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EXPLORING LANGUAGE ANXIETY AMONG TURKISH HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNERS IN GERMANY

Summary. Heritage language speakers may feel anxiety about using their heritage language in different settings due to monolingual ideologies, family attitudes, language proficiency, and many other factors. However, the experience of those enrolling in heritage language classes has yet to be known in detail. This study examined heritage language anxiety (HLA) toward speaking skills among Turkish heritage language learners (HLLs). A descriptive design was used to seek the HLA level and its relations with various variables such as the home language, communicative language with friends, self-perceived proficiency, age, gender, grade level, birthplaces of children and parents, age of acquisition (AoA), book-reading and movie-watching languages. Three hundred and three school-age bilingual Turkish children in Germany participated in the study. The results demonstrated that the HLA level of the target group was low. In addition, in-class HLA was significantly higher than out-of-class. Moreover, HLA levels significantly differed in terms of the father's birthplace, the communicative language with friends, self-perceived proficiency, and the movie-watching language. Despite evident differences regarding the book-reading language and birthplace of the mother, these were not statistically significant. Also, no relationship was observed between HLA and some variables: Age, grade level, and AoA. This initial study attempted to comprehend the complex patterns behind the language anxiety concept in the context of Turkish immigrants in Germany and heritage language education (HLE). In conclusion, interaction via heritage language (HL) and access to HLE may contribute to reducing HLA. However, paradoxically, while HLE may alleviate general HLA, it may cause more in-class anxiety due to sociocultural and pedagogical factors.

Keywords: bilingualism; heritage language anxiety; Turkish as a heritage language; heritage language education; Turkish immigrants in Germany.

Introduction

Language anxiety, examined primarily in the field of second and foreign language (FL) teaching, is defined as “the apprehension experienced when a situation requires the use of a second language with which the individual is not fully proficient” (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, p. 5). It can be called communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation, which is more than test anxiety (Horwitz, 2010). This complex affective trait can be impinged

by personality, age, academic achievement, expectations, and perceptions of self-worth or proficiency (Dewaele, 2002; Onwuegbuzie et al., 1999). In the language education context, students tend to react nervously while speaking, writing, reading, and listening (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993). Speaking skills, particularly, have been intensely under debate since Horwitz et al. (1986) developed the foreign language classroom anxiety scale (FLCAS). These skills lead to the most acute anxiety for FL learners, whether performed at the desk or in front of the class (Cheng et al., 1999; Horwitz et al., 1986; Young, 1990).

In recent literature, another kind of anxiety toward using an HL has been studied in the context of Chinese, Korean, Spanish, and Turkish heritage speakers, and it is called HLA (Jee, 2016, 2020; Prada et al., 2020; Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018; Tallon, 2009; Xiao & Wong, 2014). HLA is an undesirable affective state experienced by heritage language speakers (HLS), who are bilingual individuals having some proficiency in both the majority language (ML) and HL spoken in the home (Valdés, 2001; Sevinç, 2020). HLSs' relationship with their HL is far more affective, and emotions play a critical role in their acquisition and maintenance (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Thereby, having a positive feeling toward HL is vital to be competent in it. While positive attitudes, interaction possibilities, and literacy activities can construct a strong proficiency in HL and belonging sense, HLSs face a risk of being insecure in HL and disclaiming its legacy because of several factors such as family members' approaches (Fishman, 2006; Te Huia, 2017). Grandparents, for instance, may play a critical role in identity construction and the affective development process of HLS (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015); however, they may increase HLA by behaving to the grandchild like they are insufficient in HL, which is problematic (Sevinç, 2020). In addition, inter-generational relations and particular linguistic identities of different HL generations should be considered (Hua & Wei, 2016). According to Sevinç and Dewaele (2018), third-generation immigrants experience high-level HLA just opposite to first or second-generation immigrants. Considering the choices and practices in the three different generations, the shift from L1 monolingualism to L1-dominant bilingualism and then L2-dominant bilingualism (Wei, 1994), the divergent experience of HLA among generations would be no longer astonishing.

As a result, whereas positive examples can contribute to the preservation of HL, some circumstances can hurt the emotional and linguistic development of children who speak HL and trigger HLA.

