LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSLOCAL IDENTITIES: MULTILINGUAL UGANDANS IN İSTANBUL

ÖZGE DENİZ

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2021

LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSLOCAL IDENTITIES: MULTILINGUAL UGANDANS IN İSTANBUL

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

English Language Education

by

Özge Deniz

Boğaziçi University

2021

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Özge Deniz, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....

Date ...25.06.2021.....

ABSTRACT

Linguistic Construction of Translocal Identities:

Multilingual Ugandans in İstanbul

This thesis project investigates the linguistic identity practices of multilingual Ugandans living in İstanbul as translocal migrants. Focusing on the everyday language practices of two Ugandan women in various social spaces for a year, this linguistic ethnographic study draws on data from field observations, interviews, and audio-recordings of spontaneous conversations across the Turkish, English, and African local languages. Based on chronotopic data analysis, findings reveal how these women construct their translocal identities in İstanbul by evoking multiple chronotopes in their speech. They also demonstrate how a chronotopic shift in discourse leads to a change in what is perceived as linguistic capital.

ÖZET

Yerelötesi Kimliklerin Dilbilimsel İnşası:
İstanbul'da Yaşayan Çok Dilli Ugandalılar

Bu yüksek lisans çalışması İstanbul'da yerelötesi göçmenler olarak yaşayan çok dilli Ugandalıların dilsel kimlik pratiklerini inceler. Bir yıl boyunca iki Ugandalı kadının çeşitli sosyal alanlardaki günlük dil pratiklerine odaklanan bu dilbilimsel etnografik çalışma, saha gözlemlerinden, röportajlardan ve Türkçe, İngilizce ve Afrika yerel dillerinde gerçekleşen spontane konuşmalardan elde edilen verilerden yararlanır. Kronotopik veri analizine dayalı elde edilen bulgular, bu kadınların konuşmalarında çoklu kronotopları çağrıştırarak İstanbul'da yerelötesi kimliklerini nasıl inşa ettiklerini ortaya çıkarır. Bu çalışmanın bulguları aynı zamanda söylemdeki kronotopik değişimin dilsel sermaye algısında nasıl bir değişikliğe yol açtığını gösterir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for this thesis emerged in a sociolinguistics course that I took from my advisor Assist. Prof. Işıl Erduyan in the spring of 2019. Therefore, I am sincerely indebted to her for encouraging me to explore the multilingual realities of my own neighborhood in the first place. During my master's study, she has not only helped me develop a critical eye on issues pertaining to language, identity, and migration but has also greatly assisted me in improving the quality of my work through her constructive feedback on my drafts. I will always be grateful to her for her constant academic and emotional support, which made it possible to embark on such a rigorous project.

I am also grateful to the other committee members Prof. Yasemin Bayyurt and Assoc. Prof. Emre Güvendir for their invaluable time and effort. Their insightful contributions to the thesis helped me prepare this final version.

I would like to thank Elanur Sönmez, Emre Murat Bozer, Sezen Bektaş, and Deniz Barutçuoğlu for their motivational support and the intellectually enriching debates we had during our weekly gatherings in the summer of 2019, which helped me lay the groundwork for my fieldwork. My special thanks go to Elanur and Emre for being always there whenever I needed them. We were not only engaged in academic discussions through the online reading sessions we had in the summer of 2020 but also encouraged each other to write more effectively through our online writing sessions. I am thankful for their unyielding support and joyful presence throughout this process.

I also thank the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK 2210-A) for the financial support they provided me throughout my graduate education.

I owe sincere gratitude to my flatmate Mukaddes for having supported me tremendously since the beginning of my fieldwork. She has not only given me reassurance but has also provided me with insightful comments on my drafts. I would also like to thank Kağan for always supporting me, whether it be the times when I had too many concerns over my thesis or when I simply wanted to share the ideas that I developed in my thesis with someone.

I am deeply indebted to my mother Nezahat and my father Mustafa for the support they showed me throughout this journey. Without their unconditional love, I would not be able to venture into this rigorous fieldwork with such confidence. I especially thank my mother, who even wished me a happy Sunday since the first day I visited a Ugandan church in İstanbul. I am so lucky to have them.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all the Africans I have met throughout my fieldwork. Hearing about their aspirations and struggles in İstanbul has enabled me to change my own perspective towards the city itself. However, the biggest thanks go to my participants for opening up their world to me. Without their trust, this project would not have been possible. I will be forever indebted.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to Dianne and Judy, who keep chasing their dreams in pursuit of a better life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In the summer of 2019, I was living in a downtown neighborhood of İstanbul, where I had become neighbors with people of diverse ethnic, national, and cultural make-up for the first time in my life. On a stroll towards my home, it was natural to encounter several hometown associations, where such social events as weddings and religious ceremonies were usually held in basement floors of buildings. It was also very usual to come across people from different nations while running errands in the neighborhood. One could see a few beauty shops owned by Africans or small local freight companies where Afghan refugees were involved in bodily work (Karadağ, 2021).

Nevertheless, this was not restricted to my neighborhood only, since the same urban landscape could be seen in other parts of İstanbul, as well. Initially inhabited by people coming from different provinces of Turkey, these vicinities have also been home to increasing numbers of migrants and refugees over the last two decades who arrive from a wide range of countries through different means and for various aims. This has mainly resulted from Turkey's changing migration policies at the beginning of the century, which made entrance into the country much easier than before (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013). From early 2010s onwards, İstanbul has seen an influx of migrants especially from such neighboring countries as Syria and Iran and has thus turned into a city of destination and transit (İçduygu & Biehl, 2013). In addition, the number of foreigners with Turkish residence permit has reached more than half a million in the city (Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration

Management, 2021). This, in turn, has created new spaces of encounter for the host society who have found themselves sharing the same neighborhood with people from immigrant backgrounds.

Even though public discourse has generally revolved around Syrians, the largest immigrant community in Turkey (e.g., Toğral-Koca, 2016), other migrant groups have, at times, received public attention, as well. Among them are Sub-Saharan Africans, who are not intensely represented in public discourse like Syrians but sometimes receive media coverage in the receiving society with their distinct customs and way of life. For instance, it is not quite surprising to hear on the news about a traditional African wedding held in a downtown neighborhood of İstanbul or a group of Africans violating the coronavirus regulations while socializing with other Africans in the city. This mainly stems from the fact that Africans have become more visible in İstanbul over the last few years, both through their increasing presence in various vicinities of the city and the multiple languages they use in their quotidian lives, some of which many locals hear for the first time in their lives. Therefore, as multilingual speakers, these migrants also negotiate multiple identities in their encounters with the locals in İstanbul.

Intrigued by the details of such interactions between the locals and Sub-Saharan Africans in the city, I embarked on a project which would not only explore the everyday language practices of African migrants in İstanbul but also reveal the relationship of these practices to their identities. In this vein, I particularly focus on their linguistic construction of translocal identities. In this chapter, I will first explain the rationale for the study and present the readers with the main research questions I have sought to answer in this study. After giving some demographic information on the Sub-Saharan Africans in İstanbul, I will provide the readers with a description of

Ugandans in the city, the migrant group under focus in this study. Then, I will briefly explain the methodological framework of the present study, which will be followed by a review of the main theoretical frameworks that I have adopted to explore the identity construction of multilingual Ugandans in İstanbul. Before finalizing the chapter, I will inform the readers about the plan of the thesis.

1.2 Rationale for the study and research questions

South-South migration, which refers to the movement of people within developing countries, constitutes the majority of the global migration flows today (Abel & Sander, 2014). Nevertheless, it has not received the attention it deserves from the migration scholars who still take South-North migration as the norm in their data analysis (Nawyn, 2016). Turkey, due to its critical location, has recently gained increasing attention in studies of international migration, as well. Formerly known as a major migrant-sending country, it has become a country of immigration rather than that of emigration over the last decade (Düvell, 2020). With its emerging economy in the region, it has attracted large numbers of migrants mainly from countries in the Global South, who have sought better living conditions in different provinces of Turkey.

In the past few years, İstanbul in particular has witnessed the emergence of multilingual immigrant communities in various neighborhoods of the city, including an increasing number of Sub-Saharan Africans. As the new residents of the city, these migrants have created a slightly more different profile than those arriving in İstanbul earlier on since most of them have aspired to be permanent residents while at the same time creating and maintaining translocal connections through their everyday practices in the city. Considering the great plurality Sub-Saharan Africans

constitute in İstanbul, however, there is a scarcity of research on the newly emerging African communities in several vicinities of the city. So far, few ethnographically informed studies have sought to explore the everyday lives of Sub-Saharan Africans in İstanbul. Because they have mainly attempted to portray the nuanced dimensions of African migration to Turkey, they have not particularly focused on a single group of Africans in the city, either. One such migrant group is Ugandans in İstanbul, who have shown their increased presence in the city over the past few years but has received little attention among the migration scholars in Turkey (see Coşkun, 2018).

To this end, one of the main motivations of this study is to illuminate the linguistic identity practices of Ugandan migrants as they go about their daily lives in İstanbul. Settling down in neighborhoods predominantly inhabited by internal migrants, these migrants do not only shape their interactions in İstanbul through their everyday encounters with the locals in their surroundings but also maintain ties with their country of origin. In this regard, they do not necessarily identify themselves with their native country only but rather develop "an awareness of multi-locality" (Vertovec, 2009, p. 6) through their everyday practices in the city. Whereas it is typical of a Ugandan to socialize with people of the same ethnicity while attending a weekly worship at the Pentecostal church in the neighborhood, it is also usual to see the same migrant being involved in business with locals. Therefore, everyday interactions of Ugandans in İstanbul are shaped by these local-to-local connections, in other words, their translocal experiences.

Despite the existence of such an influence on the construction, negotiation, and reproduction of identities, that is how people view themselves, how they relate to the social world, and how they are perceived by others in their surroundings (Duff, 2015), no attention has been devoted to the identity practices of Ugandans as

translocal migrants in İstanbul so far, apart from one ethnographic study investigating the identity construction and negotiation of Sub-Saharan Africans in the city (see Suter, 2013). Thus, this thesis will also shed light on the translocal identity practices of Ugandan migrants in İstanbul.

Furthermore, translocalism itself is a multilingual phenomenon since the mobility of migrants also includes the mobility of their linguistic resources, through which "'sedentary' or 'territorialized' patterns of language use are complemented by 'translocal' or 'deterritorialized' forms of language use" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 4). For instance, a Ugandan living in an ethnically diverse neighborhood of İstanbul may speak one or more African local languages while interacting with other Africans in his/her surroundings or native country. At the same time, s/he may speak his/her indigenized variety of English while communicating with migrants from different countries or may need to use Turkish in his/her encounters with the locals in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, little is known about the everyday linguistic practices of these migrants in the city, who offer new spaces of encounter for the monolingual Turkish society with their multilingual backgrounds. Although few studies have briefly informed the readers about the languages Sub-Saharan Africans use in their daily lives in İstanbul, no work has investigated the multilingual identity practices of these migrants from a linguistic ethnographic perspective so far. Therefore, I also aim to map out the rather under-studied language constellation of Turkish-English-Luganda and explore the linguistic trajectories of Ugandans in their contribution to their translocal identity construction in İstanbul.

In light of the rationale that I have detailed above, I have identified two research questions that will guide this study:

1. What kind of identities do multilingual Ugandans construct as translocal migrants in İstanbul?
2. What kind of languages and linguistic practices are involved in this construction?

I will attempt to answer these questions throughout the analytical chapters, that is Chapter 4, 5, 6, and will discuss the findings in Chapter 7.

1.3 Sub-Saharan African migrants in İstanbul

The metropolis of İstanbul has witnessed an influx of Sub-Saharan African migrants since the early 1990s, when the region experienced such serious problems as high political instability, economic stagnation, and ethnic conflicts (Adepoju, 2000). This was followed by Turkey's growing focus on Africa starting from 1998, when the Turkish government prepared an action plan to strengthen the political, economic and cultural ties with the continent and adopted the policy of opening up to Africa; however, this attempt reached its highest level when the ruling party AKP declared the year 2005 as the year of Africa (Özkan & Akgün, 2010) in line with its formulation of Turkish foreign policy. Since then, the number of Turkish embassies in the continent has amounted up to 42 (Düz, 2019) and new flights have been launched between several major African cities and İstanbul. These bilateral relations, in turn, have helped Turkey attract an increasing number of African traders, who, on their return to the native country, have become primary sources of information for other Africans aspiring to leave the continent (Şaul, 2017), thus creating new migration pathway among these migrants.

In contrast to the relatively easy visa application processes of Sub-Saharan Africans to Turkey, where they can travel legally with a tourist visa (Fait, 2013), the

majority of these migrants become undocumented migrants once they overstay their visa. According to TÜİK (2018), there are 11,023 documented Sub-Saharan African migrants in İstanbul, who come from West and Central Africa, East Africa, and South Africa; however, Şaul (2014) estimates that there are around 70,000 Sub-Saharan African migrants residing in İstanbul since the statistics do not take the irregular migration into account. More than half of these documented Sub-Saharan African migrants in İstanbul dwell in the districts of Esenyurt, Fatih, and Şişli respectively, and Nigerians are considered as the largest group among them (TÜİK, 2018).

Sub-Saharan African migrants in İstanbul form such diverse plurality that they cannot be labeled under a single category, as opposed to the earlier notions of Africans as "transit migrants" who aspire to reach Europe after a temporary stay in Turkey (De Clerck, 2013; Fait, 2013). Whereas some of these migrants make their journey to Europe easier by arriving in Turkey first, some consider Turkey as a destination country, where they, at times, assume to have better living and working conditions compared to those in the European countries.

Şaul (2014) states that most of the migrants from West and Central Africa are middle-class urban traders and white-collar workers, and they arrive in Turkey to improve the living conditions of both their own and their families back home by saving up and sending them remittances, and in turn taking up a more ambitious project on their return to their native country. Nevertheless, most of these migrants become de-skilled on their arrival in Turkey in that they get involved in such menial jobs as working at textile factories, doing construction work, cleaning buildings, and so on, partly because of the language barrier. Still, there are also some migrants who find longer-term salaried employment or start their own *kargo* (cargo) business in

İstanbul in time (Şaul, 2014). Working in such low wage segments of the labor market compels the majority of Sub-Saharan Africans to live as a lodger in the basement floors of apartment buildings, which are usually rented by other African migrants as boarding houses and shared with few African nationals; however, the housing conditions of most of these migrants improve as they start earning more money in the city and rent their own apartments (Şaul, 2014).

These precarious working and living conditions of Sub-Saharan African migrants in İstanbul limit their socialization practices to such events as Sunday gatherings at church and occasional football tournaments. In these public spaces, it is rare to see East and West Africans intermingling with each other, since they usually prefer to build stronger bonds with Africans of the same country and may find it easier to relate with someone of the same ethnic or linguistic background (Brewer & Yükseker, 2009).

These individuals also open up new spaces of encounter for the monolingual Turkish society since one may hear the diverse languages Sub-Saharan African migrants speak during a stroll in the downtown neighborhoods of the city. The majority of these migrants are multilingual speakers since they speak English or French because of colonialization, African indigenous languages, and some Turkish. One such visible community that has emerged among these migrants in the last few years is Ugandans in İstanbul, which I will focus on below.

1.3.1 Ugandans in İstanbul

Uganda is a landlocked country situated in East-Central Africa (see Appendix A, Figure 1) with a diverse ethnic and linguistic background in that there are over 40 indigenous ethnic groups, and among these the Buganda, the Banyankole, and the

Basoga are regarded as the major ethnic groups of the country (Pariona, 2019). Furthermore, Ugandans can be divided into several broad linguistic groups: Bantu speakers, who make up the majority of the population, and non-Bantu speakers, who can further be classified as Nilotic and Central Sudanic people (see Appendix B, Figure 2). Currently, there are 44 established languages in the country, two of which are the official languages: English and Kiswahili, while the rest of them are indigenous languages spoken by respective tribes (Eberhard et al., 2021).

Contrary to this linguistic and cultural diversity of the country, Uganda has witnessed violent ethnic conflicts since 1962, when it gained its independence from the United Kingdom (Nyombi & Kaddu, 2015) and began to be ruled by Mutesa II of Buganda, the first post-independence president of the country, in the upcoming year (The State House of Uganda, n.d.). Currently, it is ruled by the president Yoweri Museveni, who rose to power in 1986 but has started to be labeled as a dictator rather than a liberator in the public eye over the last few years due to his intolerance against the opposition and media (Mugabi, 2018).

The increasing presence of Ugandan migrants in İstanbul in recent years mainly results from this political instability they have to deal with in their everyday lives in Uganda along with the lack of job opportunities. In addition, the opening of the Turkish embassy in Kampala in 2010 and the availability of direct flights between Entebbe and İstanbul since then have eased the mobility of the Ugandan migrants who desire to live in İstanbul as the new residents of the city (Coşkun, 2018). However, Ugandans do not form a large group among Sub-Saharan Africans in İstanbul since there are almost 300 documented Ugandan migrants and they make up the fifth largest group among East African migrants in the city (TÜİK, 2018). Half of these documented migrants reside in Fatih, but Esenyurt and Şişli are the

other popular districts, all of which are comprised of vicinities primarily inhabited by migrants from several different countries.

Even though a great number of Ugandans arrive in İstanbul with a business visa (Coşkun, 2018), they find themselves working in the low wage segments of the labor market once their visas expire, regardless of their level of education as in the case of many Sub-Saharan Africans in İstanbul. Based on my observations in the field, one of the first informal jobs Ugandans get involved in İstanbul is what is usually known among local Africans as *çabuk çabuk* jobs (Brewer & Yükseker, 2009), which refers to low-skilled work at textile workshops. Some Ugandan women also work as home-stay-nannies in different parts of Turkey because of their high level of proficiency in English whereas others work as prostitutes driven by the need to send money to their children or parents back at home (Coşkun, 2018). Besides these precarious jobs, there are also few Ugandans who find secure employment after a short stay in Turkey in that they either work as English teachers or start their own cargo business by shipping clothes to wholesalers mainly in Africa.

Most of the Ugandan migrants in İstanbul are competent speakers of at least three languages: English, Luganda, which is the most widely spoken indigenous language in the country and has recently emerged as lingua franca (Ssempuuma, 2011), and another indigenous language. Despite their rich linguistic profile, Ugandan migrants are confronted with a language barrier in their everyday encounters with the locals in İstanbul, which minimizes the interaction between the two communities. Therefore, Ugandans generally spend their leisure time with other Ugandans or Africans of different nations. Just like the other Sub-Saharan Africans in İstanbul, the main nexus of social networks among these migrants is the church gatherings every Sunday and there are also few restaurants and hair salons run by

Ugandan migrants in the city, which function as a space of solidarity among these migrants.

1.4 Linguistic ethnography as a methodological framework

Linguistic ethnography (LE), in Rampton's (2007) words, is "neither a paradigm, a cohesive 'school', nor some kind of definitive synthesis" (p. 585). Instead, he suggests, it is an interdisciplinary enterprise where scholars with similar interests resort to ethnographic methodologies to address several issues pertaining to language in society. In other words, LE brings ethnographic and linguistic methodologies together to explore linguistic practices in various social contexts (Maybin & Tusting, 2011).

Rampton (2007) further argues that "ethnography opens linguistics up" while "linguistics ties ethnography down" (p. 596). While ethnographic methodologies allow for a closer attention to context that may not be initially presented in interactional analysis, linguistic methodologies provide a more precise analysis of situated practices through a close look at language use, which is not usually captured through participant observation and fieldnotes (Creese, 2010).

