) focus on the qualitative difference in the input available to each group and propose an 'activation and strengthening' hypothesis: acquisition takes place as particular form-meaning mappings are activated in response to unambivalent instantiations in the input.

This mapping is strengthened and maintained through continual instances for activation in comprehension and production. For heritage speakers, then, the restricted amount of input compared to monolinguals may account for the difficulties encountered in non-optimal mappings, which is generally due to the complex nature of the mapping. Thus, it is argued in the emergentist approach that the processor may fail to establish particular mappings and mechanisms as a result of the dramatic decline in the amount of input, leading to various morphosyntactic variations in terms of linguistic competence, including the difficulties that have been discussed above. The amount of exposure varies due to family and other sociolinguistic factors, which is similar to the case of L2 learners' exposure to input varying according to the time they spend inside and outside the classroom using their L2. In most places, heritage

speakers' L1 input declines significantly at early years in development when these speakers start formal schooling such as kindergarden or daycare centres where they are educated in the majority language.

As stated above, research has also addressed the quality of input heritage speakers are exposed to. After examining a number of previous Portuguese heritage language acquisition studies in the USA and Europe as well their own data, Rothman (2007) and Pires and Rothman (2009) propose *Missing-Input Competence Divergence Hypothesis* (MICD) to explain the state of heritage language acquisition which is the result of child heritage bilingual language acquisition that is comparatively different from 'normal' monolingual acquisition when input does not provide the necessary primary linguistic data (PLD) and misses specific linguistic structures for "full" convergence of the properties of the monolingual dialects being examined. Therefore, insufficiency of input from a non-standard dialect can effectively cause heritage speakers to show systematic mismatches in their adult knowledge of the heritage language grammar (Rothman, 2007; Pires and Rothman, 2009). The dialectical variability found in the source of input heritage speakers are exposed to can be responsible for linguistic outcomes of heritage language acquisition, which is also know as cross-generational attrition, as suggested by Sorace (2004, 2005), Cabo and Rothman (2012), Keating et al. (2011) and Montrul (2011) for Spanish heritage speakers in the United States, and by Polinsky (2011) for Russian in the United States.

Overall, these studies have greatly contributed to our understanding of varying levels of linguistic abilities among heritage language speakers and are highly relevant to heritage language acquisition research. In what follows, the fact that Turkish is indeed becoming a heritage language in Europe will be discussed thought the situation in Germany based on the linguistic outcomes of immigration and social integration.

2. Turkish as a Heritage Language in Germany

The current situation of Turkish language within Western Europe in particular is an outcome of an immigration process which started about five decades ago. A brief account of the pattern of Turkish immigration to Germany presented in this chapter will set an example to make it clear how the process of societal integration, opportunities and lack of language use and education have created the identity and language of the current generation of Turkish community in Germany and in the wider context of Europe.

Briefly, the first generation Turks in Germany were adults who completed their education - generally at a low level - in Turkey and migrated to Germany as workers (Backus, 2004; Beck, 1999). Their children, the second generation, were either born in Germany or brought to Germany at a very young age into a family who knew little or no German. They were educated in Germany and had mother-tongue education besides mainstream German education (Gogolin, 2005; Hackett, 2011). The third generation were born in Germany into the second generation Turkish families who generally knew German. This last generation is exposed to German at a very young age within the family and as a result of schooling which starts as early as age 3-4 with kindergarden (Pfaff, 2011).

2.1 Turkish Immigration to Germany

The history of Turkish immigration to Germany is well documented. Soysal (2008) reports that Turkish migration to Germany started as the first Turkish workers

or "guestworkers (gastarbeiter)" left their country for Germany, in accordance with the signing of bilateral agreements between Turkey and Germany in 1961, by which Germany brought Turkish workers to boost up the economic growth after the World War II. While only a small number of these guestworkers were highly educated such as political refugees, the rest of the early Turkish population were mainly male workers with no or little vocational training who either came from rural parts from all around Turkey, or from "gecekondu" squatter districts that were illegally constructed around big cities in the west part of Turkey, which was itself a product of an internal migration process (Abadan-Unat, 1985; Kıray, 1976).

By 1973, during the economic recession caused by the Oil Crisis, the German government decided to stop recruitment of new migrant workers and made it more difficult to get a working permission (Soysal, 2008). This choice led immigrant workers to decide to settle in Germany and increased the number of those sending for their families and reunite with them by The Family Reunification Act of 1972 (Auernheimer, 2006; Ross, 2009; Yurdakul & Bodemann, 2006). This also changed the composition of the Turkish population from a community of mostly male workers to a population with women and children, and resulted in a rapid increase of the immigrant population. However, many Turkish women were poorly prepared for a life in Germany. They often came with no qualifications, no language skills and sometimes even illiterate, which eventually isolated these women from the German society (Orendt, 2010).

