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Bilingualism in Döver Mahallesi in Defne District of Hatay¹

Defne İlçesine Bağlı (Hatay) Döver Mahallesi'nde İki Dillilik²

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Abstract

As a communication tool, language is one the most basic structures that distinguish humans from other living species. Language has an interdisciplinary field of study with this aspect. In anthropology, which is the science of human being, ethnic and religious identity, economy, social structure, traditions, kinship, marriage, and various other structures can be analyzed through language. One of the studies on language is anthropological studies on

Özet

Bir iletişim aracı olan dil, insanı diğer canlı türleri içinden ayıran en temel yapılardan birisidir. Bu yönü ile dil disiplinlerarası bir çalışma alanına sahiptir. İnsanın bilimi olan antropolojide etnik ve dini kimlik, ekonomi, sosyal yapı, gelenek, akrabalık, evlilik daha pek çok yapıyı dil üzerinden çözümlenebilir. Dil üzerine yapılan çalışmalardan birisi de iki dillilik üzerine yapılan antropolojik çalışmalardır. Bu araştırmada Hatay'ın Defne İlçesine bağlı Döver

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bilingualism. In this study, the bilingualism process in Döver Mahallesi of Hatay's Defne District was discussed. The majority of Arab Alevis (Nusayris) living in Döver Mahallesi can speak both Arabic and Turkish. The main focus of this study is when these bilingual individuals speak which language, and the reasons affecting their preferences. In this context, the data obtained as a result of the field research were analyzed and the results were attempted to be reached. It has been aimed to focus on the effects of everyday events on bilingualism, and the relationship between social relations, public existence, differences between generations, gender variables and religious education, and language. Issues such as language preferences of bilingual people in economics, migration and political processes, in the effects of everyday events on language, in the language used to restrict or construct ethno-religious identity, in perceptions of and attitudes of individuals towards bilingualism, in differences between generations, and in the public and private areas are revealed.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Döver Mahallesi, Arab Alevis (Nusayris), Religion

Mahallesinde iki dillik süreci ele alınmıştır. Döver Mahallesinde yaşayan Arap Alevilerin (Nusayrilerin) büyük çoğunluğu hem Arapça hem de Türkçe konuşabilmektedir. İki dilli olan bu bireylerin hangi dili ne zaman konuştukları ve bu yöndeki tercihlerini etkileyen nedenler bu çalışmanın temel odak noktasıdır.

Bu bağlamda yapılan alan araştırması sonucu ortaya çıkan veriler analiz edilerek sonuçlara ulaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Gündelik olayların iki dilli olmaya etkisi, sosyal ilişkiler, kamusal alanda varolma, kuşaklararası farklar, toplumsal cinsiyet açısından değişkenler ile dini eğitimin dil ile bağlantılarına odaklanmaya çalışılmıştır.

İki dilli kişilerin, ekonomik, göç ve politik süreçlerde, gündelik olayların dil üzerine etkisinde, etno-dinsel kimliği sınırlamada veya inşa etmede kullanılan dilde, bireylerin iki dillilik üzerine olan algı ve tutumlarında, kuşaklar arası farklarda ve kamusal alan ve özel alanda dil tercihleri gibi konular ortaya konulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İki Dillilik, Döver Mahallesi, Arap Aleviler (Nusayriler), Din

Introduction

Different fields have different ways of defining the language which is a communication tool. According to Bayrav (1998, p.14), language is the most important system of communication that people use, and it is the basic element also in other systems. From the very beginning to the present time, language has been a system in which people accumulate experience, observation, skills and social structures (Childe, 1998, p.20); and it has an important function in transferring the cultural past (Sapir, 1929, p.209). The ability of individuals creating the society to use the language better has made