Furthermore, other factors such as sociocultural context, the host country's ideologies, attitudes, and education system can be related to the emotional well-being and HL maintenance of children with a minoritized language (Oriyama, 2011). In classroom settings, HLSs (immigrants or minoritized groups) are mostly deprived of using or learning their mother tongue for several reasons, which undermines sustainable multilingualism (Cummins, 2019). According to Gogolin et al. (2013), for example, 96% of classroom interactions were monolingual in German schools. These kinds of school systems repudiate HL and, thus, dismiss the child, which can devastate their well-being (Cummins, 2001). As a result, they have higher speaking and listening proficiency, conversely, low reading and writing proficiency in HL (Kagan & Dillon, 2008). In this manner, HLA is dissimilar from the assumption that speaking is the skill most worried about in the educational and skill-based context (Jee, 2016; Tallon, 2009; Xiao & Wong, 2014). According to the just cited studies, while HLSs have low-level anxiety in natural language skills (speaking and listening), they are inclined to feel anxious about reading and mainly writing. Although attending HL classes may increase HL proficiency in fundamental skills and decrease HLA (Aksu, 2021), just a small group of children has an opportunity to continue these lessons (Yıldız, 2020).

Context

Since the workforce agreement signed between Türkiye and Germany in 1961, the third and fourth generations have grown in Germany. According to predictions about school-age children, approximately 800.000 individuals of Turkish descent reside in this country (Yıldız, 2020). This group, which we can consider third and next-generation immigrants, mainly uses their HL (Turkish) only at home and with their immediate surroundings in their personal domain. On the other hand, they are exposed to ML in the educational, occupational, and public milieus. Also, this group has a multilingual home including both languages (Yıldız, 2012). These children differ from their monolingual peers in

terms of linguistic performance, and their dominant language starts to shift from their home language to the majority language after receiving formal education (Bayram et al., 2017). Although there are not enough empirical studies on the linguistic situation of this bilingual generation, a hybrid language with elements from both languages is used in their daily life, and the dominance of languages is changeable (Bican, 2017; Demirel, 2019).

In the scope of this study, we are interested in Turkish heritage language classes and Turkish students with a migration background in Germany. 89.000 children have been learning Turkish through Turkish Language and Culture (TLC) courses in Germany as an extracurricular activity (Yıldız et al., 2021). The course is taught by the teachers appointed by the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MoNE) to 29.096 students and the teachers appointed by local authorities to 59.904 students (Yıldız et al., 2021). The main goal of the course is to improve four basic language skills in Turkish (MoNE, 2018). Especially teaching reading and writing in HL is crucial for biliteracy and catching up with their monolingual peers (Bayram et al., 2017, 2018). Therefore, this educational environment supports the mother tongue acquisition process of children of Turkish descent (Karadağ & Baş, 2019).

Rationale and Research Questions

As cited in the previous sections, HLSs have been encountering internal and external pressures regarding their language choices. Considering the role of emotions in HL maintenance and the negative effects of HLA, we attempt to draw a general view of HLA among Turkish HLLs. Although many Turkish children reside and study in Germany, with monolingual school habitus, HLA has yet to be studied in the context of Turkish HLLs. Hence, this study initially aims to quantify the level of HLA in this particular group and evaluate it by considering their context.

At first glance, more studies are needed to investigate HLA that is experienced by HLSs (Tallon, 2011). Whereas the variables related to HLA are insufficiently known, this study explores possible-related variables to HLA, which can draw a roadmap for teachers, families, and researchers. For

instance, understanding the *home language* and *HLA* relationship can answer which family language policy can be followed at home to prevent HLA and to support children's affective state and HL development positively. Since several insights can be gained from these complex patterns behind HLA, this study intends to contribute to the literature in this respect.

Additionally, HLA is beyond in-class anxieties (Sevinç, 2020). Sociocultural variables occurring outside HL classroom are also crucial to better investigate the predicaments of HLSs associated with language anxiety (Xiao & Wong, 2014). Unlike previous studies, this study examines in-class and out-of-class HLA comparatively through the sub-dimensions of the data collection instrument. Thus, we discuss not only the educational aspect of HLA but also the socialization processes of HLLs (Chen et al., 2021), such as family and friend circles and exposure to the media. As a result, this study approaches HLA from a broader perspective and addresses the following questions:

1. What are the HLA levels of TLC course students in Germany?
2. Is there a significant difference between in-class and out-of-class HLA levels of TLC course students in Germany?
3. What background elements are related to the HLA levels of TLC course students in Germany?