Furthermore, LE bears many similarities with linguistic anthropology, a well-established field in North America (Copland & Creese, 2015); however, it has its origins in the works of British scholars who do not base their theoretical underpinnings on anthropology, but on sociolinguistics (Maybin & Tusting, 2011). Considered as both a theoretical and analytical framework, LE does not only seek to understand how agents make sense of their lived experiences through close attention to their local and immediate actions but also regard these interactions as inherent in broader social contexts (Copland & Creese, 2015). In light of these, I have employed

linguistic ethnography as the main methodological framework in this study since its situated approach to language and identity has helped me better capture the participants' meaning-making processes as translocal migrants in İstanbul.

1.5 Theoretical background to the study

Having briefly informed the readers about the methodological tenets of linguistic ethnography, I now focus on the three main theoretical frameworks I have adopted to explore the identity construction of multilingual Ugandans in İstanbul; therefore, it is divided into three main parts. While, in the first part, I will present the notion of translocality to the readers and discuss its relevance to identity research, I will next explain Bourdieu's concept of language as symbolic power and demonstrate how it relates to the everyday language ecology of such an immigrant community in the subsequent part. The last part will center on Bakhtin's notion of chronotope in understanding the identity work Ugandan migrants are involved in as they go about their daily lives in İstanbul.

1.5.1 Translocality

Transnationalism has received increasing attention in humanities since the notion was brought into migration studies in the early 1990s (Glick Schiller et al., 1992). Similarly, applied linguistics, along with the social turn in SLA in the mid-1990s (see Block, 2003), has increasingly attended to the political, economic, and social dimensions of language learning in various contexts. Much research in the field, therefore, has underscored the growing importance of transnationalism, which Vertovec (2009) defines as "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (p. i). Considered as a byproduct of

globalization, these cross-border movements of people have urged many applied linguists to direct their attention to the study of new modes of identity construction and language use since migrants' everyday language practices in their country of destination have also been shaped by changing global structures and relationships (De Fina & Perrino, 2013).

In contrast to the abundance of language studies within the conceptual framework of transnationalism, the notion of translocality (or translocalism) has not been theorized in the field of applied linguistics yet, and occasionally, it has been used as a synonym for transnationalism. Even though translocality interacts with transnationalism in various contexts (Englert, 2018) and everyday experiences of mobile subjects might be shaped by both dimensions to an equal extent, the term "translocal" can also be employed to make a distinction between the two.

Although transnationalism has attempted to overcome the limitations of methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002), which characterizes much research on migration, the translocal approach has addressed the shortcomings of transnationalism, whose central idea is still anchored in "the transgression of and exchange beyond national borders" (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 3). In other words, the term "transnational" addresses states as political bodies rather than nations -communities characterized by shared cultures and histories, which, in turn, compels one to think that every state is a nation-state (Hannerz, 1998). However, from a historical perspective, nation building concerns emerged in Central Europe back in 1700s while it is a relatively recent phenomenon in some countries in the Global South. Therefore, the term "transnational" does not really prove to be useful in either illuminating the historical relationships between non-European regions and countries or studying the history of Western nation states through the lenses of global

history and cultural anthropology (Gottowik, 2010). The term “translocal”, on the other hand, puts more emphasis on the transgression of boundaries between spaces rather than overcoming the multiple existing borders both within and outside the nation state such as political, economic, and social (Freitag & von Oppen, 2010).

Furthermore, because of the arbitrariness of international boundaries and poor border enforcement in many post-colonial countries, the difference between internal and international migration remains nearly obsolete today (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013). In many African countries, for instance, international migration, at times, “involves relatively shorter distances and less social heterogeneity . . . and fewer barriers” (p. 28) compared to internal migration (Adepoju, 2006). Hence, for a speaker of Alur living in the northwestern part of Uganda, moving to another country might prove to be less burdensome than settling in another region within the country, where s/he is likely to encounter a major ethnic group different from his/hers.

Finally, studies on transnational migrant communities demonstrate that migrants’ quotidian lives are shaped by their localized experiences (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013), and place attachment is an important dimension in migrants’ lives. White (2011) argues, for instance, that ethnicity or nationality might be less relevant than locality in particular contexts and too much emphasis on the former might result in the ignorance of such translocal attachments. On a similar note, Conradson & McKay (2007) claim that the construction of migrants’ translocal identities is more relevant to the localities within nations than nation states. For instance, a Ugandan living in İstanbul will continue maintaining ties with family and friends back home and identify herself/himself with people of the same village or tribe. Whereas s/he will be considered as a “Ugandan” among other Africans at the church that s/he visits every Sunday in his/her neighborhood, s/he will be recognized

as someone from a certain locality, named by village or tribe among Ugandan friends in İstanbul.

In light of these, Appadurai (1996) first coins the term "translocalities" in his book on the modernity of nation-states in a globalizing world and describes it as the extension of emplaced communities through the mobility of their inhabitants across certain sending and receiving countries. He further suggests that translocal spaces "create complex conditions for the production and reproduction of locality, in which ties of marriage, work, business and leisure weave together various circulating populations with kinds of locals . . ." (p. 192). Therefore, localities remain important sources for migrants who identify themselves with multiple locations (Oakes & Schein, 2006) and who are involved in new forms of meaning-making and identity construction. This, in turn, means that on an individual level, the uniqueness of place is preserved instead of being erased by global mobilities (Amin, 2002).

Translocality also adopts an "agency oriented" approach to transnational migrant experiences (Brickell & Datta, 2016, p. 3), through which the appearance of multidirectional and overlapping networks eases the mobility of people, practices, ideas, and capitals (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013). Therefore, the translocal approach broadens the focus beyond individual mobilities and intentionally draws unclear boundaries of the local to grasp the true essence of spatial processes and identities; however, it still regards such processes and identities as localized rather than mobile (Oakes & Schein, 2006). Considering migrants' transnational networks within these localized contexts, many researchers point to the significance of local-to-local relations during transnational migration, and they further claim that localities are not necessarily restricted to the social realities of local contexts but may be linked

with broader spatial processes and histories (Conradson & McKay, 2007; Guarnizo & Smith, 1998).

To this end, translocality calls for a holistic perspective on global migration flows, in which the emergence of localized everyday experiences creates relatedness between various scales. In line with this notion, Brickell and Datta (2016) approach translocal spaces as the agents' "simultaneous situatedness across different locales which provide ways of understanding the overlapping place-time(s) in migrants' everyday lives" (p. 4). They further assume that these spaces are defined by unequal power relations, where both mobile and immobile agents claim and negotiate power by exchanging several capitals which are assigned different values across different scales. Similarly, Verne (2012) highlights that translocality should not be considered simply as an inclusion of a translocal scale between the global and the local since our social world is not comprised of clearly distinguishable scales. Unlike such implicit assumptions of studies on transnationalism, scales are socially constructed, fluid and fixed concurrently, and inherently relational (Brown & Purcell, 2005).

Considering all the above points, translocality enables researchers to explore the complexity of social-spatial interactions inherent in migrants' everyday lives through a holistic, agency-oriented and multi-dimensional perspective (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013). Therefore, I approach my participants as translocal migrants in İstanbul and aim to explore their everyday language practices in the city through their translocal subjectivities. In the next section, I turn the gaze into the second theoretical framework I have employed for the study, that is Bourdieu's notion of language as symbolic power.

1.5.2 Bourdieu and language as symbolic power

As a keen ethnographer interested in the language practices of the communities he studied earlier in his career, Bourdieu has significantly contributed to our understanding of issues pertaining to language through his major studies on language in society since the 1960s. Grenfell (2011) maintains that Bourdieu's early works mainly emerged as a reaction towards the formalist approach to language adopted by such linguists as Saussure (2011) and Chomsky (1965) since he criticized them for failing to view language as differential and differentiated and ignoring the influence of macrosocial processes on language use. To this end, Bourdieu's (1977) reconceptualization of linguistics might be summarized as follows:

> In place of *grammaticalness* it puts the notion of *acceptability*, or, to put it another way, in place of "the" language *(langue)*, the notion of the *legitimate* language. In place of *relations of communication* (or symbolic interaction) it puts *relations of symbolic power,* and so replaces the question of the *meaning* of speech with the question of the *value* and *power* of speech. Lastly, in place of specifically linguistic competence, it puts *symbolic capital,* which is inseparable from the speaker's position in the social structure. (p. 646)

In light of the summary above, Bourdieu (1986) views language as a form of cultural capital, which may be described as the knowledge, skills, and behaviors that an individual possesses through his/her interactions within a certain group. Bourdieu (1977, 1991) further argues that language as symbolic capital may turn into economic and social capital, as well. While the former might be defined as all kinds of material resources which are "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 242), the latter refers to the accumulation of social networks derived mainly from an individual's social status. To illustrate, knowledge of a certain language may ease one's access to economic and social opportunities such as better employment and social inclusion (e.g., Park, 2011). Similarly, linguistic capital will be converted into

economic capital more easily if it is institutionalized as educational qualifications or acknowledged by public laws (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Moreover, Bourdieu (1991) states that one does not simply use language to communicate but also to assert power over others since the utterances of the speaker who possesses linguistic capital demonstrate signs of wealth and authority. In Bourdieu's (1977) own words, an individual speaks "not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished" (p. 648); therefore, a value of a speech act is usually determined by the value of the individual who produces it. However, this does not stay on an individual level.

To demonstrate the connection between a certain speech act and the social situation where it is uttered, Bourdieu (1977) coins the word "market" and suggests that language use always occurs in certain markets, whose properties assign a specific value to linguistic expressions. Therefore, some languages (or varieties of languages) are valued more highly than others in a particular linguistic market, and speakers, endowed with different linguistic capital, possess different purchasing power in the market. Blackledge (2001) illustrates this point through the recognition of a (non)standard dialect or language in different markets. He states that if a speaker goes to a market created by the dominant group, s/he will be granted upward mobility; on the other hand, if s/he goes to a subordinated market, s/he will maintain his/her group membership at the cost of becoming financially successful.

Central to Bourdieu's model also lies the intrinsic relationship between linguistic habitus and linguistic market, concurrently structuring and being structured by power relations (Bourdieu, 1991). Habitus refers to learned behaviors, through which individuals learn how to act and respond as they go about their quotidian lives. For instance, whereas an individual may know how to speak a non-standard language

in a certain market, s/he may not be aware of the standard language use in another (Blackledge, 2005). Nevertheless, this does not mean that an individual's habitus is a fixed entity since it may change depending on the context (Jenkins, 1992), and it exists in connection with the field where one acts. Field is a social space where individuals negotiate over resources and access to them (Bourdieu, 1990). Each field such as education, healthcare, or employment is endowed with a set of regulations and an individual's habitus may or may not fit into that of a specific field (Blackledge, 2005).

In such cases, Bourdieu (1991) claims that the individual does not possess the linguistic capital, or the legitimate language, demanded in the majority language market; thus, s/he is assigned less power by those who can actually use the required linguistic capital. Sometimes, even the speaker himself/herself may acknowledge the authority and correctness of such a language and its right to power. Blackledge (2005) further argues that as the formality of the situation increases, language(s) favored by the dominant group will function as linguistic capital; on the contrary, if the conversation is held in a less formal setting, the linguistic capital of the dominated group will be received more favorably.

Taking all into consideration, scholars point towards the importance of exploring the repercussions of a change in any person's habitus in the course of resettlement since migrants will have to reorient their bodily capacities, including their linguistic practices, into a new social system (Noble, 2013; Vertovec, 2009). Therefore, looking at migrants' everyday language use through Bourdieusian perspective will not only enable researchers to understand the power dynamics inherent in migrants' linguistic practices better but will also offer a theoretical

framework through which researchers can form stronger relations with micro and macro levels of analysis (Lareau, 1989).

Against this background, while discussing the findings of my empirically grounded study, I will align with the following forms of capital that Bourdieu has proposed: linguistic, economic, and social capital.

1.5.3 Chronotopes[1]

While this thesis engages with the methodological principles of linguistic ethnography, the approach adopted to analyze the data aligns itself with Gumperz's (1982) interactional sociolinguistics framework, within which one attempts to achieve "closer understanding of how linguistic signs interact with social knowledge in discourse" (p. 29). Here, Gumperz (1982) draws on the notion of "contextualization" to account for the analyst's efforts to make sense of the linguistic data since s/he pays attention to the contextual cues present in the interaction. In this regard, the term has a close affinity with Goffman's (1964) concept of "social situation", which he defines as "an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are 'present' and similarly find them accessible to him" (p. 135). Blommaert (2020) further maintains that the "social situation" here points towards the dialogic relationship between the physical setting and the social event, which, in turn, determines the basis of social interaction. Whereas the first element refers to the actual timespace configuration where people interact with each other, the latter provides interactants with specific normative judgements on how one should participate in interaction and communicate with their interlocutors.

[1] Throughout the thesis, I use the term "chronotope" interchangeably with its literal translation "timespace". In order to avoid any confusion between these two terms, see Erduyan (2019).

Addressing identity work in language in society, Blommaert (2020), however, states that certain analytical approaches to the study of language such as conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis do not take "the situation" into account in Goffmanian sense or as it is understood in linguistic ethnographic tradition. Therefore, in pursuit of giving an analytic precision to Goffman's (1964) "social situation", Blommaert (2015) draws on Bakhtin's (1981) notion of "chronotope" to reconceptualize the understanding of context in sociolinguistics. Originally developing the idea of "chronotope" within literary studies, Bakhtin (1981) defines chronotopes as follows:

> In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. (p. 84)

Pointing to the interdependence of time and space, Bakhtin (1981) argued that attention to various timespace configurations in stories may expand our understanding of different genres of the novel, since different chronotopes entail a different range of features and create certain effects. He further suggested that the interactions across various chronotopes contribute to the novel's heteroglossia, as every chronotope refers to a certain set of social values associated with particular identity inscriptions.

Blommaert (2015) has his own take on chronotopes, which he defines as "the aspect of contextualization through which specific chunks of history can be invoked in discourse as meaning-attributing resources" (p. 111). In other words, speakers bring various chronotopes into the here-and-now of the interactional context, which, in turn, affects the discursive event. Blommaert (2017) further holds that chronotopes are "nested within chronotopes" (p. 97), which means that macroscopic and microscopic timespace frames constantly interact with each other. Blommaert & De

Fina (2017) illustrate this point by breaking down the time frame of a week into smaller chronotopic units. Whereas particular days within a week are reserved for family gatherings, religious services or work, the timeframe of one day in that week can be divided into smaller timespace configurations, which include such activities as having breakfast or leaving work. Through this example, Blommaert & De Fina (2017) suggest that even narrower timespace frames are informed by certain collocations of time, space, and modes of behavior.

Blommaert & De Fina (2017) also argue that identities are chronotopically organized and our everyday practices are usually shaped by particular spatiotemporal conditions, which enable particular forms of conduct as positive, acceptable, or mandatory. Drawing on classroom interactions in a Sicilian school, for instance, they state that the students' linguistic choices are informed by a shift in the immediate chronotopic context. While the students resort to Sicilian in the back part of the classroom, they associate the use of Italian with the front part; thus, a student deviating from such a rule may be labeled as "ignorant". Therefore, alternating among various timespace configurations may sometimes lead to a major shift in such semiotic resources as discourse, mode of interaction, dress, and what is regarded as typical or atypical behavior (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017).

De Fina (2020) further contends that chronotopes demand ethnographic work, which involves careful examination of language use and identity practices. In other words, ethnography, through its emphasis on practices, lays the foundation for determining how interlocutors interpret "moralized behavioral scripts" (Blommaert, 2017), how they make sense of the use of semiotic resources, what elements are seen acceptable within a particular chronotope, what scales are involved in the formation of certain chronotopes, and what timespace dimensions are considered as relevant to

the participants' meaning-making processes (De Fina, 2020). Chronotopes also prove to be helpful in understanding the semiotic practices of immigrants, who navigate multiple spaces and therefore do not belong to a single and stable community, since their social behaviors are simultaneously evaluated according to the normative rules of various places among various people (Blommaert, 2017). Finally, they allow researchers to shift their focus away from the static views of social analysis and discussions of power and authenticity towards a view of dynamic and mobile forms of culture interacting with equally changing normative structures across scales (Blommaert, 2020).

Given the relevance of chronotope in understanding identity work, I will also employ it as my analytical tool to explore the translocal identity construction of multilingual Ugandans in İstanbul.

1.6 Plan of the thesis

This thesis is composed of seven chapters, and in this section, I aim to inform the readers about the plan of the rest of the thesis. Following this introductory chapter, I will present a review of relevant literature in Chapter 2. In the subsequent chapter, I will demonstrate the research design and the methodological choices that I have made throughout the processes of collecting and analyzing data. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are the three analytical chapters in this study. In Chapter 4, I will explore the participants' multilingual identity negotiation in İstanbul as their everyday language practices are shaped by their encounters with the monolingual Turks in their surroundings. In Chapter 5, I will turn the gaze to the participants' negotiation of post-colonial identities in İstanbul since they, coming from a former colonial country, consider themselves as native speakers of English and approach İstanbul

through English, the dominant language in their interactions in the city. Against this multilingual background, the last analytical chapter will center on the participants' negotiation of 'heritage' identities by focusing on their use of African local languages in both localities, that is İstanbul and Kampala. Chapter 7 is the final chapter of this thesis, where I will present a discussion based on the findings and conclude the study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, I will review the major studies on urban multilingualism in applied linguistics conducted particularly in the last two decades. I will then provide the readers with an overview of the key works investigating the identity practices of multilingual individuals in the next section. The third section will be dedicated to reviewing recent research that draws on chronotopes as an analytical tool to explore language practices, particularly in relation to migration and identity.

2.1 Urban multilingualism in applied linguistics

Over the past few decades, multilingualism "as the new linguistic dispensation" (Aronin & Singleton, 2008) has gained great momentum in the field of applied linguistics, be it at an individual or societal level. Considered as the norm rather than the exception (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2010; Edwards, 1994), the multilingual reality has naturally become an integral part of many cities in the world today, where it is common to encounter an assortment of Dominant Language Constellations (DLCs). [2] Even though urban multilingualism has always been a reality, the interest in this strand of research has intensified since the beginning of the century, mainly due to the impact of human mobility, globalization, and rapid technological developments (King & Carson, 2016). There are numerous strands of research in urban

[2] Aronin (2016) makes a distinction between the terms "language (or linguistic) repertoire" and "DLC". While the prior refers to all the languages or skills that an individual or a community possesses, the latter may be defined as the set of selected languages or skills within one's repertoire, which enables him/her to function in a multilingual context. In this regard, DLC moves the focus away from examining separate languages to investigating their constellations.

multilingualism. In this section, I aim to inform the readers about two main research interests that have emerged within studies of urban multilingualism that underline the visibility of this phenomenon, that is research on multilingual cities and linguistic landscapes.

Urban multilingualism might be defined as the co-presence of multiple languages in urban areas (King & Carson, 2016). Earlier studies in this line of research have mainly sought to map out the linguistic diversity in several cities across North America (e.g., García & Fishman, 2001) and Europe (e.g., Broader & Extra, 1998; Extra & Gorter, 2001, 2008; Extra & Yağmur, 2004, 2011). Based on the findings of these large scale-comparative studies, researchers have come up with four different language groups in the context of Europe, that is national, foreign, regional minority (RM), and immigrant minority (IM) languages. While national languages might be defined as official state languages, foreign languages mainly refer to both European and non-European languages with a widespread reach all over the globe (Extra & Gorter, 2008). RM languages, on the other hand, are "indigenous minority languages with a regional base" whereas IM languages "stem from abroad without such a base" (Extra & Gorter, 2011, p. 1173).