communication more successful; and it has enabled the economic activities of different communities to become more successful and to meet their daily needs in an organized manner (Bates, 2009, p.66). According to Fox (1973, p.273), language is an element affecting social change and it is very important for people to perceive social environment. The language organ interacts with early experience and matures into the grammar of the language that the child speaks (Chomsky, 2007, p.55). The skill of speaking a language is unique to humans and people understand and express their language-specific experiences through language (Chomsky, p.2009; Chomsky, p.2012). Language is a system of symbols in which certain signs come together, and it is used as a communication tool by individuals who speak the same language (Haviland, 2008, p.210; Palmer, 2001, p.16). In addition, knowing a language includes the ability to understand and produce countless masses of expressions that have not been heard or produced before (Katamba,1993, p.5). At the same time, language is a symbolic system which is necessary for the existence of the socio-cultural system and for people to get along with each other (Güvenç, 2003, p.108). Language is a symbolic guide of culture and it is associated with many cultural objects and thoughts; language itself is a social and cultural product (Sapir, 1929, p.210-214). Language is a direct tool for the communication between people, and the tools it uses reflect the richness of its culture which is the way of life with the wishes, feelings and thoughts of a person (Tosundil, 2005, p.137).

Having a close relationship with linguistics, anthropology has been separated from linguistics in time; it focuses mainly on speaking rather than language and on the meaning of language in social diversity, communication, and power (Emiroğlu, 2003, p.223). According to another approach, while linguists focus on the "language" itself, linguists working in the field of anthropology have turned to the historical process of the language. (Toprak, 2012, p.23). Linguistic anthropology having an interdisciplinary field of study benefits from sociolinguistic, psycho-linguistic and linguistic fields (Güvenç, 2003, p.108). Those working on linguistic anthropology focus on different spoken languages (Beals and Hoijer, 1972, p.10). The relationship between language and culture, the history of languages or the structure of a language is the subject of linguistic anthropology (Haviland, 2008, p.68). Those working on linguistic anthropology, which is a sub-branch of anthropology, discuss space, time and social context (Kottak, 2002, p.14). Additionally, the way language emerged, its change, and its effect on the communication system are among the topics discussed (Özbek, 2000, p.37). There are intensive studies in anthropology and other disciplines related to bilingual societies. Bilingualism is common and perhaps it is increasing in many parts of the world as one in three people is either bilingual or multilingual (Wei, 2000). Many children in the world grow up with two languages, and use two or more languages in daily life (Grosjean, 1982; Alladina, 1995; Byers-Heinlein et al., 2019). Researchers trying to define bilingualism act from different points. In its most general definition, bilingualism refers to the ability to use two languages in daily life (Byers-Heinlein and Lew-Williams, 2013, p.95). For example, according to Bloomfield (1933, p.56), advanced use of two languages is considered bilingualism while Haugen (1953, p.7) states that the use of meaningful words or phrases from the other language is acceptable to be bilingual. According to Aksan (2000, p.26), on the other hand, bilingualism means that a person acquires and uses multiple languages for various reasons and under different conditions, or learns a second language at a level close to his mother tongue. Moreover, being able to speak a second language as good as one's mother tongue is accepted as bilingualism (Karaağaç,

2011, p.222). Multilingualism is common in some parts of the world, and people use different languages at home, in the village, or when trading (Wardhaugh, 1992, p.98). Researchers trying to define bilingualism also try to categorize it. While bilingualism is divided into three categories as natural, school-related, and cultural bilingualism according to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), Appel and Muysken (2005, p.2) divide it into two categories as social and individual bilingualism. As a result, although being bilingual is defined through different variables in different fields, individuals who can speak or write more than one language in everyday life are bilingual (Yalım-Ege, 2019, p.22-23).

In the light of this information, the subject addressed in this research is to analyze bilingualism in Döver Mahallesi in Defne District of Hatay Province. Issues such as the reasons of being bilingual, functions of two languages, language use preferences among different generations, and the preferred language in private or public areas are discussed in the study. In this study conducted through field research method, sound recording, semi-structured interview form, and participant observation techniques were used. 26 people were interviewed, and the information about these people shall not be used in the article because of the sensitivity of the study and the fact that the location of the research is declared. The interviewees are between the ages of 18 and 66, and consist of women and men with different education from primary school to university graduate.