Method

Participants

Since the study was conducted in collaboration with MoNE, we had to choose the states accepting MoNE as responsible for teaching Turkish in Germany. As shown in Table 1, the research sample was 303 bilingual Turkish students attending TLC courses offered in the MoNE's area of responsibility in Germany (Baden-Württemberg [BW], Bavaria [BY], Schleswig-Holstein [SH], Berlin [BE], Hamburg [HH], Lower Saxony [NI], and Bremen [HB]).

Table 1

Descriptive Information of Sample

Gender	Female						Male						
	N	165						138					
%	54.5						45.5						

Grade Level	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th	9 th	10 th	11 th	12 th	13 th
	N	39	48	46	33	36	34	39	8	10	2	3
%	12.9	15.8	15.2	10.9	11.9	11.2	12.9	2.6	3.3	0.7	1.0	1.7

AoA		M	\bar{X}	SD
	Turkish		1.65	1
German		3.21	3	2.137

State		BW	BY	SH	BE	HH	NI	HB
	N		199	19	25	31	19	5

We used simple random sampling in this research. All Turkish students participating in MoNE's classes were provided with the data collection tool, and responses were obtained in an equal, unbiased, and independent manner (Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). The distribution of the numbers of attendance was fewer in some states and after ninth-grade students, because the course was not as prevalent as in some places and higher grades (Yıldız, 2020; Yıldız et al., 2021).

Independent Variables

We selected independent variables based on the previous studies. Accordingly, the HLA levels were analyzed in terms of *age*, *gender*, and *grade level*, which is seen as associated with HLA (Aksu, 2021); *AoA*, which is essential for language dominance and use of bilinguals; the *birthplaces of students and their parents*, which makes differences in HL proficiency (Collins & Toppelberg, 2021); the *home language*, and the *communicative language with Turkish friends*, which is crucial regarding heritage language acquisition and competence for students with immigrant backgrounds (Biedinger et al., 2015); the *self-perceived proficiency*, which has a link between language anxiety and

proficiency perception (Botes et al., 2020; Jee, 2020); the *book-reading* and *movie-watching language*, which may affect language proficiency and skills (Scheele et al., 2010).

Instruments

All data were obtained from a personal information form designed for this study, including questions about the demographic information and the "Heritage Language Speaking Anxiety Scale for Bilingual Turkish Students Living Abroad," which is a Likert-type scale with 22 items regarding both in-class and out-of-class HLA developed by Ergüt and Baş (2021). This Turkish-German bilingual instrument was developed by utilizing relevant studies and scales, such as Horwitz et al. (1986), to measure HLA levels of Turkish children in Germany towards speaking Turkish in both educational and social environments. Therefore, it employed items regarding oral communication and production in the classroom and out of the school, such as communication with relatives in Turkey and/or Germany via HL. According to Ergüt and Baş (2021), scores between 1.00 and 1.66 indicate that the level of HLA is low in speaking skills. In the same manner, scores between 1.67 and 2.33 indicate "moderate level," and scores between 2.34 and 3.00 indicate "high-level" HLA. For the present study, we computed Cronbach's alpha as .925, and the instrument explained 52.5% of the total variance.

Procedure

First, written ethical approval was received from the Ethical Committee of Yıldız Technical University for the scientific eligibility and suitability of the study. Following this, we had the written implementation permit from the MoNE Strategy Development Department and Berlin Educational Consultancy. After the electronic instruments were sent to the officials of MoNE in the attaché's offices in related states, they conveyed the link to the TLC teachers. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, we had to collect data in early 2021 via Google Forms, a commonly used platform for surveys in academia. Following this, the link was shared with all students/families by the teachers. The scale was

filled based on voluntariness. Parents and teachers were advised that they could help children, especially primary school students, to fill out the survey.