Initially the German governments aimed to benefit from cheap labour and expected the guestworkers to go back their countries when the labour shortage was over. Due to this initial expectation of guestworker, German governments did not put any effort in integration policies and it took 10 years for policy makers to respond to the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity (Faas, 2008; Orendt, 2010, Zawilska-Florczuk, 2010). According to Gaebel (2011) and Schaefer (2005), the experience of Turks in Germany is a "failed" process of integration. It is argued that this type of early treatments to the immigrants have lead to a continuous problematic process of immigrant integration in Germany, which extends to today (Gaebel, 2011; Kaya, 2011; Orendt, 2010; Schaefer, 2005). Hoff (2011) reports that Turks are the minority community that "attract the most resentment" and that they were generally employed in the dirtiest jobs and remained "invisible to society at large" in the early years of immigration. It was one of Germany's top investigative journalists Günter Wallraff in the 1980s, who adopted the identity of Ali Levent, a Turkish guest worker, and spent two years undercover, personally experiencing the difficult life of immigrants in Germany. Wallraff exposed the shocking examples of discrimination and exploitation of Turkish workers in his best selling book called "*Ganz unten*" (*Lowest of the Low,* Wallraff, 1988), which sold three million copies in the first three years, changed the way the German nation looked at the Turkish community, and also confronted the unacceptable conditions this workforce had been subjected to since its arrival in the 1950s.

In the last 50 years, immigration and citizenship policies have changed in a positive way and many Turks have achieved educational and professional success (Schaefer, 2005; Wegmann, 2012). Today, statistics show that with a population of almost 3 million people, Turks are Germany's largest community that has a migration background (Destatis 2009, quoted after Pfaff, 2011); however, studies also show that

among all immigrant communities in Germany they still come last in literacy, education, living standards and employment (Gaebel, 2011; Orendt, 2010; Özcan, 2004; Song, 2011)

2.2. Language Education of Turkish Immigrants

As the politicians and authorities both in the federal level and central government level seemed to avoid the fact that Germany was becoming a country of immigration, immigrants including Turks also faced problems in Germany's school system as well as in the social and financial life (Beck, 1999; Castles, 1980; Schaefer, 2005). Orendt (2010) notes that due to the unsuccessful integration policies and changes in the economy, many low skilled Turks became unemployed and their children had to grow up in an environment which did not prepare them for the public schools. Moreover, schools themselves did not expect or desire a large number of foreign children and thus were not prepared in advance to support these children (Castles, 1980).

In the early years it was not even clear whether schooling should be compulsory for the children of Turkish guestworkers because the general expectation was that they were temporarily in Germany (Beck, 1999). Interestingly, as Lucassen (2005) reports, Turkish parents were not concerned about the education of their children in the German education system either because their intention was also to return to Turkey. Besides, education in Germany lacked a fully centralised accountability and clear national integration policy as each state was able to implement the type of policy it preferred, which also created an unclear future for the guestworkers (Castles, 1980; Hackett, 2011).

Ausländerpädagogik (foreigner pedagogy)	Interkulturelle Erziehung (multicultural education)	Antirassistische Erziehung (antiracist education)	Kulturübergreifende Erziehung (cross-cultural education)
Mainly 1960s to 1970s	Since 1980s	Since 1980s	Since 1990s
Monocultural education, assimilative, deficit-oriented approach	Multicultural education, integrationist/pluralist approaches	Anti-racist education (linked with *Interkulturelle Erziehung*)	Potentially Eurocentric education, broadly conservative approach
Politicians, teachers and parents are unsure whether or not 'guest workers' would return to their country of origin	Minority ethnic people should be allowed to maintain their mother tongue and cultural heritage	Minority ethnic people have to struggle for racial justice and have to defend themselves against racial discrimination	Non-European people have to struggle for equality and have to defend themselves against discrimination
Provision of single or group tuition to help children with language 'problems' (e.g. *Deutschförderkurse*, *Vorbereitungsklassen*)	Attempts to establish cultural identity; provision of mother-tongue alphabetisation; teaching of all major and locally represented religions	Teaching an awareness and understanding of the 'racist' structure of German society (e.g. laws, institutions), cf. multicultural education	Quarrel about teaching and contents: focus on EU countries and values versus integration of non-European cultures and religions

Figure 2: Educational responses to migration-related diversity in Germany (Hoff, 1995 as cited in Fass, 2008, p.113).