Döver Mahallesi

Döver Mahallesi is 11 kilometers away from Antakya, the city center of Hatay. In the sources of 1873 in the Ottoman archives, Harbiye and Düver, now known as Döver, are referred among Antakya and surrounding villages (Gündüz et al. 2013, p.192). Mentioned under the district of Harbiye, Düver Köyü is defined as “Alevi Village” by Türkmen (1937, p.106). In the information provided by Pierre Bazantay in 1935, it is seen that Nusayris in Antakya and its surroundings are spatially and majorly located throughout Asi river, and Döver is one of these settlements (Uğuz, 2019, p.225). On the maps of 1955 and 1960, Döver Köyü is among the villages of Antakya (Üçeçam Karagel, 2018, p.220). Döver Köyü was divided into two villages as Aşağı Döver and Yukarı Döver in 1991. However, with the Metropolitan Municipality Law no. 6360 dated 12.11.2012, Hatay has become a metropolitan city and Döver Köyü, which is a part of Antakya, has gained the status of a neighborhood being a part of the newly established Defne district. While silkworm-breeding, agriculture and animal husbandry were widespread in the past, today, especially olive, citrus and laurel soap are produced (Yalım-Ege, 2019, p.7).

Döver Mahallesi is a residential area with Arab Alevis/Nusayris. In this context, Arab Alevi/Nusayri history and culture should be briefly mentioned. In researches on Arab Alevis/Nusayris, this group is generally referred as Nusayris. However, in some of the field researches and in this research, in the interviews with the people belonging to this society, they generally defined themselves as Arab Alevis. The terms Arab Alevis/Nusayris were used together in this study due to both the nomenclature in scientific publications and two choices made by the interviewees to identify themselves. Today, Arab Alevis/Nusayris commonly live in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria in the Middle East as well as some districts of Hatay, Adana and Mersin in Turkey. Nusayrism which is considered to appear in 9th century (Türk, 2018, p.71) is widely named as Nusayri in the international literature. If we check the etymology of the word, Arab Alevis are referred as Nesséri/ The Nesserié

(Dupont, 1825), The Ansari (Jowett, 1826) The Ansaireeh (Lyde, 1860), The Ansarians (Ainsworth, 1880), The Anseiriyeh (Conder, 1889) in some western sources of 19th century while they are referred as Assassins, Assassini, Nazaraei, Nazarenes, and Nassariens in other sources; on the other hand, the name Nusayri is generally used in Turkish (Beşe, 2010, p.160).

Arab Alevism/Nusayrism is a synthesis that shows the commitment to Selman-ı Farisi who is one of the Iranian followers of Ali the Caliph and Prophet Muhammad (Arinberg-Laantza, 1999, p.197). According to Bulut (2011, p.582), “Nusayrism is an esoteric sect of Shia founded by Muhammed b. Nusayr en-Nemirî and methodized by Hüseyin b. Hamdan el-Hasîbî.” Massignon (1964, p.365) bases the origin of the name Nusayri on different sources: first of all, he states that Nusayri comes from the Latin word *naşzerini*, secondly that it comes from the word *Nasrani* meaning Christian, thirdly that it comes from Nasuraya village in Kufa, fourthly that it comes from Nusayr who is one of the Shia martyrs, and lastly that it comes from Muhammed bin Nusayr who is accepted to be the founder of Nusayrism. In many sources, Ibn Nusayr is commonly considered the founder of Nusayrism, but there are different opinions about the way Ibn Nusayr presented Nusayrism and the views he first posed (Keser, 2011, p.37). Muhammed emin Galip et-Tavil (2000, p.59-105) argues that the events of Ghadir Khumm and Karbala are important in the emergence of Nusayrism as a sect and in the division of Muslims into two. Ghadir Khumm Day is celebrated as the biggest festival among Arab Alevis.

The most basic form of belief in Arab Alevis/Nusayris comes from a zahiri-esoteric dualist belief. The confidential information that Arab Alevis maintain their identity also creates a secret link for this group to stay together (Şahin, 2010) and “as they have the characteristics of a secret community, they consider themselves as “individuals who have sacred secrets and knowledge” (Keser, 2006, p.142). In Arab Alevis/Nusayris who continue their religious education through the “uncle” tradition, religious education is given only to boys of a certain age. Thus, in Arab Alevism, which is a belief of secret, this secret is maintained under the power of men. Arab Alevis/Nusayris build their unique traditions as a result of their difficult experiences and, some common features are evident in general even though there is a contradiction in some information about their beliefs (Beşe, 2010, p.181). The more decisive religious traditions of Arab Alevism/Nusayrism are Khidr belief that turned into a cult, shrine visits, reincarnation, and celebrated Christian holidays (Türk, 2002;Türk, 2005).