Data Analysis

We analyzed data through the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) 26.0 software in the study. We used paired samples T-test to compare the students' in-class and out-of-class HLA; independent samples T-test for comparisons of birthplaces and HLA; One-Way ANOVA for comparisons of the home language, and communicative language with friends, self-perceived proficiency, book-reading, and movie-watching language; Pearson correlation to determine the relationship between age, AoA, grade level, and HLA.

Data met the normality assumption since the kurtosis and skewness values of the scale were in the range of +/-2 for all items and sub-dimensions (George & Mallery, 2020). In addition, no extreme values were detected, as all of the Z values were within the range of -3/+3 (Cokluk et al., 2021). Before the one-way ANOVA and independent samples T-test, we examined the equality of variances with Levene's Test. We considered the related lines in SPSS depending on whether the variances were equal for independent samples T-test. In the post-hoc analysis, the Games-Howell test was used if the variances were not equal. When variances were equal, we used Gabriel test if there were slight differences in the sample sizes and Hochberg's GT2 if there were large differences in the sample sizes (Field, 2018).

Findings

Findings about the First Research Question

Table 2 shows the mean score for the total scale and subscales. According to this, the total scale ($M=1.51$, $SD=.45$), in-class ($M=1.58$, $SD=.55$) and out-of-class ($M=1.42$, $SD=.51$), scores indicated low-level HLA. The "Out-Of-Class HLA" sub-dimension had the lowest mean.

Table 2*Descriptive Statistics*

The Scale and Sub-Dimensions	N	M	SD
Out-Of-Class HLA	303	1.42	.51
In-Class HLA	303	1.58	.55
Total Scale	303	1.51	.45

Findings about the Second Research Question

We conducted paired samples T-test to compare students' in-class and out-of-class HLA. This showed that, in-class HLA ($M=1.58$, $SD=.55$) was significantly higher than out-of-class HLA ($M=1.42$, $SD=.51$), $t(302)=-6.12$, $p<.00$.

Findings about the Third Research Question

The Relationship with Age, Grade Level, and Age of Acquisition.

Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to examine the relationship between students' HLA levels and age, grade level, and AoA of Turkish and German (Table 3). This showed no relationship between the determined variables and HLA.

Table 3*Pearson Correlation Results*

Group		Age	Grade Level	Acquisition Age of Turkish	Acquisition Age of German
HLA	r	-.045	-.036	.023	-.107
	p	.430	.530	.690	.063
	n	303	303	300	302

Comparison with Gender and Birthplaces. Descriptive statistics showed that almost all the students were born in Germany (Table 4). On the other hand, although most mothers and fathers were born in Turkey, a significant part of them were born in Germany. Furthermore, each arithmetic mean was within the "low-level" HLA limits.

Table 4

Independent Samples T-test Results

Variable	Group	N	M	SD	Levene's Test		t	df	p
					F	p			
Gender	Female	165	1.53	.45	.39	.53	.73	301	.46
	Male	138	1.49	.45					
Birthplaces of Students	Turkey	25	1.60	.48	.88	.34	.98	294	.32
	Germany	271	1.51	.45					
Birthplaces of Mothers	Turkey	186	1.48	.43	3.55	.06	-1.86	295	.06
	Germany	111	1.58	.49					
Birthplaces of Fathers	Turkey	184	1.45	.45	.01	.89	-2.93	298	.004
	Germany	116	1.61	.44					

According to analysis, no significant difference was observed in terms of gender ($t=.73, p>.05$) or birthplaces of the students ($t=.98, p>.05$). Although a visible difference in the level of HLA levels between students whose mothers were born in Turkey and Germany, it did not create a significant difference statistically ($t=-1.86, p>.05$). A significant difference was found between students whose fathers were born in Turkey and Germany in terms of HLA levels ($t=-2.93, p<.01$).