Despite Europe's celebratory discourse on multilingualism, Extra & Yağmur (2013) have concluded that these four language groups serve in a descending hierarchy; thus, IM languages receive the least recognition across the board. Yet, as Extra & Yağmur (2004) argue, they remain as core cultural values among various immigrant communities in Europe, particularly as in the case of Turkish across the continent. Block's (2006) study with Spanish-speaking Latinos in London shows similar results, in which preserving Spanish language is a strong marker of *Latinidad* (Latin-ness) among the educated expatriate within this community.

To this end, the growing presence of IM languages in many European cities has resulted in new urban ways of multilingual speech as markers of identity, particularly among the immigrant youth. Rampton (1995), for instance, looks into the linguistic exchanges among adolescents coming from different ethnic backgrounds, that is Anglo, Punjabi, and Caribbean, in a neighborhood situated in London. Through a close analysis of these interactions, he coins the term "crossing" to demonstrate how these youngsters skillfully engage in using or doing stylized performances of Creole, Punjabi, and Indian English in their speech. He then connects these language practices to the participants' way of resisting, reproducing, and playing with the existing stereotypes in the UK against immigrants. Similarly, Doran (2007) explores the use of Verlan among the working-class, multiethnic youth in a suburb located in Paris. She describes Verlan as a code that is characterized by borrowings from minority languages such as Arabic, English and Wolof, lexical dissimilarities with standard French and its distinct prosodic and discursive features. Based on her findings, Doran (2007) argues that Verlan offers these adolescents a space where they can enact their hybrid identities that deviate from the stereotypical images of suburban youth street culture in the public discourse.

More recently, however, researchers have explored the multiple use of languages in different neighborhoods of the city, rather than focusing mainly on minority speech communities (e.g., Chik et al., 2019; King & Carson, 2016; Siemund & Leimgruber, 2020). For instance, in their edited volume, King & Carson (2016) draw attention to the vitality of multilingualism by centering on five different domains of life ranging from private to urban spheres in several cities in Europe, Canada, and Australia. They claim that even though citizens almost unconsciously experience multilingualism in their quotidian lives, as in the instance of going to

local shops run by diverse language communities, they usually attribute less value to these languages than English, or other host languages, except in cities like Melbourne, where the linguistic needs of minority groups are supported through various institutions. Prah (2010), on the other hand, asserts that learning each other's languages is a common practice in urban Africa and the vitality of multilingualism in these spaces largely depends on the use of urban vernacular language(s) by both native and non-native speakers. Similarly, Mc Laughlin (2009) argues that the contemporary African cities, mainly attracted by minority language speakers from rural areas, urge their new residents to add the dominant urban language into their repertoires since it eases their process of integration in the urban life. Therefore, these studies have revealed that the vitality of multilingualism in cities largely depends on the positive public attitude towards IM languages.

While focusing on multilingual cities, many sociolinguists have quickly taken up the concept of "super-diversity" (Vertovec, 2007), as well (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Superdiverse cities today do not only demonstrate fluctuating combinations of migrants of different national, ethnic, linguistic, and religious make-up but also of those whose motives, patterns and trajectories of migration, and processes of integration into receiving societies show great diversity (cf. Vertovec, 2010). Considering these ever-changing social dynamics in urban spaces, Blommaert & Backus (2013) contend that migrants' meaning-making processes cannot be reduced to certain languages and cultures. Following this line of reasoning, Blommaert & Rampton (2011) summarize below the theoretical underpinnings of superdiversity for understanding language in society:

> Named languages have now been denaturalized, the linguistic is treated as just one semiotic among many, inequality and innovation are positioned together in a dynamics of pervasive normativity, and the contexts in

> which people orient their interactions reach far beyond the communicative event itself. (p. 1)

This idea has been reflected in a growing body of work in sociolinguistics (Arnaut et al., 2016; Blommaert, 2010; Jørgensen et al., 2011; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). In pursuit of understanding how multilingual speakers situate themselves within different social worlds and communities, many sociolinguists have centered on the complex linguistic repertoires of these individuals in different domains of urban life such as educational settings (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Duarte & Gogolin, 2013), neighborhoods (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2019), or online communication (e.g., Androutsopoulos & Juffermans, 2014).

Against this background, Blackledge & Creese (2019) show the complexity of multilingualism and superdiversity in city markets of urban Britain. By adopting a multimodal approach, they analyze everyday communicative practices in these spaces, which are characterized by great linguistic diversity both within and across immigrant communities. Drawing on this larger project, Creese et al. (2018), for instance, examine the everyday interactions of a couple working at a butcher's in Birmingham. They find that translanguaging is a common practice among the participants and their customers and contributes to the understanding of multilingualism as a positive business resource in this marketplace. Turning the gaze towards the individual repertoires of speakers, Ndhlovu (2013) expands the notion of superdiversity in his study on African diasporas in Australia. Through his language nesting model, he draws attention to individuals and their experiences to demonstrate the complexity of African diaspora identities and their linguistic repertoires in regional Australia. He further argues that the choice of language reveals Africans' life stories, migration histories and their effects on social network formation among themselves and other people both within and outside the country. Musgrave &

Hajek's (2013) study is suggestive of the complexity of language choice among speakers of minority languages from Sudan in Melbourne, particularly in relation to the most intimate and most general networks. The authors, for example, state that while the Sudanese may speak Kuku dialect of Bari in their intra-group interactions, they may resort to standard variety of Arabic or English in their interactions with the Sudanese of different ethnic origins, yet in other occasions they may speak Juba Arabic or English. To this end, these studies have mainly shown that superdiverse cities today are characterized by complex multilingualism, where migrants are engaged in diverse linguistic practices to achieve successful communication.

Acknowledging the centrality of spoken language in such research, Backhaus (2007) relates the emergence of linguistic landscape studies to the equal importance of analyzing written language in urban contexts. Landry & Bourhis (1997) define linguistic landscapes as "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (p. 23). In today's world, it is rare to encounter a monolingual linguistic landscape in urban contexts (Gorter, 2013). Therefore, this line of research contributes to our understanding of urban multilingualism through its critical eye on such issues as language choices, language hierarchies, language contact, and aspects of literacy (e.g., Shohamy et al., 2010).

Against this backdrop, Shohamy (2006) regards linguistic landscapes as public spaces where the patterning of languages reveals power relations between speakers of different languages. In other words, linguistic landscapes do not only demonstrate linguistic diversity but also turn into an arena of contestation, where minority languages usually struggle for recognition (Gorter et al., 2012). In one of their earlier studies, Cenoz & Gorter (2006) compare the visibility of two regional languages in Ljouwert and Donostia, that is Frisian and Basque respectively.

Whereas they contrast the high visibility of Basque with the low presence of Frisian in public spaces, they also suggest that English signs appear less prominently in Donostia. In another study, Reh (2004) examines the linguistic landscape of Lira, the largest city in northern Uganda, where English and varieties of Lango (or Lwo) dominate the urban life. Based on her findings, she argues that while the use of English is associated with social and economic developments, the use of Lwo permeates daily life; nevertheless, such a dichotomy does not bring positive outcomes in instances where all the literate people are targeted as potential readers. In a more recent study, Leimgruber (2020) analyzes the distribution of languages on commercial signs in a well-known street of Quebec, Canada. He suggests that French remains as the dominant language both in relation to the language choice and its positioning on signs compared to English and other languages, whose presence conveys non-linguistic social functions.

In their seminal work, Scollon & Scollon (2003) also claim that the meaning of a public sign may only be interpreted if it is situated within a broader social and cultural context. Hence, the languages on a sign can be an indicator of the community where they are used, or they can simply represent a certain product feature that does not share any affinity with its whereabouts. Drawing on this sociohistorical dimension of language use into account, Blommaert (2013) examines multilingual signs in two cities in Belgium and argues that whereas signs in shops that are run by second and third-generation Turks are written in "immaculate" Dutch, those shops that are owned by new residents of Polish descent are written in "ecumenical" Dutch. He maintains that the signage in the latter is more multilingual since the L2 variety of Dutch co-exists with Polish and such languages as Arabic and Russian. Similarly, İnal et al. (2020) state that Turkish, English, and Arabic dominate

the store signage in a touristic district of İstanbul, and they relate the increasing presence of Arabic signs to the recent influx of immigrants and refugees from Arabic speaking countries. In this regard, all these studies have helped us better understand the power differentials between speakers of different languages along with the sociohistorical dimensions of language use in a particular society.

Having given a brief review of the studies on urban multilingualism, I will now attempt to review the key works exploring the relationship between multilingualism and identity practices.

2.2 Multilingualism and identity practices

Scholars across different disciplines and schools of thought have developed numerous approaches to the study of identity. Among these, the post-structural notion of identity remains as one of the most well-embraced lines of thought. Hall (1992) defines the key concepts of such a perspective on identity as follows:

> It [identity] is historically, not biologically, defined. The subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent 'self'. Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about. (p. 277)

Central to these key concepts also lies the role of language in understanding the individual and the social world in which s/he acts. To this end, identity has entered the research world of SLA through Norton's (1995, 2000) foundational work on identity and investment. Since then, many scholars in the field have examined identity and its relation to language through multiple dimensions such as ethnicity, race, religion, gender, class, and so on (e.g., Preece, 2016). In their edited volume, Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004), for instance, argue that individuals and minority groups, through their linguistic practices, do not only index certain identities but also

reinforce, contest, and negotiate those that are ascribed to them in multilingual settings. They maintain that while languages may be markers of certain national or ethnic identities in some contexts, they may function as a form of symbolic capital in others, or these roles might intersect with each other yet in other settings. Given the vast body of identity research in SLA, I will limit my focus to reviewing the key works investigating the identity practices of immigrant adults in multilingual contexts.

It has been commonly recognized that migration is not only an economic and political phenomenon but also a gendered practice (Mahler & Pessar, 2006); therefore, many sociolinguists have sought to examine the role of gender on the language practices of immigrant women in various contexts. In her pioneering study, Norton (1995, 2000) focuses on the language learning experiences of five immigrant women in Canada and demonstrates how investment is intricately related with the social construct of gender. She states that some of her participants invested in English more if they, as a main caregiver at home, needed to have a high level of proficiency in the language, or if they, as single women, did not want to become vulnerable because of their lower command of English. In another study, Park (2009) analyzes the narrative accounts of a Korean woman inside and outside of Korea and the United States. She reveals how her participant's gendered identities as a daughter, spouse, and mother have, in turn, affected her migration and career paths. Park (2009) articulates that her motherly and spousal duties within the family as a Korean-speaking mother have urged her to assert a dominant linguistic and racial identity as a Korean language teacher in the U.S., at the expense of pursuing her other professional aspirations.

Still other sociolinguists have explored how female immigrants negotiate their identities as heritage language speakers through their gendered subjectivities. To this end, Mills (2004) centers on the language practices of immigrant mothers of Pakistani heritage in the UK. She claims that for these women, being a good mother means taking a contradictory stance towards the use of the mother tongue at home. While they feel obliged to teach their mother tongue to their children as a means of maintaining their core cultural and religious values, they also feel the urge to use English at home, sometimes at the expense of their L1, in order to prepare their children for success in school. Elsewhere, Preece (2008) shows how a group of young British Asian women in the UK negotiate their gendered identities through discussions of heritage languages. She suggests that these women "do being" a young woman in London by drawing on two contradictory discourses based on "heteronormativity" and "girl power". While the prior constitutes femininity with regard to marriage, motherhood, and preserving one's heritage language and traditions, the latter constitutes it with regard to youth, individualism and sassiness.

Even though ethnicity also has an impact on how one situates himself/herself as a heritage language speaker, it may prove to be less relevant in instances where one finds a considerable number of indigenous languages spoken in a certain area. Léglise & Migge (2021), for instance, examine the multilingual practices of Maroons, that is African American communities of diverse backgrounds, on the French Guiana-Suriname border. They assert that the increasing use of non-Maroon languages among Maroons is suggestive of the emerging notions of Maroon-ness in the area, which essentially decentralizes the intra-Maroon differences among these local communities and instead brings their urban identities into the interaction. Similarly, Makoni (2019) demonstrates how black African immigrants (BAIs) in

South Africa strategically use self-styling to claim in-group ethnic identities, thereby disentangling language from ethnicity. In other words, she argues that BAIs do not necessarily identify themselves with certain ethnolinguistic groups but instead deploy multiple semiotic resources to conceal their immigrant outsider status in a society where they live at the margins of precarity. In this regard, self-styling does not only involve the use of pluricentric languages but also different forms of embodiment such as skin bleaching or wearing certain types of clothes.

There are also other studies demonstrating how migrants respond to linguistic and racial marginalization they experience in the receiving society. Gandolfo (2009), for instance, maintains that the languages and cultural identities of sub-Saharan African indigenous language communities are devalued and marginalized in favor of western languages, knowledge, and culture. In light of this, Garrido & Codó (2017) draw on a five-year-long ethnographic project and focus on the labor and social trajectories of a group of multilingual and well-educated African migrants in a settlement non-governmental organization in Barcelona, Spain. They argue that the multilingual repertoires of these migrants are erased in this intermediary institution since it unconsciously reinforces the circulating nation-state discourse, which prioritizes the knowledge of Spanish over English and their native language(s) for upward mobility in the receiving society.

In another study, Smith (2015) investigates how Senegalese migrants in Italy, through their discursive practices, construct blackness in a country where whiteness is considered the norm, along with how these constructs create and reinforce boundaries of either inclusion or exclusion dominant in the host society. One of her findings suggests that the participants code-switch among three different languages, that is French, Italian, and English, to highlight feelings of exclusion while

recounting a racist attitude they have received from locals. Blommaert (2001) further contends that even speaking the national language may not prove to be helpful for these migrants in their host society. In doing so, he discusses the role of narratives in the asylum procedure in Belgium, where African migrants tell their stories in their 'broken' varieties of Dutch, French, or English. Through his detailed analysis of narrative structures, he argues that there is a mismatch between the linguistic-communicative resources of asylum seekers and the expectations of the local administration, thus creating narrative inequality and reinforcing boundaries of exclusion.

Nevertheless, Dovchin (2019) asserts that migrants can also challenge the linguistic stereotyping that they face in the receiving society in various manners. To clarify her argument, she delves into the sociolinguistic practices of female Mongolian immigrants living in Australia, where they experience linguistic racism based on the way they speak English and their heritage language. She contends that these women, through language crossing, contest this marginalization by either passing as Australians with their stylization of the Australian accent or by creating a space of solidarity where they freely use such semiotic resources as Mongolian English accent or English mockeries.

On a similar note, Sabaté-Dalmau (2018) looks into language ideologies surrounding the English-mediated multilingual repertoires of homeless Ghanaian migrants, and she investigates how these relate to their transnational identity negotiation in Catalonia, where non-English-speaking bilinguals dominate the society. She argues that the participants project themselves as less competent speakers of English in instances where they devalue their own linguistic resources, thereby reinforcing the stereotypical image of Africans as powerless, de-skilled

individuals in the receiving society. Nevertheless, in other instances, they position themselves as better English speakers than locals by claiming to be native speakers of English, hence challenging the locals' marginalization through their literate, cosmopolitan identities as "Ghanaians".

Having reviewed some major studies exploring the identity practices of multilingual immigrants in various contexts, I will now elaborate on the growing body of research that draws on the notion of chronotopes in order to understand the discursive identity practices of immigrants and better situate the foci of my analyses in chapters 4, 5, 6.

2.3 Chronotopes and migration

As explicated in Chapter 1, the notion of "chronotope" was first introduced by Bakhtin in the 1930s, and it might be described as the intrinsic relationship between time and space in any event in the real world. Drawing on Bakhtin's work (1981), Morson & Emerson (1990) state that communicative practices are informed by multiple chronotopes, each presenting different frames of mind and different angles from which social situations are perceived.

To this end, in the last few years, there has been a surge of interest in the chronotopic analysis of language use among various scholars working within the fields of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. While linguistic anthropologists have mainly sought to understand the interaction between large-scale, contrasting chronotopes and the effect of such an interaction on discourse (e.g., Dick, 2010; Koven, 2013; Rosa, 2016), sociolinguists, following Blommaert's (2015) call for a reconceptualization of context, have argued that an individual invokes various small-scale and large-scale chronotopes in his/her speech and the

complexity of language practices cannot be understood without attending to the interaction between the two. Therefore, a growing number of sociolinguists have explored the human social interaction through a chronotopic analysis in various domains ranging from online communication (e.g., Lyons & Tagg, 2019; Procházka, 2019; Sanei, 2021; Sinatora, 2019) to transnational, migration contexts (e.g., Karimzad & Catedral, 2021). In this section, I will attempt to review the key works adopting a chronotopic approach to illuminate the discursive practices of individuals in migration contexts, specifically in relation to their identity construction.

Drawing from a larger ethnographic study on Iranian educational migrants in the U.S, Karimzad (2016) demonstrates how the participants, depending on their migration history and current migration status, position themselves relative to the chronotope of ideal life in the U.S. In doing so, he compares the discursive practices of non-resident Iranian students with those who are already granted permanent residence in the U.S. and argues that the former (re)construct relatively smaller chronotopes of success in the U.S. and a lack of success in İran while talking about their aspirations to stay in their host country. In other words, non-resident Iranian students construct contrastive images of *here* and *there* in their speech, as they equate being successful in the U.S. with finding a decent job as opposed to Iran, where one needs to come from a wealthy family.

Altherr Flores et al. (2020) further argue that individuals' language use and choice are shaped by the complex interrelationship between various chronotopes. To illustrate their point, they explore the language practices of two multilingual immigrant communities in a U.S. border town, that is Chinese immigrants of a Mandarin church and Lhotshampa refugees. They demonstrate that both communities, through chronotopic imagination and reconfiguration, negotiate

linguistic hierarchies by using Mandarin, Nepali, and Spanish as alternative lingua francas. The authors, for instance, state that the choice of ethnic Chinese to attend a church named Mandarin, regardless of their linguistic background, is indicative of the collective chronotope within this community. Elsewhere, Weichselbraun (2014) looks into the impact of local language ideologies on the linguistic practices of a group of young Carinthian Slovenes in two localities in Austria, that is Carinthia, their rural hometown, and Vienna. She contends that the participants construct contrasting chronotopes of Carinthia and Vienna in their speech to account for the transformation of their language practices once they move to the capital city. While they associate the former timespace with backwardness, conservatism and being old-fashioned, the latter, for them, involves openness, multiculturalism, and multilingual citizens.

For a more nuanced understanding of these language practices, Karimzad (2020) proposes the notion of chronotopization, through which one may fully grasp how individuals (re)construct their perceptions of normative behavior, depending on the time, space, and people present in the interaction. Doing so, he analyzes the metapragmatic commentaries of Iranian Azerbaijani migrants on which language they consider as appropriate within a given social context. Based on his findings, he states that the participants bring either their or others' chronotopization histories into the interaction to evaluate the relative normalcy of various multilingual practices. The participants orient themselves towards larger chronotopes of normalcy (Blommaert, 2017) in their discussions of language choice; on the other hand, their practices and judgements are shaped by smaller chronotopes if they are provided with more contextual details.

Apart from such studies examining the impact of various chronotopes on migrants' language practices, other studies that build on the chronotope have shown how individuals constantly shift between various timespace configurations in their speech and how these affect their self-identification or identification by others (Lempert & Perrino, 2007). In this regard, Szabla (2019) focuses on a life history of a Polish immigrant woman, Paulina, in Berchem and reveals how she morally orients to certain behaviors, situated within a particular chronotope, to project her identity as a successful woman to other Poles in the city. For example, Paulina draws on the chronotope of family life in her speech to account for her earlier intolerance towards Polish women marrying Moroccan men, but once she begins to recount her moving process to a neighborhood predominantly inhabited by people of Moroccan descent, she conforms to the social norms of her present timespace configuration for upward mobility.