Bilingualism among Arab Alevis/Nusayris

The process of being bilingual in different societies occurs due to different conditions. For example, people who migrate to a different country must learn the language of their new location. According to Bulut, immigrants communicate in their workplaces through those who speak Turkish (2019, p.89-98). This obligation covers at least the process that starts with the spoken language and at a level that can meet the needs of daily life. Children of these people are naturally bilingual or adapt to the language in the new settlement by forgetting their mother tongue. Different factors such as religion, politics, culture, economy, education and technology also lead to the formation of bilingual groups (Wei, 2000, p.3-5). According to Karahan (2005, p.1155), the reason for being bilingual may be optional but it can also be due to reasons such as belief, economy, and education. According to

Levi-Strauss, cultures contain shared symbolic values and language is one of these values (as cited in: Bulut, 2017, p.121-132).

Arab Alevis prefer Arabic in their worship; they speak Turkish and Arabic in everyday life, and in terms of the language they speak, they are different from the other parts of Alevis in Turkey (Türk and Çapar, 2011, p.28). Arab Alevis/Nusayris must maintain their mother tongue, especially the language used in religious education, in order to maintain their identity. Because their mother tongue is Arabic, they have an advantageous position in accessing the Qur'an and they use Arabic in their prayers (Er, 2010, p.280). Since the religion of worship is Arabic, it also enables the transfer of religious identity which is the most basic component of this society. According to Tillion (2005), identity is a mechanism organized according to belonging, age and gender. According to him, this mechanism has penetrated into the smallest pores of daily life (Bulut, 2011, p.65-79). On the other hand, Şahin (2010, p. 132) states that the native language of Nusayris is Arabic, and Arabic is increasingly forgotten among young people and children even though they use words that are both Arabic and Turkish intensively in the spoken language, especially among seniors and middle-aged people. Finally, Arabic language used by Arab Alevis/Nusayris is a region specific language; many Turkish and Arabic words are used in common and it is usually transmitted only as a spoken language.

Bilingualism in Döver Mahallesi

Home language used by different communities has no written form, but its use as a spoken language has a long story (Alladina, 1995, p.4). Turkish and Arabic bilingualism used in Döver District is one example of this. Although Arabic is the main language among Arab Alevis/Nusayris, there are very few people who can read, write and speak this language, except for the clergy. Among middle-aged and older individuals, the number of people who can fully write, read or speak Turkish is low. Regarding the languages spoken in Döver Mahallesi, a 66-year-old individual says:

Our mother tongue is Arabic. We learned Arabic at home and learned Turkish at school. We learned Turkish after starting primary school. How did we learn Arabic? Our mother and father did not speak Turkish. That generation was completely out of school. That is why they only spoke their mother tongue, we also learned our mother tongue Arabic, we learned Turkish at school, we speak Turkish and Arabic (Yalım-Ege, 2019, p.46).

A 38-year-old individual who considers both the languages spoken as her/his mother tongue expresses the language experience as follows:

Arabic, Turkish. Our mother tongue. I learned Turkish before. Arabic is already spoken in the family. And since I lived abroad, I lived in Saudi Arabia for 26 years, I learned Arabic better there. I studied there. I went to the Turkish school. I learned to read and write Arabic there (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.46).

There are some reasons why this process occurs in bilingual individuals and societies. These reasons may arise from environmental, religious, political, economic, and educational issues or as a result of common sharing of some symbolic values. The process of bilingualism is sometimes shaped by natural situations, sometimes by mandatory situations, and sometimes by preferences. Whatever the reason, the current situation in Döver Mahallesi is as follows: the young population communicates

through Arabic while talking to elderly people, and elderly people try to speak Turkish to communicate with their grandchildren (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.65-66). In the interviews on the first language learned in Döver Mahallesi, although the majority in the neighborhood stated that they learned Arabic first, there are also individuals from young generation who stated that they learned Turkish first at home (Yalım Ege, 2019).