Comparison with the Home Language. As illustrated in Table 5, the majority of students resided in a Turkish-dominant home (210 participants). On the other hand, German-dominant and bilingual homes were fewer than this, with 55 and 37 participants, respectively.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics about the Home Language

Home Language	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	210	1.46	.42	2.71	.06
German (More)	55	1.75	.49		
Turkish and German (Equally)	37	1.46	.46		

The One-way ANOVA, $F(2, 299)=9.80$, $MSE=.19$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.06$, demonstrated a significant difference between HLA and the home language. Post hoc comparisons using Hochberg's GT2 test displayed that the HLA levels of the students living in a German-speaking home ($M=1.76$, $SD=.49$) was significantly higher than those living in a Turkish-speaking home ($M=1.46$, $SD=.42$) and in a bilingual-speaking home ($M=1.46$, $SD=.46$) at $p<.01$ level. Therefore, students living in a German-speaking home had higher levels of HLA than students residing in Turkish- or bilingual-speaking homes.

Comparison with the Communicative Language with Friends.

Table 6 demonstrated that most students spoke in German with Turkish friends (171 participants), and they had the highest HLA means.

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics about the Communicative Language with Friends

The Communicative Language with Friends	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	88	1.42	.46	.82	.43
German (More)	171	1.59	.45		
Turkish and German (Equally)	43	1.41	.38		

The one-way ANOVA, $F(2, 299)=5.35$, $MSE=.20$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.03$, showed a significant difference between HLA and the communicative language with friends. Post hoc comparisons using Gabriel test indicated that those communicating with their Turkish friends via German ($M=1.59$, $SD=.45$) had significantly higher HLA than those communicating via Turkish ($M=1.42$, $SD=.46$) and via both languages ($M=1.41$, $SD=.38$) at $p<.05$ level. As a result, students communicating via German more with their friends had higher HLA about speaking Turkish than students communicating bilingually or via Turkish.

Comparison with the Self-perceived Proficiency. While 111 students perceived themselves as proficient in both languages, 129 students felt more proficient in German, with the highest HLA mean (Table 7).

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics About Self-Perceived Proficiency

Self-perceived Proficiency	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	63	1.44	.48	1.19	.30
German (More)	129	1.63	.44		
Both Turkish and German	111	1.42	.41		

The One-way ANOVA, $F(2, 300)=8.13$, $MSE=.19$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.05$, revealed a significant difference between HLA and self-perceived proficiency. Post hoc comparisons using the Gabriel test demonstrated that there was a significant difference between those perceiving themselves as proficient in German ($M=1.63$, $SD=.44$) and those perceiving themselves as proficient in both Turkish and German ($M=1.42$, $SD=.21$) at $p<.01$ level; and Turkish more ($M=1.44$, $SD=.48$) at $p<.05$ level. Thus, students who felt more proficient in German had more HLA than students who thought they were proficient in Turkish or both languages.

Comparison with the Movie-Watching Language. Table 8 indicated that the numbers of students who watch movies/series in German or Turkish were equal.

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics about Movie-watching Language

The Movie-watching Language	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	123	1.50	.44	5.507	.005
German (More)	123	1.61	.48		
Turkish and German (Equally)	42	1.29	.35		

The One-way ANOVA, $F(2, 285)=7.74$, $MSE=.20$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.05$, exhibited a significant difference between HLA and the movie-watching language. Post hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell test showed that the HLA levels of those watching movies/series in both Turkish and German ($M=1.29$, $SD=.35$) were significantly lower than those watching in Turkish more ($M=1.50$,

$SD=.44$) and those watching in German more ($M=1.61$, $SD=.48$) at $p<.01$ level. Hence, students who watch series and movies equally in both Turkish and German had lower levels of HLA than those who watch mostly Turkish or German.

Comparison with Book-reading Language. German was the main language for reading books (Table 9). Also, students who read bilingually had the lowest mean, and only a few students read more Turkish books with the highest mean.

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics about Book-reading Language

The Book-Reading Language	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	14	1.65	.63	2.93	.054
German (More)	236	1.53	.43		
Turkish-German (Separate or Dual)	50	1.40	.48		

The One-way ANOVA, $F(2, 285)=2.43$, $MSE=.20$, $p>.05$, $\eta^2=.01$, did not find a significant difference between HLA and the book-reading language. However, the mean scores of the students who read mostly bilingual books or separately in both languages ($M=1.40$, $SD=.48$) were visibly lower than those reading in Turkish more ($M=1.65$, $SD=.63$) and in German more ($M=1.53$, $SD=.43$).