In another study, Wang (2020) centers on a conversational narrative between Taiwanese and Taiwanese Americans, where they discuss certain Taiwanese loanwords. He claims that the participants evoke three interrelated chronotopes that draw on Taiwan's transnational history while co-constructing the narrative. He, for instance, finds that the Taiwanese Americans project their identities as heritage speakers in narratives where they construct chronotopic images of the Dutch colonization of Taiwan and Taiwanese migration to the U.S. Park (2017), on the other hand, explores the role of interdiscursivity on the construction of transnational identities among South Korean mid-level managers working at multinational corporations in Singapore. In doing so, he traces their career trajectories through semi-structured interviews and argues that the participants, through their interdiscursive work, evoke three different chronotopes in their speech. He, for

example, states that the participants juxtapose the Korean chronotope of English language learning with their present timespace configuration, where they use English in a global workplace, to highlight the tension that they feel as regional managers in this transnational space.

In their study with two diasporic communities in the U.S., that is Iranian Azerbaijanis and Uzbeks, Karimzad & Catedral (2018) further maintain that ethnolinguistic identities are chronotopically organized through the interplay between various layers of timespace configurations invoked in speech. Existing power differentials between these large-scale and small-scale chronotopes, in turn, are reflected in participants' interactional patterns and linguistic practices since the relative power of chronotopes that connect nationhood with certain languages make participants construct essentialist ethnolinguistic identities pertaining to the nation-state, ethnicity, and language. They illustrate their argument through a close analysis of an interaction between an Uzbek mother and her daughter. While the mother identifies her daughter as Tajik first by drawing on the soviet chronotope, she later acknowledges her identity as Uzbek by evoking the more powerful chronotope of post-independence.

Against this background, Vigouroux (2015) demonstrates how French comics of African descent, through their rich heteroglossic repertoires, challenge the bounded identity categories of race and ethnicity and instead bring their new "urban" identities into their performances. In doing so, she states that the comics' stand-up shows are highly informed by various chronotopic frames. Their stylization of African French accent, for instance, evokes multiple chronotopic frames in their performances such as a White Hexagonal France, multicultural France, and a remote

African space, each of which they either align themselves with or distance themselves from.

Investigating the interactions of two immigrant women with colleagues in two English cities, Creese & Blackledge (2020) aim to expand the notion of "chronotope" by including elements such as author and character in their analysis. They claim that these two women author their own identities by (de)constructing the stereotypical images of the "peasant" and the "cosmopolitan" in their narratives. While they associate the peasant with a distant timespace, where traditional way of living prevails, the cosmopolitan manifests itself in present and future timespace configurations in England, as in the case of referring to children's future while discussing arranged marriages with colleagues. In sum, all these studies have revealed that immigrants bring several chronotopes into the interaction, through which they construct, negotiate and contest certain identities.

In this section, I have provided the readers with an overview of the major studies that draw on the chronotope to illuminate the language and identity practices of immigrants in various contexts. Therefore, I will now elaborate on the research design and explain how I have collected and analyzed the linguistic ethnographic data.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this methodological chapter, I will demonstrate the study design and the methodological choices I have made to collect and analyze the linguistic ethnographic data. I will start the chapter by explaining the rationale behind selecting the research site under focus for this study. Then, I will elaborate on how I negotiated access to the social sites where Africans spend time and to the participants' everyday lives, respectively. In the subsequent section, I will introduce the participants in detail, which will be followed by a thorough explanation of the primary data collection techniques, that is participant observation and fieldnotes, audio-recordings of naturalistic interaction in both public and private spheres, and interviews. After clarifying how I analyzed and interpreted the data in the next section, I will shed light on how I dealt with the validity concerns and ethical issues. I will conclude the chapter with a discussion of how I, as a researcher, positioned myself in this linguistic ethnographic fieldwork.

3.1 Selecting the research site

In the introductory chapter of the thesis, I explained the demographic characteristics of İstanbul and highlighted the importance of conducting a linguistic ethnographic study with Ugandan migrants in such an urban context, since it may offer a novel perspective on these migrant groups. In this section, I will briefly inform the readers about Mecidiyeköy, the research site for this study, and explain the main motivations behind conducting the fieldwork particularly in this area of İstanbul.

Situated in the Şişli district of İstanbul, which was developed as a middle-class residential area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mecidiyeköy is a typical migrant-filled area with people generally coming from eastern Turkey, and it encompasses several neighborhoods of different socioeconomic statuses, despite its small size. Once considered to be in the outskirts of the city and filled with mulberry fields, it started to be settled by *muhacir*s (Ottoman Muslim citizens who emigrated to Anatolia from the late 1700s onwards) during the reign of Abdulmejid I, whom the area was named after (Şişli Belediyesi, n.d.). From 1950s onwards, it witnessed a major population growth in that it was surrounded by *gecekondu*s (squatter settlements) of internal migrants first and apartments a decade later due to rapid urbanization. Nowadays, it is not only a prominent business district but also a major transportation hub, which, in turn, has made it one of the most popular settlement destinations among international migrants in the last few decades, as well.

Attracted by the centrality of the area, Sub-Saharan Africans are regarded as one of the largest foreign groups residing in Mecidiyeköy (TÜİK, 2018), and they show considerable diversity in terms of national, ethnic, and cultural make-up, and social and economic status (Şaul, 2014) in that it is not uncommon to see Africans owning a hair salon or a restaurant, working at a textile company, running a daycare center, or attending a Sunday service at church in this area.

As a resident of Mecidiyeköy, I was intrigued by such a vibrant context and started wondering about Sub-Saharan Africans' motives for settling in this neighborhood along with their typical day in İstanbul. I also began to pay special attention to the multiple languages they used in their everyday interactions with other

Africans and locals in such public places as supermarkets, shopping centers, and so on. To this end, I decided to find participants for the study from my own neighborhood in Mecidiyeköy, which also served as a convenient geographical space for me.

3.2 Negotiating access

Access should not be considered as a separate step that is accomplished once and for all but rather as "a continuous and dynamic process" (Feldman et al., 2003, p. x), which is constantly negotiated between the researcher and the participants. In this regard, I seek to differentiate between the two phases, that is "gaining entry" and "gaining access" in this larger process of negotiating access, before explaining the complex nature of both in my linguistic ethnographic study.

Gaining entry, simply put, refers to "getting in" (Johnson, 1975, p. 52) and means entering the locational field or obtaining participants' consent to start a study. Nevertheless, gaining access is a continuous process which gives the researcher the freedom to collect data that meet his/her research purposes in the community (Glesne & Peshkin, 1999). To this end, I will be referring to the first phase when I discuss my physical entry into the social spaces where Sub-Saharan Africans spend time in İstanbul, whereas I will be referring to the latter when I point out the dynamic nature of accessing to the participants' lived experiences.

3.2.1 Gaining entry

In pursuit of finding the field, I first aimed to discover the social spaces where Africans spend their leisure time in İstanbul; however, the initial visits that I made to some of these social sites, which I will elaborate on below, made me consider the

possibility of conducting the study with the participants outside these social spaces. To this end, not being able to find a regular physical space, I decided to follow the participants that I had reached through these spaces in diverse social settings.

My initial encounter with the Sub-Saharan Africans in İstanbul occurred at the beginning of April 2019 through a former colleague, my first point of contact. Being a resident of Mecidiyeköy, she informed me of an African association center there. The center was a small leisure space, which was run by a mixed community of Africans and aimed to serve as a meeting place for many Africans living around İstanbul. Although I paid several visits to the center in the same month and met a few Nigerians there, it turned out to be a predominantly male-only space that I do not particularly aim to investigate in this study, and a monolingual space where Africans of different nations came on different days of the month.

Still in search of a regular social space, I attended an art exhibition opening featuring the photographs of African migrants in İstanbul in May 2019. Thanks to a short conversation that I had with the photographer at the event, my second point of contact, I received the phone numbers of two African pastors in İstanbul. Having briefly introduced myself and the planned study on a WhatsApp message, I received a positive response from the Ugandan pastor. Therefore, I visited the New Hope Church located in a gentrifying neighborhood in downtown İstanbul towards the end of June 2019, and Pastor Ethan was willing to contribute to the study and invited me to the following Sunday service so that I can familiarize myself with the community. The church served as a social space where mostly Ugandan immigrants went for their religious practices every Sunday, and events such as birthday celebrations, weddings, and cultural meetings were occasionally held. Even though I visited the church several times after that point, I did not observe many multilingual interactions

as I had anticipated, and there were not frequent occasions of people socializing after the Sunday service that I could join. However, Pastor Ethan, as a gatekeeper who is a well-respected member of the community (Whyte, 1993), introduced me to the church attenders in the first Sunday service that I had attended, and I was invited to a Ugandan wedding for the following weekend. Through the wedding, I was able to meet a small group of young, Ugandan female professionals, two of whom (Dianne and Judy), became the participants of this study eventually.

As it is evident from the process itself, even gaining entry into the public spaces where Sub-Saharan Africans socialize in İstanbul took quite some time and involved several challenges as I needed to contact various people both inside and outside the community to find a regular social space where multilingual interactions occurred. Even though I was not able to gain entry into a locational field at the end of the process, I could meet my participants through these social spaces, which started the second phase: gaining access to their everyday lives.

3.2.2 Gaining access

When physical access to a research site or specific population is guaranteed, the researcher needs to establish a certain level of cooperation with the people in that site, community or culture, which s/he realizes through building rapport and engaging himself/herself with the cultural group (Reeves, 2010). In this linguistic ethnographic study, the process of accessing research participants was complex, and at times a challenging experience for me since my first encounter with them at the end of June 2019 in that there was a constant negotiation of multiple identities between me, the researcher, and the participants in the field. As stated by Feldman et al. (2003), researchers make use of their multifaceted identity so that they can build

reliable relationships with other people, which, in turn, affects their access to the field. Similarly, the different roles that I had in my relationships with the participants enabled me to gain and maintain access to their quotidian lives, which I will explore in detail below, after presenting the process of gaining access in a chronological order.

Once the ethical approval for the project was obtained from the university in July 2019[3], I spent a considerable amount of time on building trust before starting to collect interview data in October. I had informal meetings mostly with Dianne during the summer, whereas it was not until October that I was able to establish rapport with Judy, even though I had again encountered her after the wedding at a church that I visited with Dianne towards the end of July. This mainly resulted from my former conception that Judy could not participate in the study since she needed to travel quite often around Turkey for her business trips. Nevertheless, towards the end of September, I met Judy again in another informal meeting, to which Dianne had invited some of her Ugandan friends upon my request. There Judy agreed to an initial interview once I explained the aim of the project to the four Ugandan women present in the gathering. From then on, I started communicating with her initially through WhatsApp and then through several informal meetings, which, in turn, helped me gain access to her everyday doings until the mid-October.

While accessing to both Dianne's and Judy's daily life practices, I was "a stranger" in the sense of Simmel (1971), where one may be both an outsider and insider. I was an outsider since I did not belong to the African community in İstanbul; however, I was also an insider in the sense that I was not only a female

[3] This thesis derives out of a start-up project titled "Contemporary Linguistic Diversity in İstanbul" (SUP Project code: 15561). Therefore, the actual data collection for this thesis started right after obtaining an ethics approval from SBİNAREK.

researcher but also a city dweller like my participants, or more specifically, I was living in the same district of İstanbul as they were when I first contacted them. These roles played a determinant role in shaping the relationship between the two parties, that is me and the participants in the first stages of gaining access.

Furthermore, my identity as a teacher was highly influential in building a reliable relationship with Dianne from the very beginning since she was working at a primary school as an English teacher at that time. In our first meeting after the wedding, I learned that she was not happy with the working conditions of the school, so I helped her apply for different teaching positions in İstanbul until the end of September 2019. Furthermore, being nearly the same age and having similar family backgrounds enhanced reciprocal understanding between us by opening up new spaces to discuss such as the private realm in a relatively short time.

Gaining access to Judy's daily life required me to put on different hats. My identity as a researcher and a regular church visitor until the COVID-19 pandemic enhanced mutual respect between us. The fact that she labels herself as a researcher as well because of her job requirements positively affected her approach to the study from the beginning. Moreover, my attendance at Sunday services of the church where she had been regularly visiting since her first days in İstanbul put me in a position as someone who did not consider her as a mere "subject" to be studied, but rather as someone whose religious identity was valued. Especially the latter role of mine provided access to a great deal of information about her life.

All in all, gaining access to the participants' everyday realities called for a much more rigorous fieldwork since I needed to adopt different roles while building rapport with the participants and met them separately at regular intervals until I officially started the fieldwork. It was an equally hard process requiring effort, since

I spent the first few months of the fieldwork developing organic relationships with them both offline and online.

3.3 Participants

Before introducing the two participants under focus in this study, I will demonstrate why I have chosen to work specifically with Dianne and Judy. Although initially I did not opt for a specific group of Sub-Saharan African migrants, I always intended to conduct the study with skilled Africans in İstanbul, who are not readily represented in the public discourse and who challenge the notion of Turkey as a transit country (Fait, 2013). While I was trying to find the field, the welcoming atmosphere of the Ugandan church in İstanbul opened up new spaces of encounter for me, which, in turn, shifted my focus towards a specific group of Africans, that is Ugandans. Furthermore, I did not aim to work solely with a women-only or men-only group at first, but, following the natural development of my field relations, I decided to work with Dianne and Judy in the end.

Both Judy and Dianne are young female professionals from Uganda despite belonging to different tribes in their native country. Besides being multilingual speakers who have settled in İstanbul in the last couple of years, they are currently housemates since they started living together in January 2020. Both of them are single women and regular attendants at the Pentecostal church in their neighborhood; however, Judy is also a mother and religion plays a more significant role in her daily life practices. They also differ in the way they socialize in the host country in that Dianne has a more heterogenous social network whereas Judy prefers to spend leisure time with the Africans in her surroundings. Below, I describe the two participants in more detail.

3.3.1 Dianne

Being in her mid-20s, Dianne belongs to the Banyankole tribe from the south-western part of Uganda; however, she has spent most of her life in the capital city Kampala with her large family in an underprivileged neighborhood. As a hardworking girl, she spent her childhood helping her parents with their manual work in her free time.

In early adolescence, however, she started receiving a good education at a private school in Kampala for two semesters with the help of an American woman who was her English teacher and who, later on, became her sponsor, covering all her education expenses until university. Especially at high school, she became a "hyped girl" (Interview, 16/11/2019) participating in such social activities as playing basketball, working in a radio station and attending a Youth Forum in China.

Dianne graduated from a Ugandan university in 2018 with a specialization in Teaching English Language and Literature. Three months after her graduation, she arrived in İstanbul upon a Ugandan friend's recommendation, because her visa applications to China and the U.S. had been delayed and rejected respectively. Moreover, her motives for coming to Turkey were twofold: a passion for traveling and a desire to start a new life where she can live independently and work since her puberty.

Although being a skilled migrant, she was geared towards low wage segments of the labor market during the first six months of her stay in that she first worked as "a *fabrika*[4] girl" (Interview, 08/10/2019) at a textile manufacturing company for two months and then as a stay-at-home nanny at three different homes, two in İstanbul and one out of town. Being underemployed but determined to start

[4] factory

doing her own job, that is teaching English, she, later on, obtained her teaching certificate in Turkey and learned how to apply to schools thanks to a male Nigerian English teacher. Even though the first phase of her application process was challenging and demotivating because of the racist attitudes she had to face, she managed to get hired at a kindergarten in a high-end neighborhood on the Asian side and a semester later, with the help of a Turkish woman, she started working at another private school for almost a year, which coincided with my initial encounter with Dianne. Her motive for resigning from both workplaces was the same in that they had broken their promises to provide her with the work permit. This, unfortunately, became a recurring phenomenon in her labor trajectory until February 2020, since when she has been working as an English teacher at a reputable private school in İstanbul. She has also been involved in shipping clothes to customers mainly in Africa since August 2020. In light of these labor insertion processes, her consideration of being a permanent resident of İstanbul largely depends on living in the city comfortably as she also supports her family back in Uganda financially.

Dianne has a rich multilingual repertoire since she speaks seven different languages: English, Luganda[5], Kiswahili, Kirundi, Runyankole, Rufumbira, and Turkish. Even though her indigenous languages are Runyankole and Rufumbira, she cannot speak them as fluently as English and Luganda since she grew up in a home environment where Luganda was the main medium of communication and she was educated in English starting from pre-school. In later stages of her life, she also learned Kiswahili, which functions as a lingua franca mainly among eastern African countries, and Kirundi, which is mutually intelligible with the official language of Rwanda, that is Kinyarwanda, so that she could communicate with her friends from

[5] I use Luganda instead of Ganda, and Kiswahili instead of Swahili, since the latter are the language labels established by the former colonial powers.

Congo and Rwanda. Finally, she added Turkish to her linguistic repertoire first through her work experience and then her former Kurdish boyfriend. Even though she is not a very competent user of Turkish, which is usually outweighed by the use of Luganda and English in her everyday interactions, she is fond of it and tries to communicate with local people in it, which breaks the language barrier and helps her make friends easily.

3.3.2 Judy

Judy is a Ugandan woman in her mid-30s. She has a nine-year-old daughter, Elena, from an American ex-partner, Dave; however, her daughter is currently residing in the U.S. with her father. Therefore, Judy is living in a shared flat with Dianne in a relatively quiet but central neighborhood, which is close to Mecidiyeköy. Furthermore, she works as a book editor for Dave and his colleagues, and as a part of her job, she usually travels around Turkey and writes reports on her insights about the local cultures and religion. When she does not travel, she mainly socializes through the Pentecostal church which she visits at least twice a week in her neighborhood and through her gatherings with a few close Ugandan friends.

Judy belongs to the Alur tribe from the Nebbi District of Uganda, which is situated in the northern part of the country, but similar to Dianne, she has mostly resided in the capital. Having lost her parents at a young age, she grew up in an orphanage where she had a religious upbringing. Not receiving any financial assistance, she had to go to a public school until university, where she studied Ethics and Development with a scholarship. After obtaining her degree in 2009, she did voluntary work for a few years until she lost her brother in a motorcycle accident, and her main reason for deciding to live abroad was directly linked with the belief

that her brother died because of being left unattended at the hospital's emergency department for several hours.

Once her application to a Canadian visa had been denied, she decided to come to Turkey in 2013 because of the easy visa application process to the country. After staying more than a year in İstanbul with her daughter, Elena, she returned to Uganda since she both sought medical care and wanted to claim U.S. citizenship for her daughter. Although she was determined to emigrate to the U.S. with Elena, her application was denied several times, so she gave up custody of her daughter in 2015 and planned to move to Dubai. After having been cheated by her Nigerian boyfriend there, with whom she had marriage plans, she moved to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, a visa-free country for tourists, in order to start a new life. With Dave's financial aid, she studied Business Administration and lived there for two years. However, witnessing different layers of racism towards Black people in her encounters with the locals, she decided to return to Turkey in 2017 after a brief stay in her home country. Her positive feelings towards Turkey, where she is "not segregated", feels "at peace", and has "somebody to talk to" (Interview, 01/03/2020), was highly influential in her decision to settle in the country.