Şahin (2012, p.997) states that language learning is transmitted verbally between generations in Arab Alevis/Nusayris. She emphasizes that Nusayri beliefs and traditions are transferred through the spoken language which is a means of transferring culture and belief to another generation. Although they have different experience and knowledge in the written or spoken language, these two languages exist simultaneously. For example, one of the interviewees expresses the general approach in Döver Mahallesi with the following statement: *It is to continue our culture. As our culture is Arabic and learning a language is good, you know it. I want Arabic the most because they will learn English somehow, my daughters understand Arabic but they cannot pronounce it yet* (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.49).

One of the reasons why Arabic has been preferred more in Döver Mahallesi in recent years is the war emerged in Syria because mass migration to Turkey has increased the need for people who know Arabic. However, since the Arabic spoken by Syrians and the Arabic spoken in Döver Mahallesi are different, many people from the neighborhood have started going to the Arabic course. More than the fact that Arabic is just a spoken language, the desire to master the language in every sense and the reasons for it were expressed by a 39-year-old individual as follows:

New generations now teach their children more Arabic. The reason is new businesses. All of our cousins work at ASAM and MIGRATION Branches. Since they know Arabic, they can work there. Right now, everyone has turned to Arabic courses. Now the period has changed, there is a situation for Arabs, it is necessary to know Arabic or another foreign language. The golden key we have is Arabic. It is not just speaking, because speaking isn't enough, we may need to speak, write, and pronounce different types of Arabic. For example, my husband works abroad, even my husband's opportunities abroad (Saudi Arabia) are currently closed. He is also looking for new business. We are considering if he can work in these new business branches in Turkey. My husband speaks Arabic and all Arab accents. That's why I want to teach my children Arabic. Arabic is now a requirement, at least as much as English, I suppose English is a universal language that must be spoken, I feel like you can show your difference in Arabic or other languages, not in English (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.69-70).

Language use between generations

In the interviews carried out in Döver Mahallesi, there are variables between the generations in terms of speaking or preferring Arabic and Turkish. While those from the first generation communicate more in Arabic and have difficulty in speaking Turkish, the second generation can communicate comfortably in both languages, and there are people who try to teach Arabic to their children who are from the third generation (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.48). The changing perception and attitude regarding the use of Arabic is that some think people lack in teaching Arabic to their children; and they are reactive to this situation. The 39-year-old individual expresses this situation as follows: *They never tried to teach us. They only used Arabic, we got it. We are now trying to teach our children, we think about how we can teach them even if they don't want because this is the return of time right now* (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.48).

Another situation is that the communication between the first and third generations can be provided mostly through Turkish. This situation forces the elderly to speak Turkish. A 46-year-old individual states that besides Arabic, Turkish has also become compulsory for the elderly, especially for the first generation, in order to communicate: *My mother couldn't speak Turkish five years ago, now because of our children, she had to learn Turkish* (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.48). Expressing language differences between generations, a 39-year-old individual expresses how communication between the mother, child and grandchild is as follows: *Our elderly do not know Turkish, there are still those who do not. And there are those who speak a few words to make their grandchildren happy. My mother-in-law speaks Arabic, girls answer in Turkish. They both agree. Children learned Arabic, they learn Turkish* (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.49). Some participants from the second generation support the language learning process as follows:

I never teach Arabic, because it disrupts the larynx structure, its accent changes, and it distorts my child's Turkish, on the other hand, some people think that one language is one person, this is our culture, we teach our religion with this language, it does not disappear in our culture (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.48).

Some of the second generation individuals who react to not being taught Arabic are also concerned that the way they speak Turkish will be distorted. A 39-year-old individual expressed this in the following sentences:

What I say to children is that they should always read books. When they read Turkish books, because we don't have a chance to read Arabic anyway, but children who read Turkish books, for example, I think they speak the language much better. I was here on October 29, the Republic Day, children came out, they read poetry, for example, some spoke very bad Turkish (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.48).

A 66-year-old individual states that s/he speaks both Turkish and Arabic in daily life:

Apart from the elderly, we always speak Turkish. When we speak to the elderly, we only speak Arabic, and in our daily conversations we speak Turkish to young people. Our generation, aged 60 to 65, speaks Turkish. A higher generation knows less than us, they understand few but cannot speak Turkish very much (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.65-66).