Discussion

The results revealed that Turkish-German bilingual children in Germany enrolling in TLC lessons had low-level heritage language anxiety toward speaking skills. This finding was to align with HLA studies which include HLLs as participants (Jee, 2016, 2020; Prada et al., 2020; Tallon, 2009, 2011; Xiao & Wong, 2014). Most of these studies highlighted that HLSs have a certain level of proficiency in natural language skills (speaking and listening), and therefore, language anxiety levels of this group tend to be low, which is contradictory to FLA studies. Furthermore, Jee (2016) and Xiao and Wong

(2014) demonstrated that reading and writing cause the highest level of HLA. For these reasons, it was inferred that anxiety profiles of FL and HL learners diverged: HLLs, using their HL in their everyday life, interacting, and producing in this language via speaking skills, had low-level HLA toward these skills. Subsequently, this approved that teaching HL requires different strategies and approaches from teaching FL as their needs and experience are different from FL learners (Tallon, 2009). With regard to this result, we must add the social advantages of the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Firstly, Turkish-speaking people constitute Germany's most significant linguistic minority, and MoNE offers TLC courses in the most intense regions that Turkish people inhabit. Gollan et al. (2015) indicated that the survival of minority languages and the proficiency level of HLSs rely on the number of speakers, which presents more interaction possibilities with other HLSs. Moreover, Aksu (2020) showed that education is crucial to reducing HLA. If we profoundly think of these low-level HLA results by paying attention to the circle of Sevinç and Backus (2019), the HLE that might increase HLS' knowledge on their HL and their environment providing interaction opportunities of HL might have been a factor in this result.

It has been stated in previous studies that HLA is based on social factors, and these should be taken into consideration to be able to understand the HLA phenomena (Sevinç, 2020; Sevinç & Backus, 2019; Xiao & Wong, 2014). In this sense, comparing the two basic sub-dimensions of the scale, including in-class and out-of-class, we detected a significant difference in the anxiety levels of TLC course students. Accordingly, students' HLA levels in the classroom were higher than those out of the classroom. At first glance, this may be seen as a conflict with the assumption that out-of-class factors are more effective in the context of HLA (Sevinç, 2020). Still, we should restate that the levels of both subdimensions were low, and participants of this study were only HLLs, receiving Turkish courses regularly. As highlighted in various studies, HLE is crucial for bilingual immigrants to overcome linguistic and social problems such as belonging sense, creating identity, bilingual development, and so on (Baker, 2014; Cummins, 2001; Yıldız et al., 2021). In this respect, social advantages (e.g., the number of speakers) and the HLE might have been valuable for overcoming such issues for our study group. However, despite the low levels of the two subdimensions of anxiety, the significant difference

pointing to higher apprehension in-class situations should be reckoned in two ways. Firstly, even though TLC is a course designed for HL development, the home languages are mainly seen as an out-of-class subject, and there is a monolingual habitus in the German education system, which can be seen as a discrepancy with multilingualism goals (Gogolin et al., 2013). As they internalized the strict ML-only policies and practices in their educational life, students could feel uncomfortable as they were not used to speaking their heritage language in the classroom (Jordens, 2016). Secondly, Tallon (2011) explored that HLLs feel more in-class HLA in grammar-intensive semesters. Moreover, Prada et al. (2020) claimed that a sharp focus on meta-linguistic knowledge and rigid grammar might trigger HLA. Considering the participants enrolled in the classes of teachers coming from Turkey, this difference may have happened owing to the continuity of widespread grammar-oriented practices of Turkish teachers, albeit it is incompatible with the curriculum and textbooks (Arslan, 2017). If it is added the condition that grammatical mistakes in expressive skills are one of the linguistic difficulties of Turkish HLLs (Ince, 2011; Şengül & Yokuş, 2021), it may be deduced that grammar-led HLE may cause higher HLA. Therefore, considering the dynamic and hybrid linguistic repertoire and practices of Turkish children in Germany, HLE should create safe spaces embracing non-standardized varieties and should have plurilingual pedagogies instead of monolingual ones. Otherwise, it may paradoxically lead to more in-class HLA as a repercussion of the abovementioned reasons, although it may help alleviate general HLA.