Just like Dianne, Judy's linguistic repertoire is rich in that she speaks English, Luganda, Kiswahili, and Alur, and she comprehends Turkish and Malay at a basic level. At home, she was mostly exposed to two indigenous languages, Luganda and Alur, but there were also instances of the use of Kiswahili in the same setting because of her father's military job. Through schooling, she became a competent user of English, as well. Her high levels of proficiency in these languages, however, contradict with the basic knowledge of Turkish and Malay, because her investments in both languages were restricted to short-term participation in language courses.

Now, she is afraid of making mistakes in her encounters with the Turkish community; therefore, if a local cannot speak English, she refrains from starting a conversation in Turkish, which, in turn, limits her interaction with Turks. That's why she generally mixes up with Africans and ends up communicating in either English or Luganda in her quotidian life. Nonetheless, she admits to having to learn Turkish since she wants to live a more comfortable life in İstanbul as a permanent resident of the city.

3.3.3 Other actors

Since I followed both of my participants in different social settings, there were other actors who were indirectly involved in my linguistic ethnographic study. Occasionally appearing in the fieldnotes or/and recordings, these individuals played a pivotal role in shaping the way the participants interacted with each other or their acquaintances, thus deserving special attention.

Being middle-aged, Pastor Samuel and his wife, Michelle, are originally from Nigeria and they have been living in Turkey for over ten years. They run the Pentecostal church together with the African daycare center in Mecidiyeköy and they spend most of their time attending to the needs of Africans in İstanbul. They have also assisted Judy and Dianne in handling the difficulties they encounter in their daily lives ranging from opening a bank account to finding a decent apartment for rent in İstanbul. Therefore, they are addressed as "Father" and "Mommy" by the majority of the church attenders, including Judy.

Sophia, who is close friends with both Judy and Dianne, comes from the same country of origin as them, and she is an English teacher at a kindergarten in İstanbul and a wholesaler just like Dianne. Having met through mutual friends in the

city, they usually socialize with each other through gatherings at home or in public places such as night clubs and cafés.

Finally, Julia is both Dianne's close friend from high school and her former flatmate in İstanbul. She has moved to the city upon Dianne's suggestion, and she helps Dianne ship clothes abroad. Therefore, they communicate with each other on a daily basis and socialize together, which has resulted in Julia's frequent appearance in the last recordings.

3.4 Generating the ethnographic data

Once getting the ethical approval for the project in July 2019, I held casual meetings mostly with Dianne and occasionally with Judy at coffee shops until October 2019. During this exploratory stage, in which my primary purpose was to better grasp their interactional practices and to establish rapport with them, I solely relied on observational fieldnotes as a main data collection tool. I started recording conversations from October 2019 onwards by conducting face-to-face interviews first and collecting naturalistic interaction data two months later since the multi-sited nature of the fieldwork brought with itself the challenge of preserving the naturalness of the context. However, the nationwide virus restrictions from April until June slowed down the data collection process, during which the ethnographic data were limited to a few home recordings among the participants and their acquaintances along with several individual interviews online. This also delayed the completion of the data collection phase until December 2020.

During the course of the fieldwork, I observed the participants' interactions in such diverse locales as the participants' home, my -the researcher's- home, coffee shops, social events like birthday celebrations and weddings, church, state offices,

and so on. Overall, I audio-recorded 40 hours of conversations in that the interviews amounted to around 14 hours while the rest of the recordings included the spontaneous interactions between the participants themselves, among the participants and their acquaintances in the field, and among myself, the researcher, the participants, and their acquaintances. The recordings were also accompanied by almost 45,000 words of observational fieldnotes with 39 different entries. In the subsequent section, I will elaborate on the data collection tools I utilized for this ethnographically informed study.

3.4.1 Participant observation and fieldnotes

A good ethnographer aims to immerse himself/herself in others' worlds, which s/he realizes through participant observation, since it allows the ethnographer to engage in a systematic observation of the people s/he studies and/or participates in their daily activities **(**DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). In this regard, participant observation was the first and main data collection tool I used in this study so that I could gain a deeper understanding of the life world of my participants. From July 2019 onwards, I observed my participants' everyday doings and interactions both in public and private spaces. During the preliminary fieldwork, which spanned three months, I tried to build organic relationships with Dianne and Judy by socializing with them and their acquaintances at cafés and a Sunday church service. In these gatherings, I sought to understand their linguistic and migratory backgrounds along with their socialization practices in İstanbul, and I pursued this endeavor during the whole fieldwork process by actively taking part in the day-to-day events of my participants.

For a more systematic observation, I aimed to meet my participants at least twice a month starting from October 2019; however, there were few times that I

could not achieve this goal, which stemmed from either the unavailability of the participants or the COVID-19 lockdown between April and June. Moreover, because the ethnographic fieldwork requires the researcher to negotiate access throughout the whole study, I was able to record the participants' talk in half of these gatherings as it is shown in Table 1 below through the total number of meetings that I held with the participants along with those I audio-recorded:

Table 1. Total Number of Meetings and Number of Recorded Meetings by Participant

Participant	Number of Meetings	Number of Recorded Meetings
Dianne	18	9
Judy	10	8
Dianne & Judy	14	6
Total	42	23

Apart from these instances, where I could not follow my participants in certain social environments, I was able to observe their everyday interactions with people from diverse backgrounds, because our initial face-to-face meetings in public places, in time, were replaced by home visits and certain social events, to which my participants invited me. My role as a participant observer, naturally, showed variations depending on the setting. While I remained seated at a certain place next to my participants in most of the Sunday church services and engaged with them at a minimum level, I actively joined their conversations in other informal settings when I met them for coffee or they asked me for a local's help, and so on.

In addition to immersing oneself in people's lives, participant observation "involves learning to remove [one]self every day from that immersion so [one] can intellectualize what [one's] seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly" (Bernard, 2006, p. 344). To this end, my observations were accompanied by fieldnotes, which, in Creese et al.'s (2008) description, are

"productions and recordings of the researchers' noticings with the intent of describing the research participants' local rationalities and actions" (p. 20). In the case of my study, fieldnotes served as the primary means of recording events and interactions especially during the exploratory stage since I did not start audio-recording until October 2019. The centrality of the fieldnotes to this linguistic ethnographic study is further illustrated in Table 2 through the number of entries and single-spaced pages of fieldnotes I typed:

Table 2. Number of Entries and Pages of Fieldnotes by Participant

Participant	Number of Entries	Number of Pages of Fieldnotes
Dianne	17	28
Judy	8	16
Dianne and Judy	14	38
Total	39	82

Furthermore, writing comprehensive fieldnotes was a "learning process" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 26) for me just like the fieldwork itself. I practiced taking fieldnotes in the course of preliminary fieldwork and developed my note-taking skills in time in that my fieldnotes turned into multimodal texts, in which I included the photos and sketch maps of several settings along with the screenshots of few WhatsApp messages. This, in turn, allowed me to recall certain events more vividly. I also wrote my fieldnotes in English as I felt more comfortable writing in English than in my native language and I was well-acquainted with the linguistic and ethnographic terminology in the former. I integrated Turkish into my fieldnotes in few occasions, when I heard a participant utter a Turkish phrase or when I thought using a Turkish expression would be more practical.

I preferred to write extensive fieldnotes on my laptop after returning from each site visit, because I, as a researcher, actively participated in most of the social

events and interactions; therefore, I did not want to disrupt the natural flow of events and conversations. Writing fieldnotes immediately after leaving the field allowed me to remember the events clearly and come up with luminous descriptions (Katz 2001, 2002). Although at times it was challenging to recall every single detail while taking fieldnotes, I listened to the recordings to remember certain parts. There were only few instances of jotting things down, which can be called "[taking] scratch notes" (Sanjek, 1990, p. 96), at writing-friendly fields such as church, where it was not uncommon to encounter others taking notes on a piece of paper, as well. I also took small notes on my mobile phone when I heard a mention of an important event or an interesting language use from my participants. Altogether, I wrote nearly 45,000 words of fieldnotes with 39 different entries, all of which were written on a laptop and classified by date and by participant for an easier access to the information.

3.4.2 Audio-recordings of naturalistic interactions

As part of my observation process, I started recording the participants' spontaneous interactions from December 2019 onwards, which corresponds to six months after I contacted them for the first time. Due to issues of developing trust, I did not want to intimidate them by immediately turning on the recorder and grabbing their voice in various social contexts. Moreover, I preferred to capture their language practices through an audio-recorder or a mobile phone, which I used during few unexpected field visits.

As stated by Blommaert & Jie (2010), "recordings are always sensitive materials, things that people may experience as threatening" (p. 34). My participants, too, were worried that their identities would be revealed once I informed them that the study would involve making recordings of their everyday talk. I explained them

that I would make modifications to the recordings such as removing the participants' names or any other information that would identify them. I also assured them that the recordings would only be used for linguistic analysis and would not be shared with any third parties. Because they did not have any doubts about the purpose of the study any longer, they decided to take part in the recordings.

This, however, did not mean that the participants felt really comfortable with the presence of a recorder in their surroundings from the very beginning of the fieldwork as they learnt to ignore its presence in time. Especially in the beginning, they self-censored their speech by either not explaining their thoughts on a certain issue or apologizing for using a swear word. It was halfway into the fieldwork that they became acquainted with the recorder since they began to place it in a suitable spot themselves or asked me if I was able to capture something useful for the study. Not only did this stem from our close field relations but also from weekend lockdowns in Turkey, during which Dianne had familiarized herself with the recorder since she did few self-recordings at home.

Still, before or at the beginning of each meeting, I obtained the participants' permission to record the conversation, sometimes including other people's, as well, as I captured a glance of their everyday lives in diverse settings. Apart from mutual home visits, where I collected the majority of the naturalistic interaction data, I made the recordings in such public spheres as cafés and restaurants, at an acquaintance's home, and even on a street. Avoiding background noise was almost impossible in some public spaces although I tried my best to find a quiet spot to make the recordings. As one strategy, I held the recorder closer to the participants rather than attaching microphones to their collars, because it would both restrict their movements and affect the authenticity of the context adversely. Despite its

drawbacks, having some background sounds in the recordings also enabled me to relate more to the participants' lives as an analyst since I could better understand the mundane aspects of their lives (Negrón, 2012). In total, I collected around 26 hours of spontaneous interaction data from the participants, duration of which ranged from around 25 minutes to almost four hours. Table 3 demonstrates the number of the naturalistic interactions I audio-recorded by participant:

Table 3. Number and Length of the Audio-recorded Naturalistic Interaction Data

Participant	Length of Recordings	Number of Recordings
Dianne	5 h	3
Judy	2 h 30'	2
Dianne and Judy	18 h 30'	8
Total	26 h	13

Right after each field visit, I transferred the recordings to my laptop and ordered them chronologically in separate folders, which were named by participant. I also typed the date and duration of the recordings on two different Excel sheets. While the first one was sorted according to the type of recording, the latter included information about all the data collection tools. To ease the process of finding a certain dialogue among the recordings, I included a content list for each recording by noting the topics discussed in my fieldnotes. In an effort to protect the digital data, I copied the recordings both onto an external hard drive and a cloud storage system.

3.4.3 Interviews

Besides making observations and recording the participants' spontaneous interactions, I integrated semi-structured interviews into my ethnographic fieldwork, which enabled me to get "a more complete picture" (Silverman, 2005, p. 122) of the participants' everyday experiences. Through their oral accounts, not only was I able to learn more about their life histories and takes on certain social issues, but also I

could discover “what was unsaid” along with their motives behind acting in a particular way in certain face-to-face gatherings.

Adopting a post-structuralist perspective in this study, I conceive of interviews as a kind of communicative event, which is jointly constructed by both parties, that is the interviewer and interviewee (Block, 2000; Briggs, 1986; Garton & Copland, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007); therefore, interview data consist of the “voices adopted by research participants in response to the researcher’s prompts and questions” (Block, 2000, p. 759). In a similar vein, I reminded the participants that the interviews would not be very different from the natural conversations each time they asked me if they needed to prepare for it. I was also careful enough to start interviewing the participants after three months of preliminary fieldwork so that they would not feel threatened with the immediate existence of a set of questions to be answered.

Prior to collecting naturalistic interaction data, I began to conduct semi-structured interviews with the participants in October 2019. Since I had already built rapport with them through participant observation and they were informed about the theme of each interview in advance, they felt really comfortable while being interviewed and opened up easily (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). As a matter of fact, they started directing me the same questions as those in the interviews towards the end of the fieldwork. However, the interviews were, at times, emotionally loaded as the participants were unfolding more intimate aspects of their lives to me. In such cases, I either turned off the audio recorder upon a participant’s request or slightly switched the topic.

Each interview centered on a theme such as migration, language, or other trending topics, by which the participants were affected to some extent. The sample

interview questions can be found in Appendix C. Similar to spontaneous conversations, interviews were held in such locales as the researcher's home, the participants' home, coffee shops, and an online platform. All in all, I conducted 13 semi-structured interviews with the participants, and the duration of these varied from 40 minutes to nearly one and a half hour. Nevertheless, I spent more time socializing with the participants on the days I would interview them except for the online interviews so that they would not feel they were just being approached for research purposes. In this regard, I sometimes shared recollections from my own life, too. In Table 4, one can see the number and length of the interviews I made with each participant:

Table 4. Number and Length of the Interview Data

Participant	Length of Interviews	Number of Interviews
Dianne	7 h	6
Judy	6 h	6
Dianne and Judy	1 h	1
Total	14 h	13

Due to COVID-19 pandemic, I had to employ more than one interview method in my ethnographically informed study. From May to June, I met my participants on Zoom and interviewed them on certain trending topics at regular intervals, through which I aimed to compensate for the spontaneous interaction data I could not gather at that moment, and which also accounts for almost the same number of interviews as that of the audio-recordings of naturalistic interactions. The disruptive atmosphere of home, however, affected the attention span of the participants as they were easily distracted by even a small trigger in their surroundings (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). That's why I started making face-to-face interviews with my participants towards the end of August again.

3.5 Methods of data analysis and interpretation

3.5.1 Choosing analytical tools

As I have explained in Chapter 1, I have employed the Bakhtinian notion of "chronotope" as an analytical tool to understand the participants' linguistic construction of translocal identities. In doing so, I have considered the entire phonetic-discourse continuum and attended to linguistic features in different levels of discourse for a better understanding of the participants' meaning-making processes. Through a careful linguistic analysis of their interactions, I have found six chronotopes that the participants evoke in their speech: chronotopes of childhood, school, work life, monolingual society, post-colonial Uganda, and tribal culture, each of which I define below.

Following Paquette (2013), I conceive of the chronotope of childhood as a contraction of time, where participants share their recollections of childhood memories to make sense of a particular situation. An example would be excerpt 6.8, where Judy tries to account for her low command of Alur through its rare usage at home. The second chronotope that the participants evoke in their interactions is the chronotope of school, which I define as their references to their linguistic experiences in a formal educational setting within a specific historical time (see also Johnston & Tupper, 2009). For instance, Dianne evokes this timespace as she talks about her English language learning experiences at kindergarten in excerpt 5.4.

The chronotope of work life, on the other hand, is a timespace configuration, through which they bring their language-related work experiences in the past into the interaction. To illustrate, Dianne invokes this chronotope when she mentions her job interview at a language school in İstanbul in excerpt 5.15. The chronotope of

monolingual society[6] refers to a present timespace configuration, in which participants talk about their encounters with the monolingual Turks in their surroundings. An example would be excerpt 4.5, where Judy acknowledges the monolingual tendencies of the locals in İstanbul as she warns other Ugandans who aspire to live in Turkey.

The chronotope of post-colonial Uganda pertains to discourses about the nature of being an English speaker after the British colonization of Uganda. For example, the participants negotiate native English speaker identities by drawing on this chronotope throughout section 5.1. Finally, the chronotope of tribal culture is a distant timespace, through which participants bring certain language practices that are shaped by local cultures and customs in Uganda into the interaction, as in the instance of Dianne's mention of Luganda as tribal language in excerpt 6.1.

3.5.2 Transcribing the interactional data

Transcribing data does not only involve careful listening but also several decision processes which are affected by the researcher's cultural knowledge, skills, study aims, and particular theories involved (Hammersley, 2010; Kowal & O'Connell, 2013). Therefore, while constructing written transcripts, a researcher needs to make both interpretive and representational decisions regarding what to select for transcription and how to represent a certain strip of talk (Bucholtz, 2000; Green et al., 1997). In the case of my study, I went through a similar process of selecting and transcribing the data, as well.

In contrast to the relatively straightforward process of transcribing the interview data, I found transcribing the naturalistic interaction data really

[6] Turkey is de facto multilingual, yet de jure monolingual since it is designed as a nation-state; therefore, monolingualism is prevalent in society.

challenging, since there were multiple parties involved in the conversations, which resulted in the high occurrence of overlapping talks. That's why I followed distinct strategies while transcribing these two data sets in that my approach to naturalistic interaction data was more pragmatistic. Rather than transcribing the whole spontaneous interaction data at once as I did for the interview data, I preferred to create a detailed outline of each audio-recording by listening to them carefully. In my notes, I included such details as the people involved in the conversations and topics discussed along with the exact time point of certain stretches of talks that I deemed relevant to the focus of the study. This allowed me to find the particular instances of talk with ease for further linguistic analysis.

After selecting the certain stretches of talk from both datasets, I turned the rough transcriptions into more detailed ones by adopting the modified version of Hutchby & Wooffitt's (2008) transcription conventions (see Appendix D), because I was more familiar with the level of details in their conversation analytic model. In line with the notion that "a more useful transcript is a more selective one" (Ochs, 1979, p. 44), through which only particular dimensions of language can be represented, I preferred to use orthographic transcription instead of a phonetic transcription.

I sometimes asked for the participants' help to transcribe certain conversations as they involved the use of Luganda, which I am not very familiar with. We listened to those few recordings together and I asked them to inform me about the content of the talk. If their talk was relevant to the focus of the study, I kindly requested the participants to transcribe the data in Luganda.

3.6 Ethnographic design study concerns

3.6.1 Strategies for validating findings

Validity, in qualitative research, does not refer to the data itself but to the inferences the researcher draws from the data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), and it is based upon the accuracy of those interpretations from the perspective of the researcher, the participant, or the external members (Creswell & Miller, 2000). While Blommaert & Jie (2010) contend that ethnographic fieldwork is "grounded in an epistemological and methodological framework . . . that makes [it] a scientifically valid enterprise" (p. 85), a good ethnographer may need to employ several strategies to achieve validity in his/her study. In a similar vein, I followed most of the strategies offered by Creswell & Miller (2000) throughout my study.

Triangulation, first of all, was an inherent part of my ethnographically informed study since I benefited from multiple data sources, that is participant observations and fieldnotes, audio-recordings of spontaneous conversations, and semi-structured interviews. In line with the notion of "being there", I immersed myself in the field and followed my participants in diverse contexts for over a year. In order to ensure the credibility of my narrative account, I provided the readers with "thick description" (Geertz, 1973, p. 19) of the events, people, and settings throughout the thesis. At times, I used member checking if I did not feel confident about the accuracy of a certain transcript or a cultural description, since this particular strategy helps the ethnographer expand his/her knowledge of the context (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Acknowledging the impact of my personal background on the data collection and analysis procedures, I discussed my positionality as a researcher throughout the study in detail, which can be seen in the final section. Finally, I had a chance to receive regular and constructive feedback

from both my supervisor and peers. Through all these strategies, I aimed to increase the validity of my findings.