Figure 2 summarises this gradual shift from a German-only assimilative education to a more integrative multicultural education. Attending the German school was made compulsory for guestworker children only after 1964 and special measures were taken to deal with the problems of foreign children (Castles, 1980; Fass, 2008). In this early period, policies reflected the nation's definition of citizenship, and were used as key mechanisms for assimilating guestworker children into a monocultural construction of German citizenship with no consideration of integrating cultural and ethnic differences within the concept of national identity (Fass, 2008, Gaebel, 2011). That is why, these policies were characterised as "dual strategy" of assimilation towards immigrants by which schools assimilated children into German culture and prepared them for returning back to their home countries (Beck, 1999; Castles, 1980). Fass (2008) notes that this assimilationist model was called "foreigner policy" (Ausländerpädagogik), which was similar to that of special needs education for disabled children by which schools could have separated classrooms for immigrants whose *disability* was not being German and not being able to speak German and thus not being able to follow the German educational system. However, as Castles (1980, 2004) explains, this policy was put into action in different ways in various states. For example, in the Bavarian State, there were separate national classes for immigrants, while in other states there were intensive preparatory classes in German as well as mother tongue classes and religious instruction (Beck, 1999; Castles, 1980, 2004).

Lucassen (2005) asserts that the expectation that immigrant Turks would return to Turkey changed in the 1980s when it was realised that their long term future was going to be in Germany. Moreover, the deficit-oriented and assimilationist policies of foreigner pedagogy and inadequate official measures were evaded by the politicians as they were leading to serious educational problems by the 1980s (Castles, 2004, Gaebel, 2011). According to Castles (2004), two main interconnected problems were that (a) many foreign students did not regularly attend the school or went to school for only a few years due to negative experience; (b) they were mostly in the Hauptschule which did not lead to higher education, and could not proceed to the Realschule or the Gymnasium that would enable them to study at universities or gain high-level vocational training; and thus most of them left education with no qualifications with which they would have further education or apprenticeships in areas likely to provide good future employment. In the 1980s and 1990s, a type of multicultural education developed in Germany, was introduced to schools in many parts of the country to improve the situation of immigrant students (Fass, 2008; Castles, 2004), and "to prepare them for a life in a culturally diverse society; try to establish cultural identity; to guarantee mother-tongue teaching; and modify curricula towards a multicultural representation of values" (Hoff, 1995 as cited in Faas, 2008, p. 110).

Since the 1990s, the educational achievement rates of Turkish children with an immigrant background have improved; nonetheless, recent studies show that Turkish children and adolescents have much lower rates of educational success in literacy, maths and science and are still underrepresented in higher education and vocational training compared to native Germans or Italian, Greek or Russian immigrant children (Kalter et al., 2007; Lucassen, 2005; Pfaff; 2011; Söhn and Özcan, 2006, Wegmann, 2012).

This is due to a complex and decentralised system of integration in the last 50 years which has also had an impact on the survival of the Turkish language from the first generation immigrants to the second and third generation Turks in Germany. Pfaff

(2012) acknowledges the high "ethnolinguistic vitality" of Turkish language in Germany throughout this period while asserting the fact that it has also undergone changes in comparison to the variety of Turkish spoken and written in Turkey partially due to inconsistent and changing educational policies.

There were mainly three types of measures taken for mother-tongue teaching since the 1960s till the end of the 1980s which varied from one state to another (Beck, 1999; Gogolin, 2005; Hackett, 2011). These were, (a) supplementary teaching of the native language as a voluntary option for immigrant children attending mainstream classes; (b) 'mother tongue teaching' in place of the first or second obligatory foreign language (usually English or French); and (c) 'mother tongue' as a subject and as language of instruction in reception classes for pupils of the same nationality (Gogolin, 2005, p.136). As mentioned above, each state was able to apply different educational policies. For example, in the Bavarian State, mother-tongue languages were taught as it was thought to be difficult for immigrants to integrate into German schools (Hackett, 2011). The ministry of culture in the Bavarian State structured a 'bilingual' programme, in which foreign children were placed in 'national classes' and taught in their native language while German was taught as their first foreign language (Beck, 1999).