It is known that the birthplace of the mother and/or father may be a significant predictor of HL proficiency (Collins & Toppelberg, 2021). If parents were born in homeland, their children did not feel HLA in Korean immigrants' example (Jee, 2020). In line with this, we concluded that students whose parents were born in Turkey had lower HLA than others born in Germany. As their arrival age to the host country was different, parents' language practices might have led to this difference. In addition, comparing HLA levels in terms of the home language variable, we found that students living in a Turkish-speaking or bilingual-speaking home were significantly less than those living in a German-speaking home. In this sense, the input received from the family at home is crucial for HL development and proficiency of bilinguals (Gagarina &

Klassert, 2018). Consequently, affordances at home and family language policy might have influenced reducing HLA.

Another potential group that immigrant students can communicate with HL is their friends with similar ethnic backgrounds. Speaking to such peers in HL impacts HL acquisition and exposure (Biedinger et al., 2015). In this context, the vast majority of students (56.6%) spoke with their immigrant friends in German, 29.1% in Turkish, and 14.2% in Turkish and German. Unlike the home language practices, students communicate much more in German with their other Turkish friends. One of the reasons for this might be that they usually meet Turkish friends in public and education areas. There are examples in Germany and other European countries, such as the punishment for speaking Turkish in public spaces and schools, even during recess (Agirdag, 2010; Topçu, 2020). Therefore, the interaction is usually established by the dominant language in German schools (Gogolin et al., 2013). The reason behind that negative attitude (Yağmur, 2006) may be the monolingual education paradigm and the inheritance of nation-building policy that continue to dominate Europe (Busch, 2011). Additionally, using mostly ML with immigrant peers can be seen as a threat to HL maintenance among the next generations. Consequently, ML is the common language of communication among immigrant peers, which seems to be a factor in increasing HLA.

According to the self-rated proficiency findings, students who consider themselves proficient in both languages or more proficient in Turkish had a much lower level of HLA than those who think they are more proficient in German. Concerning other studies, students perceiving themselves as proficient in an FL or HL are less anxious in that language (Botes et al., 2020; Jee, 2020). This study also showed that students feel low-level HLA when they perceive themselves as more proficient in the HL. In this scope, higher self-proficiency and lower language anxiety may call attention to multilingual proficiency in this context (Dewaele, 2007).

In this study, the results pertained to receptive skills exhibited that students who watch and/or read both Turkish and German equally showed less HLA than others who watch mostly in Turkish or German. For both variables having a hybrid linguistic input in both languages made a difference in reducing HLA compared to having more input in one language, regardless of heritage or

majority language. It is widely known that bilinguals can transfer many linguistic elements from one language to another, such as morphological awareness and metacognitive strategies (Cummins, 2017). The same as cross-linguistic transfer, the quantity, and quality of input and exposure to both languages are vital for bilingual development (Hoff, 2021). In this respect, too intensive input from HL is insufficient to develop, and the quality of input from both languages is needed for HL proficiency through cross-linguistic transfer (Scheele et al., 2010). Although we did not have enough evidence about whether these activities were interactive and quality, this result can be interpreted that balanced and rich input received from both languages through reading and listening may be a factor in decreasing HLA thanks to cross-linguistic transfer and bilingual development.

Conclusion and Implications

In conclusion, pedagogical approaches and implementations may contribute to HL students eliminating their concerns about their heritage language. Besides, the usage of, exposure to, and interaction with HL in many environments, such as home and friend circles, effectively decreases HLA. Considering these two vital factors, sustainable multilingualism without any kind of stigmatization or anxiety can be accomplished among immigrant groups when all educational partners, including family and community, put enough effort into this goal.