3.6.2 Ethical considerations

Just like in any other scientific inquiry, a keen ethnographer needs to address several ethical issues throughout his/her fieldwork and attempt to mitigate the potential harms of his/her research to the participants while maximizing its benefits. To this end, Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) list five ethical points an ethnographer should consider throughout his/her study, that is "informed consent", "privacy", "harm", "exploitation", and "consequences for future research". Following their guidelines and doing careful readings on ethical issues throughout the summer of 2019, I paid close attention to protecting the privacy of the participants and ensured that they would benefit from my ethnographically oriented study.

After I obtained the ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of Boğaziçi University (SOBETIK) (see Appendix E) in December 2019, I officially started conducting the fieldwork and asked for both the participants' and their acquaintances' informed consents (see Appendix F and G). Even though they were already informed about the aims of the study and had agreed to take part in it before I applied for an ethical permission, I explained the study to them in detail through informed consents, in which I included details about how I would collect data, what I would use it for, and with whom I would share it. In order to ensure confidentiality, I informed them that I would use pseudonyms instead of their real names and change the place names so that they would not be identified by third parties. I also clarified their right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Ethnography also raises major ethical questions regarding the harm and exploitation of the participants, although it might be "less exploitative than other methodologies" (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 60), since it requires prolonged engagement in the field and long-term reciprocal relationships between the researcher and participants. Throughout the fieldwork, I showed my gratitude both to the participants and their acquaintances involved in the recordings for sharing their opinions and time through different means. For instance, I sometimes brought cookies to the Africans at the Pentecostal church or offered online Turkish classes to the African women there. Being positioned as a local contact, I assisted both Dianne and Judy with handling their everyday problems such as applying for a teaching position at different schools, finding a moving service when they were moving into a new apartment, opening a new utility account, and so on. I also offered them such treats as coffee, dessert, or local food when I met them for an interview at a coffee shop or when I recorded naturalistic interaction at my home. I believe the abundance of dialogues with my participants on such issues as language, migration, and identity during these meetings helped them raise their self-awareness about the multilingual lives they live in İstanbul and gain a better understanding of the host country. I also hope the knowledge gained through my study will help break the stigmatized portrayal of Sub-Saharan Africans in public discourse.

3.7 Researcher's subjectivity

Interpretivism posits that the knowledge gained through a particular study cannot be separated from the researcher's own values. This, in turn, urges the researcher to reflect upon his/her identities and social positions in the field, since subjectivity is the only means of achieving an objective narration of events in qualitative research

(Blommaert & Jie, 2010). Acknowledging that the subjectivity was an inherent part of my ethnographically oriented study, as well, I will reflect on my own positionality in the field by first presenting the readers with a brief autobiography and then discussing in detail my "insider" and "outsider" statuses in the field along with the strategies I adopted to convey the desired image, which will be followed by an explanation of the power dynamics between me, the researcher, and the participants.

As a fieldworker of this research, I was born to a Sunni-Muslim Turkish family of low-socioeconomic status in a small town of Manisa, which was heavily populated by *muhacir*s, and I grew up in a home environment with heritage Macedonian speakers until the age of 18. Since then, I have lived in various districts of İstanbul and interacted with people from diverse backgrounds because of my study abroad experience in Europe and my occupation as an English instructor. Coming from such a background, I have attempted to become a conscious citizen who is concerned about the social and political issues affecting immigrants in Turkey. However, entering a "third space" (Bhabha, 1994) in İstanbul, where my participants constructed hybrid identities by drawing on their discursive practices both in Turkey and Uganda, for my fieldwork was a unique experience for me, and I had to negotiate my positionality as a researcher through various means while generating the ethnographic data.

Deutsch (1981) claims that "we are multiple insiders and outsiders" (p. 174), and our positionality in the field is both relational and situational. In a similar vein, my positionality in the field showed variations since I actively and strategically drew from my own ethnographic toolkit, which comprises of "visible traits" such as gender and ethnicity/race and "invisible traits" such as social background and education (Reyes, 2020). Through these multiple tools, I was able to create the

desired impression in certain situations by achieving an insider or outsider status in the field.

In line with Narayan's (1993) critique of a "native" anthropologist who can portray an unquestioned and true insider's perspective, I, as a non-"native" field researcher, was able to achieve an insider status in several cases. For instance, being a member of an extended family with a migrant background and speaking English fluently positioned me as someone who was not a "conventional, monolingual" Turk in the eyes of my participants and their acquaintances. This helped me develop rapport with the participants quickly and empathize with them more as their accounts of migration and language-related problems resonated with those of my grandparents. Moreover, my womanhood brought me several advantages in the field in that it played a pivotal role in conducting the fieldwork with the Ugandan women in İstanbul, engaging in their socialization practices more frequently, and representing their voices more accurately in the thesis. For example, shortly after I attended the religious events held at the Pentecostal church upon Judy's request, I was invited to a Women's Day at the church, where I was requested to dress white just like the rest of the female church visitors, thereby making me feel an insider more.

Although being positioned as an outsider may be "initially disempowering" (Mullings, 1999, p. 346), it may provide the field researcher with several benefits in the long run. In the case of my study, I, as a local resident, did not belong to the African community in İstanbul, which prompted me to "make the strange familiar" throughout the fieldwork as I observed the participants' complex web of relations in diverse social settings. Furthermore, not being well-acquainted with the religious practices of the Pentecostal church, I was positioned as a novice who did not have

much knowledge about Christianity. This constructed outsider status, in turn, helped me collect more information from both of my participants in that whenever I visited the church, I used to take notes of the interesting parts of the sermon and then discuss these with the participants and/or the pastor, who constructed their religious arguments through one voice, thus making me feel an outsider more.

In addition to the insider and outsider statuses I strategically adopted in the field, I tried to minimize the power asymmetries that would stem from the hegemonic power of the field (Berger, 1993). As a local resident of İstanbul, I had been living in the city for several years and had access to the resources that were not readily available to other immigrants, which put me in a more privileged position, since the participants often sought my help to overcome the language barrier in their everyday problems. However, these inequalities of power were balanced by the participants' active roles in the social spaces where I observed their language practices in that they often decided with whom and when I could record a conversation. For example, if I wanted to record their talk in a certain public space, where other actors were involved, the participants would inform their acquaintances about it first and I would ask for their consent later on.

In this section, I informed the readers about how my positionality influenced the data collection and analysis along with the field dynamics. I also attempted to critically approach the reciprocal positioning processes and the power relations between me and the participants. Although I deployed several strategies to position myself in a certain way, I was also positioned by the participants in a different manner, which resulted in a multi-layered ethnographic self-consciousness throughout the fieldwork.

CHAPTER 4

NEGOTIATING MULTILINGUAL SELVES IN A MONOLINGUAL SOCIETY

In this first analytical chapter, I attempt, through four main sections, to explore how the participants negotiate their multilingual identities in their everyday encounters with the locals, whose discourse is heavily shaped by the dominant monoglossic language ideologies.

While the first section illuminates how the participants reconstruct their multilingual realities as translocal migrants in İstanbul, the second section highlights the material consequences of not knowing the language of the receiving country for these migrants. The subsequent sections center more on the participants' identity construction as Turkish speakers in that the third section examines their investment in Turkish whereas the final section discusses how they negotiate power through speaking Turkish in their interactions with the locals.

4.1 Reconstructing multilingual realities

Multilingualism has always been the norm in both women's lives since they were born in Kampala. Dianne grew up in a home environment where she was exposed to three different languages, that is Runyankole, Rufumbira, and Luganda. Similarly, Judy was raised in a multilingual home since her parents belonged to different tribes, that is Buganda and Alur, and her father sometimes spoke with her in Kiswahili, which is widely known as the military language in Uganda. As they started going to kindergarten, they also added English into their multilingual repertories at an early age. In our informal gatherings, they frequently drew on these rich linguistic backgrounds to explain the extensive societal multilingualism in their native country.

Earlier in the fieldwork, however, I did not know much about the major ethnic groups and languages in Uganda. Therefore, in pursuit of enhancing my knowledge of the participants' linguistic practices in Uganda before collecting interaction data in İstanbul, I invited Dianne for a dinner at my home and conducted my first interview with her. While she was informing me about the several languages she spoke at the beginning of the interview, I noticed that she was originating from a linguistically diverse background. So, I wondered if the same case applied to the majority of Ugandans and directed the following question to her:

Excerpt 4.1 [Interview at my home, 08/10/2019]

1 Özge : (…) are you multilingual in general
2 Dianne: yes we're multilingual=
3 Özge : =mm [hm
4 Dianne: [because you'll find at least a minimum (.) of: three languages from a
5 person
6 Özge : mm hm
7 Dianne: yes a minimum (.) because if you go like to a village you'll find someone
8 who knows like runyankole (.) maybe with a little bit of swahili=
9 Özge : =mm hm
10 Dianne: and a little bit of english=
11 Özge : =mm hm
12 Dianne: ye:s or (.) another tribal language because of tribal intermarriages=
13 Özge : =mm hm
14 Dianne: yes so you find but- in most cases they know more than one language=
15 Özge : =mm hm
16 Dianne: all the people

In response to my question (line 1), Dianne situates Ugandans as multilingual speakers and elaborates on her answer in line 4. She links her reasoning to the number of languages an average person speaks in Uganda and equates multilingualism with speaking *at least* three different languages. In the subsequent line, she illustrates her point and draws on the everyday linguistic practices of a typical Munyankole in the southwestern part of Uganda. As her account indicates (lines 8-10), she contrasts the high proficiency of these speakers in their mother tongue with their lower competence in the two official languages through the quantifier *a little bit of* and utters the languages in order of importance for these

people. In line 12, she adds another indigenous language into their multilingual repertoires and links it to intertribal marriages, through which one may learn the language of his/her spouse. In lines 14 and 16, she reiterates her main argument, but this time expands it to all the Ugandans.

From line 7 onwards, Dianne evokes the chronotopic representations of tribal culture to demonstrate how multilingualism prevails in Ugandans' everyday lives. While clarifying her argument through the multilingual repertoires of her own tribe, she draws on the notion of "truncated multilingualism" (Blommaert, 2010), which points out that an individual always knows the particular bits of language rather than the whole of it. In order to highlight the pervasiveness of multilingualism in rural Uganda, she also illustrates her point through intertribal marriages, which she has personally witnessed in her family. As she repeats that multilingualism is considered as the norm in her native country, she starts comparing the rural with the urban and hints at the existence of few monolingual speakers in the latter.

Like Dianne, Judy acknowledges the prevalence of multilingualism in Uganda; however, they differ markedly in their approach to multilingualism in that Judy considers city dwellers as multilinguals in her native country since they have much easier access to education and are more likely to interact with people of different ethnic backgrounds. As a northerner, Judy always felt resentful at the Ugandan government for trapping the communities in the north in poverty. In fact, she often narrated her trip to the northern part of Uganda, where she went to find out her patrilineage as an adolescent and witnessed the poor living conditions of Alur people in the village. Therefore, in our casual conversations, she always emphasized that the people in these areas could only speak their indigenous language since they were not likely to receive good education at school.

This is highlighted in the next excerpt, which is taken from an interview I conducted with both Judy and Dianne at a café in Balat, once known as one of the Jewish quarters in the city. In pursuit of understanding how they felt about being a multilingual speaker in Uganda, I asked Judy about the prevalence of multilingualism in her native country below:

Excerpt 4.2 [Interview at a café, 14/02/2020]

17 Özge: but do most people in uganda uhm:: speak a lot of languages? are most of
18 them multilingual? what do you think
19 Judy : I think they <u>are</u> (1.0) the people who grew up in town <u>are</u> (.) the ones who
20 grew up in the village <u>aren't</u> because they can be knowing only (.) the mother
21 (.) tongue of that- that [village
22 Özge: [mm hm
23 Judy : they will not (.) have gone to school probably they don't know <u>english</u>=
24 Özge: =mm hm
25 Judy : but the ones who are in <u>town</u> (.) they have a chance to go to school so they
26 speak <u>english</u> and also that the language they speak at <u>home</u> (.) and also if they
27 have <u>friends</u> (.) going to parties and the other one is speaking [for example
28 Özge: [mm hm
29 Judy : lusoga they will tap in some- some words (.) the other one is speaking
30 runyankole they will tap in some words [so:
31 Özge: [mm hm
32 Judy : [°yeah°
33 Özge: [hm::
34 Judy : it depends on the area

Referring to Judy's earlier comments on the benefits of being a multilingual speaker in Uganda, I seem to take multilingualism as a less prevalent phenomenon than they mention in the country by using the conjunction *but* and the determiner *most* in my question (line 17). Even though she initially gives me an affirmative response, her use of the hedge *I think*, which is followed by a pause, signals her elaboration on her answer in that she links multilingualism with living in urban areas (line 19) and explains her rationale through the monolingual tendencies of the people residing in rural areas (lines 20 and 21). Here, she also assumes that each village, or tribe, has its own local language. In line 23, she continues explaining her reasoning and claims that knowledge of English is directly associated with having access to education, which people in rural areas lack. From line 25 onwards, she builds on this contrast

through the conjunction *but* and adds that those living in urban areas *have a chance* to attend school. Through the noun *chance* here, she points towards the cultural capital that the city dwellers possess, and then she reiterates her previous argument that English can only be learnt through schooling. In lines 26 and 27, she adds local languages along with the other languages acquired from socialization practices to the multilingual repertoires of people living in urban areas. In order to illustrate her point, she draws on an example from a certain social event, that is parties, and states that people from different ethnic backgrounds will *tap in some words* from each other (lines 29 and 30). Therefore, in her last turn, she again emphasizes the importance of locality in determining if a person is considered multilingual or not.

In this excerpt, Judy equates multilingualism with urban spaces and assumes that it appears as linguistic capital in the urban areas of Uganda, where individuals have easier access to formal education. Therefore, she does not regard multilingualism as a common phenomenon in rural spaces, where people tend to be monolingual speakers. In doing so, she evokes the chronotope of tribal culture (lines 20-23) and constructs ethnolinguistic identities since she attributes a certain language to each tribe. Furthermore, she draws on a comparison of two localities, that is the *town* and *village*, in her own terms, to demonstrate the prevalence of multilingualism in urban areas. However, just like Dianne, her take on urban multilingualism resonates with Blommaert's (2010) "truncated multilingualism" since the use of the verb phrase *tap in* brings into mind the acquisition of certain features of a language rather than its whole.

Coming from such a multilingual background, both Judy and Dianne continue their multilingual practices in İstanbul, and they mainly use these rich linguistic repertoires through socialization practices with other Africans in the city.

The subsequent fieldnote demonstrates that their multilingual realities remain the same during religious services in both localities, that is Turkey and Uganda, in that whereas the churches in Uganda consider the needs of the different ethnic backgrounds of the church attendees, the ethnic and national makeup of the church goers are also taken into account in the Pentecostal church they attend in Mecidiyeköy:

Excerpt 4.3 [Fieldnote at the church, 02/02/2020]

> After some time, the choir started singing gospels in English and then there was a very short Bible reading session by one woman, who told us to greet whoever was sitting near us in the end, so we shook hands with the people nearby saying "You're welcome" to each other. Later on, the choir began to sing gospels again, but this time in different languages such as *Olore* ((Giver)) in Yoruba, *Yesu ni wangu* ((Jesus is mine)) in Kiswahili, and *Chineke idimma* ((My God is good)) in Igbo. At this moment, I asked Judy why they were singing in different languages, and she told me that it was because God would hear the praise in all the languages. In addition, I asked her if the same situation could be seen in Ugandan churches, and she confirmed it by stating that the church considers the needs of different tribes.

This linguistic reality was not limited to the church gatherings only, since I also witnessed the use of several African indigenous languages at friendly gatherings at home with other Africans, as in the instance of a birthday party I attended with Judy and Dianne a few weeks after I wrote this fieldnote. Even though this meant that their multilingual practices did not change much in these social spaces in İstanbul, they could not create a similar environment where they needed to address the locals. Therefore, both Judy and Dianne often highlighted the insignificance of knowing several languages in their encounters with the locals in Turkey. Throughout the fieldwork, the two women especially pointed towards the futility of speaking African

indigenous languages in İstanbul since their multilingual capital in Kampala did not turn into economic capital in their new city of residence. In our informal talks, Dianne often expressed that her multilingual repertoire was devalued while trying to find a skilled job in İstanbul. The following excerpt illustrates this point as I inquire about being a multilingual speaker in Turkey:

Excerpt 4.4 [Interview at a café, 14/02/2020]

35 Özge : and (.) what is it like to be: a multilingual speaker in turkey
36 Judy : ((laughs)) it's <u>fun</u>
37 Dianne: it's useless [for
38 Özge : [useless?
39 Dianne: because no: like=
40 Judy : =few people [will
41 Özge : [huh?
42 Judy : understand you anyway
43 Dianne: no: multilingual because no=
44 Özge : =hm
45 Dianne: whom am I gonna speak swahili with here? no one (.) whom I gonna speak
46 apart from yes my luganda with [judy
47 Özge : [mm hm=
48 Dianne: =and then yeah the <u>english</u> with a few people (.) and then I have to learn
49 turkish (.) so for me: sometimes it's okay but the biggest part for me it's- (.)
50 no one gives a fuck about your linguistic
51 Özge : hm::=
52 Dianne: =ye:s like your other languages (.) apart- I don't know because maybe there
53 are like really international languages like uhm (1.0) france=
54 Özge : =hm
55 Dianne: germany spanish
56 Özge : °mm hm°
57 Dianne: which I don't know so: maybe >if I knew that I'll understand how it feels
58 but right now I don't know so I understand how it feels [to know<
59 Özge : [hm:
60 Dianne: like these kinds of [things
61 Özge : [mm hm

Even though Judy starts responding to my question positively in line 36, Dianne constructs an oppositional stance towards the benefits of multilingualism in Turkey by using the adjective *useless* immediately in the next line. Ask I her for clarification (line 38), she attempts to explain her rationale (line 39), but Judy takes the floor instead and demonstrates her alignment with Dianne (lines 40 and 42). Here, Judy elaborates on Dianne's answer and links her reasoning to the limited number of people in Turkey who can comprehend the languages in their multilingual

repertoires. In line 43, Dianne reiterates her main response to the question and begins to elaborate on her argument from line 45 onwards. Directly addressing a rhetorical question to me, she utters the four languages in order of importance for their everyday lives in İstanbul. Whereas she hints at the non-existence of Kiswahili speakers in her surroundings, she limits her use of Luganda to interactions with Judy and considers English as the main medium of communication with few individuals in İstanbul. Then, she contrasts these languages with Turkish, which she feels obliged to learn (lines 48 and 49). Therefore, she is aware that nobody *gives a fuck* about her rich linguistic background (line 50). Here, she mainly refers to the private schools in İstanbul as she was looking for a teaching position for quite some time and therefore was expecting a phone call from a kindergarten, where she had recently gone for an interview, during our meeting. In line 52, she clarifies her previous utterance through the phrase *other languages*, which refers to the knowledge of African local languages. Then, she situates these languages in a lower position than the other *international languages*; however, she demonstrates her uncertainty through the hedge *maybe*. After a pause, she begins to give examples of the languages she considers as international (lines 53 and 55) and equates being a multilingual speaker with speaking these languages (lines 57-60), which she does not have any knowledge of.

As it is illustrated in the excerpt, neither Judy nor Dianne considers multilingualism as linguistic capital in their host country since they cannot make use of their rich linguistic repertoires to interact with locals. Doing so, Dianne also brings the chronotope of monolingual society into her discourse in line 48, which urges the participants to learn Turkish. In addition, she emphasizes that knowledge of African local languages does not bring them any symbolic power in İstanbul in

contrast to certain European languages. To this end, Dianne's understanding of multilingualism considerably differs, depending on locality and the languages involved in someone's linguistic repertoire.