In Berlin and Bremen, however, children were prepared for a future in Germany through integration and thus were required to enter normal German school classes. Until they were able to enter a normal class, the schools placed immigrant children in special courses and provided them with intensive preparatory classes intended to develop their German skills (Beck, 1999; Castles, 1980). In other states a combined model was used to promote both German and mother tongue languages (Beck, 1999; Hackett, 2011). For instance, while in Krefeld and the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, German and non-German children were separated for some subjects and brought back together for other subjects, in Lower Saxony and Baden-Württemberg, immigrant children were allowed to choose their mother tongue as their first foreign language in schools (Beck, 1999; Hackett, 2011).

These programmes faced many problems had to be abolished due to poor organisation, no official recognition as a regular school and allowing a further separation between immigrant children and native German children (Beck, 1999; Gogolin, 2005; Luchtenberg, 2010). However, not all bilingual programmes had to share the same end. There was a successful bilingual programme developed in Berlin in the 1990s and thus called the "Berlin model." In this model, students are assigned to two different groups for language learning and different subjects (Gogolin, 2005; Luchtenberg, 2010). While early literacy education is in the mother tongue for each group, they are also introduced to the other language (the partner language) separately in an equal number of hours, so they learn some subject in the non-German partner language - only mathematics is taught in German to all students (Gogolin, 2005).

Although there seems to be a resemblance in the mother tongue education of previous bilingual education policies and "Berlin model", Pfaff (2011) highlights that the latter is a "two-way" bilingual education program that focuses on a better social integration in the socially diverse society, better integration into the German economy, and successful educational and economic integration within and beyond the European Union. Similar bilingual models have been developed in other states too - there are twenty-six schools in Berlin, six schools in Hamburg and single schools in other large cities (Ellis et al., 2010; Gogolin, 2005; Luchtenberg, 2010). However, because there is

not any centralised system to monitor and check immigrant languages and educational policies regarding immigrant languages across Germany, immigrant children may not be universally guaranteed to access initial education in their first language across each and every federal state of Germany.

2.3. Linguistic Outcomes in L1 Turkish

In this section I turn to some linguistic studies that have been done on the Turkish language in Germany. One should bear in mind that these studies have not been done within the mainstream framework of heritage language research; thus, the elements of the Turkish contexts that are commonly observed in the wider heritage language studies will be addressed in the discussion.

Although Turks are the largest group of immigrants in Germany, there is rather limited amount of reliable data on issues such as proficiency levels in Turkish, degree of multilingualism, language attitudes, language shift, language attrition within the Turkish community as a whole (Haig and Braun, 1999). One of the earliest sets of data on the Turkish language in Germany comes from projects carried out by a group of researchers including Pfaff on Turkish children in Berlin from 1978 till early 90s, where their language development was investigated from the age of 2 till the age of 12.

Pfaff (1993) noted that Turkish children acquired Turkish and German sequentially rather than simultaneously despite regular input in both languages, and that some were "Turkish dominant" while others were "German dominant. In the same study, Pfaff (1993) investigated the acquisition of Turkish by "Turkish dominant" immigrant children and found that their process of acquiring Turkish was almost the same as monolingual language acquisition and that the inflectional morphology was "virtually indistinguishable" from that of their monolingual peers. Even the German-dominant children did not make errors apart from very few errors in case marking (up to 10-15 % maximum) and subject-verb agreement (up to 5% maximum) (Pfaff, 1993, 1994). Another issue that is highlighted in Pfaff's studies is that the more competent the Turkish children were in German, the more frequently they code-switched between Turkish and German (Pfaff, 1994, 1997, 1999).

However, one must entertain the results of these projects with caution before making any generalisations, in that the sociolinguistic situation in Berlin is not necessarily a phenomenon that can be seen across Germany. Besides being Germany's capital city, Berlin also accommodates the largest population of Turks with an immigrant background in areas of very high density of Turkish people (Hottmann, 2008). Haig and Braun (1999) note that the investigations in Pfaff's studies in Berlin was carried out in the areas with exceptionally high Turkish population density (50% of the children from 6 to 15 are Turkish), and thus the outcome of the acquisition process of Turkish may differ in other areas with a lower Turkish population. Besides, while acknowledging the similar acquisition patterns between monolinguals and bilingual Turks, Backus (2004) and Herkenrath (2012) assert that in the bilingual situation the balance of the two languages is likely to shift towards the majority language due to a dramatic decrease in the amount of Turkish input as bilingual children experience a German-dominant environment with the start of schools.