Language use between women and men

In Döver Mahallesi, there are differences in the situation of women and men speaking Arabic-Turkish or having knowledge of these languages. However, these differences are mostly observed in individuals of middle age and over. The ability of, in particular, the elderly to speak Turkish is either very low or they cannot speak. It would not be wrong to say that women over middle age speak less Turkish than men. One of the reasons for this situation is the education process because, according to the findings obtained from the field, women were not sent to school for a period. For example, a 66-year-old individual states the following: *Women speak less Turkish. A large number of boys used to go to primary school, then they were studying until the third grade, at least they knew and learned Turkish and how to read and write. Women know less. The reason was that ladies didn't go to school before, there were two teachers from our village before the 1960s. They started teaching here* (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.63). That elderly women do not speak

Turkish and their desire to learn is expressed as follows: *All elderly people in the village want to learn Turkish. They all know Arabic, they want to learn Turkish. They want the children to know both Turkish and Arabic. They speak Arabic, and even people who are 80 and over regret saying that "Oh, my dad didn't send me to school" "Oh, my mom didn't send me to school then" they regret it* (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.63). Apart from education, another reason for women to know less Turkish is that many of them have not left Döver Mahallesi compared to men, and because most of them do not work, their connections with the city are only for bazaar purposes and they take their children or grandchildren who speak Turkish with them at that time. Men, on the other hand, left the village for various reasons such as military service, trade and friendly visits (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.64). Military service has become a more effective mechanism in men's lives compared to other activities because it allowed men to exchange experiences (Karacagil, 2017, p.4415). Especially economic activities affect the language learning process. A situation similar to the fact that middle-aged and older women speak Turkish or speak less Turkish in Döver Mahallesi and that men have more knowledge of this language is also seen in Uzbek people living in Ovakent District of Antakya. In Uzbeks coming from Afghanistan through immigration, since men are more active in public areas and trading relations are carried out by men, men have learned Turkish; however, especially middle aged and older women could not learn Turkish or could learn it too late or less because they stayed more in private area (Şahin, 2019).

Apart from the education process, another part of the language learning process is the process related to religious education. The group that can both read and write Arabic is made up of more men, but the rate of writing and reading is still low. And those who can both read and write Arabic are Arab Alevi/Nusayri clerics, often called "siks". The relationship between language and religion in Arab Alevis/Nusayris is as follows: *"In our opinion, Arabic is the requirement of religion because things that are secret are transmitted to us in Arabic. It is compulsory to learn Arabic and transfer it to other generations in the same way, which is shared among men"* (Şahin, 2012, p.997). Especially the obligation of young generation to learn Arabic has a direct relationship with the religious education. In Arab Alevi/Nusayri Döver Mahallesi, religious education is given in Arabic under the name of "uncle" tradition. This education is given when the child enters puberty. Although the language of worship is Arabic, the language used in written education is Latin. An individual we interviewed stated the process as follows:

When you enter puberty (in adolescence), they write, for example Fatıha, in Turkish, (which means that it is written in Latin alphabet), their write how it is read, I write in a notebook. I am reading them during prayer times, five times prayer, like, you will read this at this prayer time, you will read this at that prayer time. He speaks Arabic when he tells me these things, but when he writes, it's not in Arabic, 90% of them do not know how to read and write in Arabic. I can't write Arabic, I write Turkish (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.47).

The rules of the ritual of entering religion which starts with religious education are taught in Arabic, but are written in Latin letters while writing. Most of those who have good knowledge of the spoken language cannot speak Arabic.

Language Preference in the Public Area (Antakya) and Private Area (Neighborhood)

In some parts of the world, multilingualism is a normal necessity of daily life, and people can use different languages at home, in the village, and even in trade (Wardhaugh,1992, p.98). In line with Wardhaugh's opinions, the distinction between public and private areas is remarkable in the preference of language of people living in Döver Mahallesi. However, the public area mentioned here is the area completely outside the neighborhood. The private area can be considered the whole neighborhood because people living in Döver Mahallesi separate their preferred languages as 'here' meaning the one in the neighborhood, and 'there' meaning the one in the bazaar in Antakya. Arabic is spoken both in the household and outside the household/on the street and in all businesses in Döver Mahallesi. Although children and young people cannot speak Arabic fluently, individuals of middle age and older speak Arabic and children and young people can understand what is spoken. Especially those who went to Antakya's center and especially to public or private institutions from the village in previous years were able to continue their operations with the help of those who worked in that institution and knew Arabic. This situation still continues today, albeit less than before.