Besides pinpointing the insignificance of their multilingual backgrounds while interacting with locals in İstanbul, both Judy and Dianne also stress the need to learn Turkish as an important step towards integrating into the receiving society. Before arriving in İstanbul, neither of them had learnt anything about Turkish; however, as soon as they landed in the city, they understood that they had to add Turkish into their multilingual repertoires in order to ease their communication with locals. For instance, Judy had spent her first days in İstanbul with a Congolese priest in Beyoğlu, who taught her some basic Turkish phrases so that she could get her errands done more quickly. Likewise, Dianne started learning Turkish at her first workplace in İstanbul, where she mainly exchanged greetings with the other employees. To this end, they both drew on these past experiences when they wanted a Ugandan friend to reconsider their plan to move to İstanbul.

The next excerpt is a good example of this point. As I inquire about the suggestions that they would give to Ugandans who aspire to live in İstanbul, Judy gives me the following response:

Excerpt 4.5 [Interview at a café, 14/02/2020]

62 Judy : before coming (.) making a decision to relocate here (.) me I always tell them
63 be (.) sure that you are going to learn the language
64 Özge: hm[::
65 Judy : [because we think in (.) our countries that (.) when you go abroad apart
66 from those who have: read about it (.) that you can speak english=
67 Özge: =mm hm
68 Judy : if you're fluent in english you feel like (.) okay I can communicate=
69 Özge: =mm hm
70 Judy : when you come to turkey (.) and you don't know turkish ((laughs))
71 Özge: mm hm=
72 Judy : =it's hard

Considering all her Ugandan acquaintances who think of moving to Turkey, Judy initially hints at the earliness of her advice by rephrasing the noun *coming* after a brief pause in line 62. Before telling her advice, she highlights that it is hers, not Dianne's, through the object pronoun *me* since Dianne is also present in the gathering. While referring to her main suggestion in line 63, she points towards the inevitability of learning Turkish for these migrants through an emphasis on the adjective *sure* and the future marker *be going to*. In line 65, she begins to elaborate on her rationale but does not limit it to Ugandans since she refers to the whole continent through the adverbial phrase *in our countries*. Moreover, she links her reasoning to the international use of English by using the adverb *abroad* (line 65); however, she also points out the existence of few people who have done research about their country of destination and therefore are aware that English may not always serve as a medium of communication in their host country. In line 68, she centers on the majority of Africans and states that their good knowledge of English makes them think that they can interact with anyone around the world. From line 70 onwards, she limits her discussion of abroad to Turkey, where she claims that Africans are faced with challenges since they do not know Turkish.

In this excerpt, even though Judy emphasizes the importance of English as a global language in Ugandan migrants' everyday lives, she also points to the significance of speaking Turkish in Turkey. In doing so, she evokes the chronotope of monolingual society, which prioritizes learning Turkish more than anything else to integrate into the host society. Therefore, she acknowledges the monolingual tendencies of locals in her suggestion.

In this section, I have attempted to demonstrate how Judy and Dianne reconstruct their multilingual realities in İstanbul by drawing on two chronotopes,

that is the chronotope of tribal culture and monolingual society respectively. While referring to multilingualism in Uganda, they both highlight its prevalence in the country and assume that being a multilingual speaker depends on someone's locality. Whereas Dianne associates multilingualism with rural areas, Judy states that a city dweller is more likely to be a multilingual speaker as s/he has an easier access to education, hence to such languages as English, Luganda, and other indigenous languages. Similarly, multilingualism played an important role in the participants' everyday lives in Uganda since they grew up in the Kampala city, and their arrival in Turkey meant that they had to reconstruct these multilingual realities in their new city of residence. Even though both of them continue their multilingual practices in İstanbul by socializing with other Sub-Saharan Africans in such public spaces as church and gatherings at home, these multilingual repertoires do not mean much in their encounters with the monolingual Turkish society, who do not regard African local languages as linguistic capital. Therefore, both Judy and Dianne emphasize the need to add Turkish into their multilingual repertoires as an important part of integrating into the host society.

4.2 "I Turkish no": Lacking access to local resources in the host country

While highlighting the necessity of learning Turkish, both Judy and Dianne point towards the difficulties Ugandan migrants encounter especially in their first few months in İstanbul. These range from unemployment to lack of access to resources such as making friends in the neighborhood or finding a decent apartment in the city. When I met the two women at a Ugandan wedding in the summer of 2019, neither Judy nor Dianne had a good command of Turkish. As they did not have many English-speaking Turks around them either, they often narrated stories about the

language barrier they had to overcome on their first days in İstanbul. Judy, for instance, once told me that she eventually had to ask for a local's help to buy an adaptor for her laptop since nobody in the electronic store understood her in English.

The next excerpt illustrates a similar conversation between me and Dianne. Referring to the first time she arrived in İstanbul, Dianne states that she did not even know the basic Turkish phrases and elaborates on the difficulties she encountered in her everyday interactions with the locals:

Excerpt 4.6 [Interview at a café, 05/12/2019]

73 Dianne: (…) oh my god it was really hard it was one of the hardest things (.) and it
74 took me long also to make friends because of language I'm really friendly
75 person but this hits me so hard (.) but it was so hard for me to make friends
76 (1.0) because the language was really hard for me: (.) a:nd I- (.) I had to:
77 like really communication was so hard I was sometimes using <sign
78 language (.) and sometimes like> (.) for example if I went to a market for
79 example to: *şok* or to *bim* or to somewhere I'll just go pick what I want (.)
80 and then just go and put it there and look at the money what they write=
81 Özge : =mm hm
82 Dianne: and I would give or sometimes I just- I'd know like maybe this probably
83 would cost around ten *tl* (.) but I don't know even how to say ten *tl* (.) so I'd
84 just give like (.) one hundred *tl* so that they take what they want and give
85 me what they think I should have
86 Özge : aa
87 Dianne: something like [this
88 Özge : [even even from the supermarket?=
89 Dianne: =ye:s (.) because some- at some point I didn't know even money
90 Özge : mm hm
91 Dianne: yeah like when I just [came
92 Özge : [mm hm
93 Dianne: yeah: so it was kinda really hard (.) and so communication was more off (.)
94 and sometimes I could just pour my english (.) and someone would be like I
95 don't understand english no and I said *türkçe* turkish no like we're like <I
T ***turkish***
96 turkish no and he say english no> and sometimes we couldn't communicate
97 at all and we would just drop it there

Starting with an expression of despair through the interjection *oh my god* in line 73, Dianne signals the language barriers that she had to overcome on her first days in the city. Here, she also emphasizes the perceived difficulty of not knowing Turkish by rephrasing her utterance with a superlative adjective. Then, she centers on one of the material consequences of not speaking the local language, that is making friends, and

she contrasts it with her personality (lines 74 and 75). After a relatively long pause, she attributes such a material consequence to her perception of Turkish as difficult, which results from its distinct features compared to the other languages in her multilingual repertoire. In line 77, she initially points towards her occasional use of non-verbal communication to convey the intended meaning to her interlocutors. Then, from line 78 onwards, she draws on her previous experiences at any local shop and hints at her minimum amount of interaction with the cashiers. Resorting to two main ways for cash transaction, she demonstrates a lack of agency in the latter (lines 82-85). To recapitulate, even though she roughly estimates the value of a certain item in the shop, not knowing how to say numbers in Turkish compels her to submit to the locals' judgements.

As I show surprise to Dianne's remarks in line 86, I seem to take her experience as unusual in such public spaces; therefore, I ask her for clarification in line 88. After she gives me an affirmative response in the next line, she links her rationale to not knowing *even money*, which she considers as basic knowledge of Turkish. In line 93, she goes back to her main argument but softens it through the hedge *kinda* and suggests that her interactions with locals did not usually turn out to be successful. In the next line, she points towards the occasional instances where she *could just pour* English to communicate with locals. Here, her use of the verb *pour* signals her attempts to use any available linguistic resources to convey her message to the locals. However, she highlights the futility of resorting to English in her conversations with locals through voicing them (lines 94-96) and indicates the importance of a shared language in achieving a successful communication with the locals (line 97).

In this excerpt, Dianne brings along the chronotope of monolingual society into her speech, where knowledge of Turkish appears as linguistic capital even in her surroundings since the locals do not speak English and do not cooperate much when she attempts to communicate with them in English. Not possessing this capital, which, in this case, is narrowed down to a basic knowledge of Turkish, therefore, results in lacking access to such resources as making friends and doing proper shopping at local markets.

However, the material consequences of not knowing Turkish are not limited to lacking access to such local resources since they also emphasize that it was hard to find a stable job for some time in Turkey. After a few months in İstanbul, Dianne, for instance, decided to work as a stay-at-home-nanny upon a friend's suggestion but did not feel satisfied with the working conditions at any of the three houses she worked for. In our informal talks, she especially referred to the first two jobs and stated that she could not get along well with the women because of the language barrier between them. This is highlighted in the subsequent excerpt as Dianne talks about the challenges of not speaking Turkish at this type of work:

Excerpt 4.7 [Interview at my home, 08/10/2019]

98 Dianne: and I had to: communicate with their <u>kids</u> but I would think they always
99 wanted uhm an english speaker nanny (.) to teach their kids <u>english</u>=
100 Özge : =mm hm
101 Dianne: so it was one advantage for me:=
102 Özge : =hm:
103 Dianne: yeah but to the <u>ladies</u> (.) because the ladies couldn't speak english well and
104 they <u>didn't</u> want to learn english so it was like a problem they always felt
105 like ah: I can't communicate with her it's too much of a problem blah blah
106 blah

In lines 98 and 99, Dianne elaborates on one of her responsibilities as a stay-at-home nanny, and she emphasizes the importance of effective communication with children in her job. Here, the use of the conjunction *but*, which is followed by the modal verb *would* and the adverb *always*, signals her divergence from the parents' understanding

of being an English-speaking nanny. Even though she initially seems to take her interactions with children in English as advantageous for her (line 101), she hints at the difficulties she experienced in her communication with parents, especially with mothers. In lines 103 and 104, she first attributes their communication problems to the women's limited English proficiency and then to their unwillingness to invest in English through an emphasis on the auxiliary verb *didn't*. In the next lines, she points towards the seriousness of the issue and begins to voice the women, who assumed that the language barrier between them was not something that they could overcome in any means through using the quantifier *too much*. Not believing that the women put all their efforts to communicate with her in English, however, Dianne refers to the abundance of such complaints that the women made by repeating the interjection *blah* three times (lines 105 and 106).

While referring to her previous work experience as a stay-at-home-nanny in the excerpt above, Dianne evokes the chronotope of monolingual society by drawing on the smaller chronotope of work life. Here, speaking Turkish is considered of great importance especially if a certain job requires interacting with locals who do not have a good command of English on a day-to-day basis. Therefore, even though Dianne initially thinks that knowledge of English meets one's needs in this work environment, she later on realizes that she has to resort to Turkish even in these spaces, where she is expected to speak English as a part of her job requirements, because otherwise she might find herself unemployed.

Besides not finding secure employment because of their lack of knowledge in Turkish, both Judy and Dianne also highlight the locals' unwelcoming attitudes towards them as new residents of the city. Throughout the fieldwork, the two women frequently referred to the unequal treatments they received from the locals whenever

they went to a new neighborhood in the city. A few months after the coronavirus outbreak, the participants had moved into a new apartment and therefore were living in a different neighborhood. In an online interview with Dianne, she told me that every time she passed by a local on a street near their home, the locals would put their face masks on even though they would not show the same attitude towards other people. Likewise, when we were looking for an apartment for rent around Sarıyer with Judy, I heard two young men on motorcycle calling her *zenci*, which corresponds to "nigger" in English.

The following excerpt also illustrates this point as Dianne informs me about her first impressions of the locals upon her arrival in İstanbul:

Excerpt 4.8 [Interview at a café, 05/12/2019]

107 Dianne: (…) when I just came here (0.5) <u>really</u> I was so negative because the people
108 I met was so (.) <u>local</u>=
109 Özge : =mm hm
110 Dianne: they don't speak english they treat- (.) there are so many people who kinda
111 reacted racist to me:=
112 Özge : =mm hm
113 Dianne: because I'm <u>black</u> and then yeah so (.) so many people reacted like racists to
114 me: (0.5) and (.) not only to me I kept getting these feedbacks from my
115 friends as well

After a brief pause in line 107, Dianne attributes her initial pessimism about living in İstanbul to the Turks in her surroundings, who acted *so local* (line 108). Here, she gives a negative connotation to the adjective *local* through using the intensifier *so*. Then, she begins to elaborate on what she means by 'local' from line 110 onwards. She first links its use to Turks' inability to speak English and then to the high number of Turks with racist attitudes towards her. While articulating the latter, however, she uses the hedge *kinda* to soften her argument. In line 113, she explains her rationale for such an argument through her skin color. After reiterating her utterance regarding racism, she gives a short pause and desires to increase her credibility by drawing on the experiences of her African friends in İstanbul (lines 114 and 115). In doing so,

she indicates that racism in İstanbul is not something that she has experienced on an individual level or something that an African has to deal with only once in his/her life in İstanbul through using the verb *keep*, which points towards the ongoing nature of the phenomenon.

The excerpt reveals that the participants also have to cope with everyday racism in their encounters with the locals since they arrived in the city. By attributing the 'local' tendencies of the people she has met in İstanbul to being monolingual speakers, Dianne brings along the timespace of monolingual society into the interaction. She also assumes that not being open enough to the world urges locals to show racist attitudes towards Africans in İstanbul. In doing so, she builds on a contrast between Turks' 'local' way of living and the 'global' status of English. Confronted with such a language barrier since their first days in İstanbul, they eventually become vulnerable to such intolerant public attitudes.

Furthermore, the participants even have difficulty in finding volunteer work in İstanbul as African migrants who do not have a good command of Turkish. As someone who had worked with several non-governmental organizations in her native country, Judy frequently expressed her desire to get involved in charity work in İstanbul. In one of our casual gatherings, she even asked me for help to look for the orphanages and the nursing homes that would be happy to receive the help of African volunteers. However, she could not do any volunteer work in either of these institutions since language always emerged as a barrier. The next excerpt highlights this point as Judy starts narrating a time when she applied for a volunteer job in a non-governmental organization in İstanbul:

Excerpt 4.9 [Interview at a café, 14/02/2020]

116 Judy : there is a time (.) elena's dad has worked with so many companies (.) so he
117 decided and told me judy go to: there is uhm a church there the dominican
118 church in: beyoğlu=

119 Özge : =mm hm
120 Judy : so he told me go to that place and find a father father carl (.) he'll give you a
121 contact of a lady (.) who works with ( ) such that you can go and volunteer
122 with ( ) (.) in: istanbul=
123 Özge : =mm hm
124 Judy : so I went there I went- I met with father father is italian so he was so
125 welcoming (.) and then afterwards father called the lady berna she is turkish
126 (.) and she works in ( ) as a director (.) then she called they- they talked
127 and the lady told me send me your cv and also your picture and also your
128 residence permit I sent for her then she told me I'm going to email you
129 our- uhm how the volunteers (.) will- how many hours you take in a week
130 everything (.) I- I answered that sheet as she sent it then she called me and
131 asked me judy do you speak some turkish? I said no not really but I can do:
132 the work that you tell me I can understand when somebody speaks but I
133 cannot respond (.) in turkish she called father and she told (.) that uhm if I
134 want any (.) foreigners to work for us (.) I want them people who are
135 coming from europe or america not in africa elena's dad got angry (.) he
136 told me don't even go there (1.0) [but ( )
137 Dianne: [can you imagine? I- I want to volunteer I
138 just want to help
139 Özge : mm hm
140 Dianne: to exercise but someone says something like that what's that?

Referring to her ex-partner in line 116, Judy begins to recount how she applied for a volunteer work in İstanbul with the help of Dave, who once had a strong business network with the companies abroad. Nonetheless, she points out that she did not play an active role in this process since Dave *decided* himself and *told* her what to do (line 117). Then, she starts quoting his utterances, which prompt her to talk to an intermediary between foreigners and locals so that she could find volunteer work in İstanbul (lines 117-122). From line 124 onwards, she demonstrates her total compliance with Dave's guidance as she meets the pastor of the church. In doing so, she associates the pastor's friendly manner with his country of origin. The pastor, who acts like a gatekeeper, gets in touch with a Turkish woman who manages a non-governmental organization in İstanbul, and Judy does not get involved in their interaction at all. However, in line 127, she demonstrates her agency for the first time since she begins to have a direct conversation with Berna, and she voices her utterances in lines 127-130. Here, the repetition of the adverb *also* indicates that she already feels weary of the hiring process.

Even though Judy thinks that she has successfully completed all the required steps for getting hired by the company (lines 128-130), a phone call she receives from Berna signals a potential problem as she wants to inquire about Judy's command of Turkish (line 131). As a response, Judy points towards her lower proficiency of the language but demonstrates her willingness to get the job by centering on her higher level of proficiency in receptive skills (line 132). Rather than telling her final decision to Judy, Berna prefers to convey it through the pastor. In lines 133-135, Judy draws on their phone conversation and voices Berna again, who assumes that Judy does not meet the first criterion, that is speaking Turkish. In doing so, she hints at Berna's racist attitudes towards Africans since she prefers to hire European or American employees in cases where a candidate cannot speak Turkish. Then, in lines 135 and 136, she focuses on Dave's reaction to the incident by quoting his utterance again. As she attempts to elaborate on her own opinions about the event through the conjunction *but*, Dianne interrupts her and directly addresses me through her rhetorical question (line 137). Inviting me to empathize with them in the next line, she highlights that even access to such local resources as doing volunteer work turns out to be troublesome for these migrants, and she continues demonstrating her resentment in the last line.

In this excerpt, Judy draws on two chronotopes. As she tells us about her application process for a volunteer position in İstanbul, she first evokes the chronotope of work life. However, from line 131 onwards, she brings the larger chronotope of monolingual society into her discourse since her account indicates that even doing volunteer work requires a good command of Turkish. Therefore, being relatively good at certain skills in the local language does not guarantee access to the job. Moreover, lack of linguistic capital at this type of work creates another space for

approaching Africans in a biased manner as the locals give priority to people of European or American descent during the hiring process.