Studies also discovered some differences between the speech of bilingual Turkish immigrants and that of monolingual Turkish children. For instance, bilingual Turkish immigrants used overt subject pronouns more frequently (Pfaff, 1991, 1993);

while Turkish dominant children and monolingual children used non-finite verbs in adverbial clauses, German dominant children never used these forms or never acquired them in the first place (Pfaff, 1993); while Turkish dominant children over-marked possessive nouns, German dominant children were more likely to omit the possessive marker. In the syntactic domain, Sari (1994; as cited in Haig and Braun, 1999), found that subjects of nominalisations in subordinate clauses generally lacked genitive marking and that Turkish speakers who were raised in Germany used fewer subordinate structures than monolinguals in Turkey.

In a qualitative study, Herkenrath et al. (2003) investigated the innovative constructions of Turkish-German bilingual children that are not found in the data of the monolingual control group, with a particular focus on the non-interrogative wh-constructions as subordinators. While the non-interrogative wh-constructions as subordination in monolingual Turkish contain a verb with non-finite suffix (*-dik)* with possessive suffix (subject agreement) (e.g., Ahmet-in kutu-lar-i nasil tasi-dig-i-ni bil-mi-yor-um "*Ahmet-GEN box-PLU-ACC how carry-PART-POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRE-1SG*" = 'I do not know how Ahmet carried the boxes), Herkenrath et at. (2003) found that in such constructions in the bilingual Turkish, infiniteness in the subordinate clause was cancelled with no use of morphological suffixes such as nominalising, possessive or case marking on the verb. Similarly, Herkenrath (2012) presents the data from a case study of one Turkish-German bilingual girl to compare the use of subordinating constructions involving nominaliser '-dik' between monolingual Turkish children and Turkish-German bilingual children. As a whole, Herkenrath (2012) found that Turkish-German bilingual children were able to use and control '-dik' construction to a lesser degree than the monolingual children.

Treffers-Daller et al (2007) contribute to this discussion by a quantification-based analysis of complex embeddings (noun clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses), which were ranked according to their morphological complexity according to a previous framework (Özsoy and Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1989), in the speech of three different groups of Turkish-German bilinguals and one monolingual control group (average age of all groups on recording was 19.7). Treffers-Daller et al. (2007) found that young Turkish-German bilingual adults who were born and raised in Germany use fewer, and less complex embeddings than their monolingual peers who were born and lived in Turkey all their lives and Turkish-German bilingual returnees who had lived in Turkey for eight years at the time of recording. The results indicate that informants of the second generation "fail to acquire a number of aspects of Turkish grammar, and replace these with more analytical means of expression" (Treffers-Daller et al, 2007, p.271). Treffers-Daller at al (2011) refers to Verhoeven (2004, p.443) who identifies this situation as "a substantial erosion of the grammatical system of Turkish" as spoken in Germany, especially if the immigrant speakers of Turkish become the main source of input for the heritage speakers. Similarly, Backus (2004) notes that there is a tendency towards "the replacement of synthetic means of clause linkage and subordination (or at least their decreasing usage), especially of relative clauses, by simple juxtaposition" (p.715), as also demonstrated by Aarssen (1996) among Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, in Bayraktaroglu (1999) among Turkish-English bilinguals, and Akinci and Jisa (2000) among Turkish-French bilinguals.

A generally embedded question in these studies, which was addressed in the previous chapter as cross-generational attrition in heritage languages (Pires &

Rothman, 2009), is whether a new variety of Turkish has emerged in Germany and in Western Europe mostly as a result of contact with host languages (Backus, 2004, p.694). Although these studies provide examples of possible changes, there is a lack of systematic and linguistic theory based studies in the existing literature to account for the structural change these particular grammatical variables might have undergone (Backus, 2004; Herkenrath et al., 2003). Besides, Johanson (1999a, p.251) argues that it is too early to define any of these immigrant varieties in North-west Europe as a new variety of Turkish considering the very short history of Turkish in contact with European languages.

In the light of the available findings, Backhus (2004) notes that this variability in immigrant children's Turkish has not affected their core grammar that is acquired at early years of childhood. However, in a comparison with their monolingual peers in Turkey, Backus (2004, p.699) argues that "there may be more evidence of change in the speech of older children, partly because their more or less completed acquisition process allows the study of the peripheral and more complex elements of syntax, which may be more subject to external influence or imperfect acquisition, and partly because of the shift in dominance patterns, which make such phenomena progressively more likely." This position of separating the core grammatical structures from the complex elements of syntax in Turkish also conforms to the findings on the acquisition of Turkish in a monolingual setting and the influence of different contact languages on the varieties of Turkish spoken in Europe. Slobin (1977, 1982, 1986) and Aksu-Koc (1988, 1994, 2010) found that complex structures in Turkish such as relative clauses and complement clauses (e.g., nominalisation with -dik) do not appear until the age of 5 in a monolingual environment. Slobin (1977, p.194) also found that that speakers of Turkic languages who lived in contact with Indo-European languages often replaced the participle constructions used in the formation of complex structures (e.g., relative clauses) by more analytical forms, while keeping the Turkic inflectional morphology intact, and thus proposed that "forms which are late to be acquired by children are presumably also relatively difficult for adults to process, and should be especially vulnerable to change."