Many findings have been identified regarding the transactions at the bank. A 66-year-old individual who worked in bank expresses his experiences on this matter as follows:

There was a great need while at the bank. At the bank, until 90s, 70% of the customers who came, let's say of the old people, could not speak Turkish, absolutely, when they came to the bank, some of our friends did not know Arabic, they came from other cities to work, for example, when they could not understand... they asked, sir, can you come here and tell us what these people say. I was saying he would open an account or withdraw money etc., we were helping them (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.64).

One of the newest examples of the procedures carried out by those who speak Arabic is an example of a woman who is about 75 years old expressing what she wants through a translator under the supervision of the notary public and preparing the documents in this way. An translator who can speak both Arabic and Turkish helped this woman who cannot speak Turkish. Those who can speak Turkish in public areas (hospitals, government offices, banks, schools, etc.) but they still prefer to communicate with the ones who speak Arabic. They generally have the perception that it is safer for them to communicate with a doctor, bank officer, or teller who can speak Arabic (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.62). As we mentioned earlier, seniors who go to the bazaar in Antakya center, which is perceived as a public area, sometimes take their grandchildren with them and meet their need of translator in this way. A 41-year-old individual states as follows: *my grandmother always took us with her to help her in the bazaar, she was running a restaurant. She always went for the shopping of the restaurant herself. She was able to handle her own business but sometimes, someone who spoke Turkish would go with her when needed. We used to go with her for help and we were happy to go with her (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.64).* Especially in financial matters, it is more common for the elderly to go with someone who speaks Turkish: *old people definitely go with someone. Let's say those who receive old-age pension, they either take their grandsons or daughters, or take a relative from the village to take their salary and come (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.63).*

Result

Döver Mahallesi where Arab Alevis/Nusayris lived has been preserving its homogeneous structure for a long time. Especially in the context of belief, as individuals belonging to the same ethnicity live here, Arabic is spoken in the neighborhood. However, due to the increasing education level, employment in different business branches, and the fact that especially in recent years, it has turned into a center of attraction as a result of gastronomy tourism, they speak Turkish with outsiders/others/those who do not speak Arabic. The mother tongue spoken in Döver Mahallesi is Arabic. This situation is more dominant especially among middle-aged and older individuals while Arabic and Turkish are used together among children and young population; some of them even speak only Turkish. According to Skutnabb (1981, p.95–96), bilingualism is classified in three categories as being natural, school-related, and cultural bilingualism. It is difficult to evaluate all those living in Döver Mahallesi in categories of natural or school-related bilingualism. Some of the interviewees naturally learned Arabic and Turkish at the same time while others learned Turkish after going to school. On the other hand, some of them started learning Arabic later.

Döver Mahallesi, which is far away from the city center for a long time as a mountain village, has accelerated Turkish learning process as they welcome more people from outside and start going to the city center more because the transportation has become easier with the increase in infrastructure services, especially with the construction of the roads. While the second generation partly went to other schools outside the village, the third generation both experienced the education process outside the village and met Turkish earlier due to the impact of cyber culture and technology (Yalım Ege, 2019, p.74). In Döver Mahallesi, where religious rituals are held by men and in Arabic, environmental conditions as well as belief, and relatively isolated life seem to make it an obligation to become bilingual. In addition, there are differences between public and private spaces in terms of language used, as well as between men and women. As we mentioned earlier, in the context of using native language, Antakya's center can be identified as the public area while the neighborhood is identified as the private area; because, being in the neighborhood or in the city center/Antakya has an impact on the preference of speaking Turkish among men and women, and among individuals from the third generation. Besides preferring to speak Turkish especially in public institutions, they also prefer to speak Arabic if anybody knows how to speak Arabic in that institution. While some individuals who think that learning a language is a necessity are not happy with the fact that Arabic was not taught to them by adults, some of them stayed away from teaching Arabic because it distorts the way of speaking Turkish. The number of people attending a language course has increased compared to previous years in order to improve not only speaking but especially writing and reading. The main reason for this increase is the migration from Syria and the increased need for people who can speak Arabic in private and public sectors.

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