HL teaching should not be in the same way as FL teaching. Regarding language skills, HL teachers can prioritize the development of literacy within their limited time. In this process, students' diverse linguistic and cultural repertoire should be considered. Thus, these classes require more flexible and adaptive approaches to the circumstances. On the other hand, the main issue is beyond HLE. The school system in Germany should include and support marginalized languages in a way that makes students emotionally courageous when they speak their HL. In addition to HL classes, the awareness and development of both German and Turkish teachers regarding multilingual activities in the classroom should be developed to leverage the multilingual development of students. Training programs should try to eradicate stereotypes of both German and Turkish teachers, such as "one language-only

at a time.” Furthermore, families of emergent or existent bilingual children should be trained about the importance of the heritage language and the practices they can make at home. For instance, attitudes that make students feel incompetent in HL or prioritize only ML should be changed.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

This research only relied on students’ responses to a structured Likert scale about their feelings. Although the more feasible and appealing way to assess affective characteristics is self-reports in educational settings than observational methods (Anderson & Bourke, 2000), this research did not involve other data-gathering ways such as electrodermal activity and skin conductance level assessment, used in studies related to anxiety. In addition, in line with the research objectives, the sample required for the 95% confidence interval was calculated in Raosoft, and 386 participants were needed (Raosoft, 2021). However, the number of participants reached 303 due to the continuation of the Covid-19 pandemic, the restriction of travel opportunities, the exclusion of first-year students, and the transition to distance education in the research population. This study should be interpreted according to these limitations.

This research revealed some clues regarding the relationships of HLA with language proficiency and access to HLE. In the future, these relations can be studied by other researchers. For instance, broader comparisons can be made between HLSs not receiving HLE and HLLs. In addition, this study just focused on the speaking anxieties of Turkish HLLs in Germany. Anxieties of this group towards other basic language skills can be examined to fill the space in the literature. Furthermore, studies comparing HLA levels of Turkish or other HLSs in different countries by considering local and national dynamics can contribute to the field. Finally, although this study had to have a separative approach to languages because of its methodological tradition and existing literature, plurilingualism, translanguaging and cross-linguistic transfer should be researched in this context in future.

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**TURKŲ PAVELDĖTOSIOS KALBOS BESIMOKANČIŲJŲ
VOKIETIJOJE KALBINIO NERIMO TYRIMAS**

Santrauka. Turkijos paveldo kalbų vartotojai gali jausti nerimą dėl savo paveldėtos kalbos vartojimo įvairiose aplinkose, atsižvelgiant į vienakalbę ideologiją, šeimos požiūrį, kalbos mokėjimą ir daugelį kitų veiksnių. Tačiau dar nėra išsamiai ištirta, kokia yra asmenų, **besimokančių paveldėtosios kalbos pamokose**, patirtis. **Šiame tyrime nagrinėtas turkų paveldėtosios kalbos besimokančiųjų nerimas** dėl kalbėjimo įgūdžių (angl. *heritage language anxiety*, HLA). Taikant aprašomąjį dizainą, buvo ieškoma HLA lygio ir jo sąsajų su įvairiais kintamaisiais, tokiais kaip gimtoji kalba, bendravimo su draugais kalba, savęs suvokimas apie kalbos mokėjimą, amžius, lytis, klasės lygis, vaikų ir tėvų gimimo vieta, kalbos įsisavinimo amžius (AoA), knygų skaitymo ir filmų žiūrėjimo kalbos. Tyrime dalyvavo 303 mokyklinio amžiaus dvikalbiai turkų vaikai, gyvenantys Vokietijoje. Rezultatai parodė, kad tikslinės grupės HLA lygis buvo žemas. Be to, klasėje HLA buvo gerokai aukštesnis nei užklausinėje veikloje. Be to, HLA lygis reikšmingai skyrėsi pagal tėvo gimimo vietą, bendravimo su draugais kalbą, savęs įsivaizdavimą ir filmų žiūrėjimo kalbą. Nepaisant akivaizdžių skirtumų, susijusių su knygų skaitymo kalba ir motinos gimimo vieta, jie nebuvo statistiškai reikšmingi. Taip pat nebuvo pastebėta jokio ryšio tarp HLA ir kai kurių kintamųjų: amžiaus, klasės lygio ir AoA. Šiuo pirminiu tyrimu bandyta suvokti sudėtingus turkų imigrantų Vokietijoje kalbos nerimo sąvokos dėsningumus ir kalbos paveldo ugdymo (HLA) kontekste. Apibendrinant galima daryti išvadą, kad sąveika per paveldo kalbą (PK) ir HLE prieinamumas gali prisidėti prie HLA mažinimo.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: turkų kalba kaip paveldo kalba; paveldo kalbos ugdymas; paveldo kalbos ugdymas; turkų imigrantai Vokietijoje.