Overall, majority of Turkish children with an immigrant background in Germany descriptively differ from their monolingual peers in Turkey in their use of Turkish and fail to demonstrate the mastery of certain structures such as word-order, pro-drop, case marking and subordination which are also liberally used by their monolinguals peers. Two main factors have been highlighted to account for this type of linguistic outcome: the relative age of the acquisition of complex structures and the shift from dominant use of Turkish to dominant use of German due to schooling and other social factors at early ages. Speakers of Turkish living in Germany may have a limited exposure to quantitatively rich input and lack the meaningful context to test and use the language. However, there is a lack of empirical evidence to reach a structured conclusion that Turkish speakers in Germany (or in other parts of Western Europe) are systematically exposed a type of input that is more constrained in terms of linguistic richness and complexity than the monolingual variety of Turkish as spoken in Turkey.

Another issue in those immigrant Turkish studies is that comparing the linguistic competence of immigrant speakers with that of a control group (monolingual speakers) in terms of the use of a single grammatical form or a number of forms that

belong to one linguistic domain (e.g., nominal, verbal). Within this methodological perspective, a general accepted binary representational approach is that a grammatical phenomenon can only be regarded as acquired if it only looks like a predetermined definition of a representation elicited using certain methods. The monolingual competence is taken as this predetermined norm and immigrant speakers' competence is measured by accuracy rates showing how much they fail or achieve to use a given linguistic structure accurately. Although there is no so-called accuracy threshold to identify the success or failure in language acquisition - or completeness and incompleteness in that sense, the overall assumption is that if, for a given grammatical structure, the mean accuracy rate for a particular group of immigrant speakers is lower than that of the control group (the monolingual group), then the grammar of those speakers is assumed to be less developed or different. That is, heritage speakers' performance in various tasks and tests are measured against a predetermined target norm where only those accuracy rates that are equal to the control group's performance are regarded as an identification of the acquisition of a given grammatical structure. However, this assumption is not motivated by an acquisition theory and is left without providing a reliable theoretical explanation to account for the relationship between the accuracy rates and acquisition. Herkenrath (2012), for instance, investigated productive use of complex subordinating constructions in Turkish by Turkish-German bilinguals; however, there is no clear theoretical or linguistic account for what counts as productive or non-productive in her analysis apart from a quantitative analysis showing how many times the given grammatical structures were used in the data. In her analysis of the development of Turkish between Turkish-dominant and German-dominant children, Pfaff (1993) did not refer to incompleteness per se; however she employed accuracy rates of language proficiency while analysing the variation in morphosyntax between those two groups, which, as expected, demonstrated that Turkish-dominant children were more proficient than German-dominant children. However, given the very specific language acquisition experience of Turkish immigrants in Western Europe, these studies lack a formal explanation to account for issues seen in the acquisition or competence of these complex structures and how grammatical development may lead to a complete or *arrested* acquisition.

Conclusion

Today Turkish is one of the most largely used immigrant languages in Western Europe. It is evident from the studies discussed above that the Turkish language used by the current generation is not the same as the one used by the first generation of Turks who arrived in Europe about six decades ago, and has undergone varying but not systematic degrees of change observed across different domains of grammar. It is not a "heritage" in its literal sense, but as Backus (2015) puts, "it is becoming more and more [of] a heritage language". It is empirically too early too call it a new dialect of Turkish; however, the scientific approach used to scrutinise this newly emerging Turkish, the outcome of immigration and integration, seems to need a paradigm shift from the conventional research framework of bilingualism too. The existing linguistic status of immigrant Turkish in Western Europe portrays largely the characteristics of heritage language as discussed above. In this vein, the theoretical perspective offered in heritage language research, which may provide a better understanding of the relationship between the role of input and language development in this particular

context, has the potential to help us understand the phenomena occurring in the immigrant Turkish better, and provide solutions to maintain the language across generations.

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