As the participants face such material consequences of not knowing Turkish in their everyday lives in İstanbul, they also claim that it is challenging for them to learn certain features of the local language like pronunciation, and they often attribute their communication breakdowns to the way they pronounce certain Turkish words. At the beginning of the fieldwork, Judy, for example, often stated that she had difficulty in pronouncing the consonant /c/ in Turkish since she kept drawing on the English pronunciation rules. Likewise, Dianne occasionally pointed towards the dissimilarity between Turkish and Luganda apart from few words which sounded similar in both languages like soap (*sabun*, **sabbuuni**) or scissors (*makas*, **makansi**). This, in turn, created communication problems with the locals especially on their first days in İstanbul. The following excerpt demonstrates a similar language barrier that Dianne had to overcome in her neighborhood:

Excerpt 4.10 [Interview at a cafe, 14/02/2020]

141 Dianne: when I just came to turkey I went to: a market (.) uhm bakery (.) and I wanted
142 uhm: *ek- ekmek* (.) but for me I used to hear (1.0) *erkek* (.) so I went to the
143 market and I said *kolay gelsin* (.) *normal erkek istiyo*
144 Judy : ((laughs))
145 Dianne: and the guy looked at me
146 Özge : ((chuckles))
147 Dianne: and he- he looked at me and he said *ne:? normal erkek*
148 Özge : ((chuckles))
149 Dianne: confidently (.) ((chuckles)) and the guy called his friend he said- first he left
150 and smiled and he ran he talked to his friend and he called one guy (.) he said
151 *abla ne istiyosun? ben diyo normal erkek* ((chuckles)) after I- I said *normal*
152 *erkek yok be:* ((chuckles)) *yanlış diyo* (.) I said no *normal erkek* (.) after I said
153 these guys don't understand me (.) I want bread they don't understand (.) in
154 english it's bread (.) so I went to: google map and I wrote bread and I showed
155 them the picture they laughed and they said *bu: ekmek ekmek*
156 Judy : ((laughs))
157 Dianne: oh my god I- I got I- I felt so bad and so sad and so ashamed and now (.) the
158 guy translated to me *erkek* means man he took my phone and put google
159 translator and wrote *erkek* and put english and I noticed it was man and I'm
160 like what the hell? like really? but I was busy asking for *normal erkek* (.) and
161 I'm like oh my god

Translation

141 Dianne: when I just came to turkey I went to: a market (.) uhm bakery (.) and I wanted
142 uhm *br- bread* (.) <u>but</u> for me I used to hear (1.0) *man* (.) so I went to the
143 market and I said *may it be easy* (.) *I want normal man*
144 Judy : ((laughs))
145 Dianne: and the guy looked at me
146 Özge : ((chuckles))
147 Dianne: and he- he looked at me and he said *<u>what:?</u> normal <u>man</u>*
148 Özge : ((chuckles))
149 Dianne: confidently (.) ((chuckles)) and the guy called his friend he said- first he left
150 and smiled and he <u>ran</u> he talked to his friend and he called one guy (.) he said
151 *sister what do you want? I say <u>normal</u> man* ((chuckles)) <u>after</u> I- I said *normal*
152 *man no <u>way:</u>* ((chuckles)) *she's wrong* (.) I said <u>no</u> *normal man* (.) after I said
153 these guys don't understand <u>me</u> (.) I want <u>bread</u> they don't understand (.) in
154 english it's bread (.) so I went to: google map and I wrote bread and I showed
155 them the picture they laughed and they said *this: is <u>bread</u> <u>bread</u>*
156 Judy : ((laughs))
157 Dianne: oh my god I- I got I- I felt so bad and so sad and so ashamed and now (.) the
158 guy translated to me *man* means <u>man</u> he took my phone and put google
159 translator and wrote *man* and put english and I noticed it was man and I'm like
160 what the hell? like <u>really</u>? but I was busy asking for *normal man* (.) and I'm
161 like oh my god

Referring to her earlier days in İstanbul, Dianne first informs us about the whereabouts of the event in line 141. Then, she refers to the confusion she once had of the two Turkish nouns, that is *ekmek* and *erkek* and links it with a mishearing (line 142). In the same line, she returns to the story by using the discourse marker *so*. After addressing the staff at the bakery through the phrase *kolay gelsin*, which is used for anyone who is working, she attempts to ask for white bread but instead uses the noun *erkek*. As both me and Judy seem to take Dianne's story amusing (lines 144 and 146), she continues telling it and quotes the staff's utterance (line 147). Here, she hints at his confusion by elongating the exclamation *ne* and emphasizing the noun *erkek*.

As everyone feels entertained by the story, Dianne points towards the appearance of another character in it (line 149) and emphasizes the locals' friendly approach towards her through the verb *smile* in the next line. From line 151

onwards, she begins to voice the other staff, who tries to understand her request, as well. In doing so, Dianne uses the noun *abla*, which functions as an honorific for an older person. As she relates the communication breakdown to the staff's misunderstanding of the type of bread, she puts an emphasis on the adjective *normal* (line 151) but indicates the staff's ongoing confusion through the phrase *yok be* in the subsequent line. Still feeling that she uses the correct words in her utterance, Dianne this time considers telling the staff the English equivalent of *ekmek* but then resorts to non-verbal communication since she perceives the staff as someone who does not understand English (lines 153-155). Showing an image on her phone eventually helps Dianne convey her message to the staff, who, in turn, provide her with the correct Turkish noun in a friendly manner. Starting from line 157, Dianne demonstrates her embarrassment once she understands the locals' point, which is made clearer through the use of a translation software. She also acknowledges her mistake by contrasting her previous utterance with what locals have said in line 160.

While drawing on another example from a shop in her neighborhood in this excerpt, Dianne points towards her yet developing phonological awareness in Turkish, which has led to a misunderstanding between the two parties. In order to successfully convey her message to the interlocutors, however, she does not resort to English at all by referring to the monolingual tendencies of the staff at the bakery. To this end, she brings the timespace of monolingual society into the interaction, which prompts her to resort to other semiotic resources rather than using 'global' English to ease her communication with the locals.

Even though being speakers of Bantu languages, which are known as agglutinative languages like Turkish, Judy and Dianne had also difficulty in understanding the morphological units in Turkish, especially suffixes, when they

started being exposed to the language in their everyday lives in İstanbul. Dianne, for instance, suggested that Turkish had "so many" suffixes in an interview that I conducted with her at the beginning of the fieldwork. Similarly, Judy often felt weary of having to learn the Turkish case markers while I was giving her online Turkish lessons in the summer of 2020. Therefore, their basic knowledge of Turkish suffixes sometimes resulted in communication problems while interacting with locals. This is highlighted in the next excerpt, where Dianne talks about her recent trip to İzmir with Judy:

Excerpt 4.11 [Interview at a cafe, 14/02/2020]

Dianne: so: *bir gün* uhm *ben* uhm judy: *gitti* izmir *var ya* (.) *oraya*=
Özge : =hm:
Dianne: *evet bir tane kahve gitti* (.) *orda* ( ) *istiyorum türk kahvesi* (.) *ama* (.) *şekerli bize istiyorum* (.) *ama ben önce önce duydum duydum* (.) *sadesi* uhm *türk kahve şekersiz* (.) *sade* (.) *kahve ama: ben bilmiyom karışık mı yaptım?ben istiyorum diyom biz kahve istiyorum ama şekerli* (.) *kahve istiyoruz ama biliyo musun ben ne söyledim abla? abla şekersiz istiyoz istiyorum* (.) *birazcık şekersiz? ben diyo evet ama ben ne düşünüyo?* I thought it's going to be with sugar *ama ben bilmiyom şekersiz* it means (.) sugar *yok*=
Özge : =mm hm
Dianne: *ama ben diyo şekersiz şekersiz sonra* (1.0) *kahve geldi* (.) *ya tadı çok acı ya ben diyo ama şekersiz diyo ama ben de istiyorum diyo* I thought it's with sugar ( ) it wasn't with (.) sugar ( ) I meant it's not with sugar=
Özge : =hm
Dianne: but I wanted with this sugar but I said *şekersiz* ((laughs)) and after we asked (.) can you give us sugar and we mixed it with ourselves with sugar it was so funny

Translation

Dianne: so: *one day* uhm *me* uhm judy: *went to* izmir *you know* (.) *there*=
Özge : =hm:
Dianne: *yes we went a café (.) there ( ) I want turkish coffee (.) but (.) I want it with sugar for us (.) but before before I have heard heard (.) the plain* uhm *turkish coffee is without sugar (.) the plain (.) coffee but: I don't know if I got confused? I'm saying I want we want coffee but we want coffee with sugar (.) but do you know what I said the sister? sister we want it without sugar I want (.) without sugar a little bit? I'm saying yes but what do I think?* I thought it's going to be with sugar *but I don't know without sugar* it means (.) *no* sugar=
Özge : =mm hm
Dianne: *but I'm saying without sugar without sugar then (1.0) coffee came (.) oh it tasted so bitter I'm saying but she's saying I wanted it without sugar* I thought it's with sugar ( ) it wasn't with (.) sugar ( ) I meant it's not with sugar=
Özge : =hm

176 Dianne: but I wanted with this sugar but I said *without sugar* ((laughs)) and after we
177 asked (.) can you give us sugar and we mixed it with ourselves with sugar it so
178 funny

In line 162, Dianne points out that the story she is about to tell me took place in another Turkish city and draws on our shared knowledge through the discourse marker *var ya*. Then, she gives me more details about the whereabouts of the event and informs me about her order. However, her emphasis on the conjunction *ama* twice (lines 164 and 165) signals her confusion of the adjectives *şekerli* and *şekersiz* in the next lines. Even though she mentions her earlier exposure to these words, she demonstrates her uncertainty while referring to the time she ordered Turkish coffee (line 166). From line 167 onwards, she hints at a mismatch between her intended message and her actual utterance. In doing so, she also starts quoting the waitress, whom she addresses as *abla* (line 168), and who asks Dianne for a confirmation of her order (line 169) since she notices that Dianne has created incoherence in her utterance through using the adjective *şekersiz* with the adverb *birazcık*. In lines 169 and 170, Dianne realizes her mistake by highlighting that she has confused the suffix *-sIz*, which demonstrates a lack of something, with the suffix *-lI*, which functions as an equivalent of "with" in English.

Not being aware of the distinction between the two suffixes earlier on, however, she continues insisting on the accuracy of her order but shows her discontent through the interjection *ya* when the order arrives (line 172). Then, she starts drawing on their conversation with the waitress again and reiterates the confusion she had while ordering the coffee (lines 173-176). Rather than requesting a new cup of coffee as a solution, Dianne this time addresses the waitress in English and asks for some sugar so that they could add it into their coffee cups, which she takes as an amusing experience (lines 177 and 178).

This excerpt demonstrates that Dianne feels the need to speak Turkish first even at a café situated in a touristic area of the city and invokes the chronotopic representations of monolingual society. Nonetheless, she conveys the wrong message to her interlocutor due to her yet developing morphological awareness in Turkish. Confronted with an unpleasant situation, she eventually resorts to English by assuming that there is a higher probability of encountering English speakers in the area.

In this section, I have argued that the participants face several material consequences of not knowing Turkish in their encounters with locals since their arrival in the host country. Therefore, they evoke two chronotopes in their discourse while referring to the various instances where they have experienced a language barrier with the locals. Dianne, for instance, draws on her interactions with the locals on her first days in the city, where she had difficulty in making friends and doing shopping in her neighborhood. Nevertheless, this was not limited to their neighborhood as they also had to deal with the communication problems in their work life. Whereas Dianne lost her job because of her lack of Turkish proficiency despite her position as an English-speaking stay-at-home nanny, Judy could not even get involved in volunteer work since she did not have the required level of Turkish and was marginalized due to her racial background. In addition, their yet developing phonological and morphological awareness in Turkish has resulted in occasional communication breakdowns. In order to solve these problems, they resorted to other semiotic resources rather than English, which they considered as the final solution in places where it is much easier to encounter English-speaking individuals.

4.3 Investing in Turkish

As the language barrier with the locals has restricted their access to several local resources in İstanbul, both Judy and Dianne started learning Turkish shortly after their arrival in the host country; however, they differ in their investment in Turkish because of their varying levels of attachment to the city. Even though Judy immediately felt herself at home when she came to İstanbul for the first time in 2013, she resided in the city as an undocumented migrant for a long time since she was working as a freelancer. These precarious times, in turn, made her uneasy about her stay in İstanbul and shaped her investment in the language accordingly. Although she began to attend an elementary level Turkish course, she could not complete it because she had to take care of her daughter on her own. Since then, she has not received any formal instruction in Turkish apart from the online Turkish classes I held with her towards the end of the fieldwork.

Coming to İstanbul later than Judy, Dianne fell in love with the city. She often called it "my İstanbul" and immediately started investing in Turkish. Unlike Judy, she did not want to go to a language course at all and tried to learn Turkish on her own. She initially grasped a few basic phrases in Turkish through her interactions with the other employees at the textile factory and then improved her Turkish once she began to date Mert, her previous Kurdish boyfriend, who did not speak English at all. To this end, Dianne always had a better command of Turkish than Judy from the beginning of the fieldwork. The subsequent fieldnote highlights this point as I accompany Judy while she is looking for an apartment for rent around Sarıyer:

Excerpt 4.12 [Fieldnote in Sarıyer, 08/06/2020]

> Throughout the whole process, it was me who communicated with the real estate agents or landlords in Turkish. Judy did not go far beyond saying either *merhaba* ((hello)) or *teşekkürler* ((thanks)). Moreover, almost every time I had to explain to

> them that they had steady jobs and they were looking for a permanent place to stay at. I think my presence was helpful in terms of easing the process; however, it did not stop locals from approaching Africans in a biased way. I wonder how the presence of Dianne, who is willing to communicate with the locals in Turkish, would shape this process if she had joined us.

In fact, a few days after I wrote this fieldnote, I learned that Dianne had accompanied Judy in search of a decent apartment located in a more central neighborhood of İstanbul and that they had finally found an apartment that they both liked. To this end, Dianne's presence had really helped them stop living on the basement floors of apartment buildings since Dianne, as a better Turkish speaker, kept communicating with the real estate agents in a friendly manner.

Their different levels of competence in Turkish mainly results from their social networks in İstanbul. Dianne, for instance, describes herself as a social person who always tries to make new friends wherever she goes. Similarly, since she moved to Turkey, she has tried to interact with a lot of locals in İstanbul and has not cared about her grammatical mistakes while speaking Turkish. On the other hand, Judy considers herself as a shy person and attributes it to her upbringing in an orphanage. Throughout the fieldwork, she has often shown her unwillingness to make new friends in İstanbul by referring to her fear of making mistakes in Turkish. In fact, in one of our casual meetings, she pointed out that she has a few "solid good" friends, none of whom are based in Turkey. Therefore, she has mainly limited her interactions to certain socialization practices with other Africans in the city.

Considering Judy's social network in the city, I wanted to inquire about her use of Turkish in one of the initial interviews I conducted with her. As a response, she pointed towards its occasional usage in her quotidian life in İstanbul in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 4.13 [Interview at a café, 30/11/2019]

179 Judy : (…) in a condition whereby I have to: (1.0) buy <u>something</u>=
180 Özge: =mm hm
181 Judy : for example most of the time when I go to: (1.0) uhm places like laleli or
182 beyazıt and I need to buy something really (1.0) fo:r a few customers and they-
183 the people I find there cannot speak good <u>english</u>=
184 Özge: =mm hm
185 Judy : I can try to figure out a few words in turkish=
186 Özge: =mm hm
187 Judy : if we <u>fail</u> to understand one another we will just use sign language
188 Özge: mm hm
189 Judy : and then we use the calculator to make the- (.)
190 Özge: mm hm
191 Judy : the: money (.)

In line 179, Judy restricts her use of Turkish to any instances where she needs to do shopping. However, in her next turn, she elaborates on one of these instances and refers to the prevalence of Turkish in these places, which are full of cargo companies, through the adverbial phrase *most of the time*. After highlighting that she does the shopping for business (line 182), she links her use of Turkish to the shop assistants' low level of English proficiency in line 183. Then, she demonstrates her efforts to interact with locals in Turkish through the modal verb *can*, which is followed by the verb *try*. Nevertheless, her use of the phrasal verb *figure out* denotes that she attempts to comprehend the locals' talk rather than speaking the language herself. In addition, she points towards her limited vocabulary knowledge in Turkish through the quantifier *few* (line 185). From line 187 onwards, she states that both parties resort to non-verbal communication in cases of communication breakdown where they cannot understand each other in either English or Turkish. In lines 189 and 191, nonetheless, Judy again refers to her basic knowledge of Turkish since she knows how much money she has to pay to the shop after looking at the price on the calculator.

In this excerpt, Judy initially evokes the chronotope of work life by drawing on her own experience of going shopping for African customers in some of the

busiest neighborhoods of the city. Then, she invokes the chronotopic representations of the monolingual society in line 183 since she attributes her use of Turkish to the monolingual tendencies of the shop assistants in such areas; thus, regarding it as inevitable. Nevertheless, she also demonstrates that speaking Turkish is not something she has to do on a daily basis as she can convey her message to the locals through non-verbal communication, as well.

In contrast to Judy, Dianne uses Turkish even in such private spheres as locals' home, where main medium of communication may not always be Turkish. Nevertheless, being constantly in touch with several families in İstanbul, Dianne considered this as a great opportunity to practice her speaking skills in Turkish and often narrated stories about her home visits to these families in our informal gatherings. One such family she particularly referred to was Mert's elder brother and his wife. When she was dating Mert, she would often visit them at the weekend or talk to them over the phone in Turkish. Halfway through the fieldwork, Mert's mother, Fatma, who was living in Mardin, also came to İstanbul and her presence at home meant that Kurdish would function as the main language of interaction among them since she used it most while communicating with the people in her hometown. However, this did not stop Dianne from communicating with Fatma in Turkish.

The following excerpt is taken from the first meeting that I had with Dianne after she met Fatma. As she kept complaining about Fatma's judgmental attitudes towards her throughout the entire conversation, she also mentioned the main communication problem between the two because of Fatma's low command of Turkish:

Excerpt 4.14 [Recording at a shopping mall, 09/01/2020]

192 Dianne: (…) sometimes you know communicating's a bit hard so there is that *<u>yenge</u>*:
T ***sister-in-law***
193 you know [brother to wife

194 Özge : [mm hm mm hm
195 Dianne: that has to ( ) translating kurdish
196 Özge : (1.0) aa:=
197 Dianne: =a little bit
198 Özge : okay so her mom (1.0) uhm doesn't speak turkish very well
199 Dianne: not so so so much
200 Özge : hm::
201 Dianne: she's- she speaks more of kurdish but she (.) understands me when I speak=
202 Özge : =hm: mm hm
203 Dianne: but not completely everything

In line 192, Dianne hints at the difficulty of communicating with Fatma on some occasions; however, she starts elaborating on a solution they have found to ease their interaction. To this end, she refers to the figure of *yenge*, whom she always addresses as such, and then provides me with its meaning in English after building on our shared knowledge (line 193). In line 195, she states that Mert's sister-in-law acts like a translator between the two since she is a proficient speaker of both Kurdish and Turkish. Moreover, her use of the modal verb *have to* indicates that there is no other available option to solve the problem. As I show surprise at her statement after a brief pause (line 196), she highlights that it does not always happen through the adverb *a little bit* in the next line. In line 198, I seem to take Fatma as a less proficient speaker of Turkish and ask Dianne for confirmation. In the subsequent line, Dianne points out that Fatma does not speak Turkish as well as the other Turkish speakers she knows by repeating the adverb *so* three times. She elaborates on her answer in line 201. Whereas she claims that Kurdish dominates the majority of Fatma's interactions, she still points towards her ability to follow the conversation between the two when Dianne talks to her in Turkish. In the last line, however, Dianne emphasizes that Fatma cannot comprehend all the details in Dianne's talk.

As it is revealed in the excerpt above, Dianne invests in Turkish so much that she positions herself as a better Turkish speaker while interacting with some locals whose home language is not Turkish. She also attributes this to Fatma's rural life,

where she is exposed to Kurdish more, in contrast to the urban lifestyle of Mert's family in İstanbul, who frequently use Turkish in their interactions with the locals in the city. In this regard, she brings along the chronotope of monolingual society into the interaction, which situates Turkish as the primary medium of communication with the locals who cannot speak English but who can interact in Turkish to a certain extent.

Drawing on her wide range of interactions with the locals in İstanbul, Dianne also situates herself as a better Turkish speaker than Judy. In doing so, she contrasts her Turkish language learning experience with that of Judy's and points towards the futility of attending a language course. This is highlighted in the excerpt below, which is taken from a conversation among me, Judy, Dianne, and Ray, Judy's Nigerian friend, at a birthday party hosted by Ray and his wife, who have once shared the same flat with Judy. As we try different types of Nigerian food, Ray joins us and begins to inform us about the ingredients of each. Soon, he realizes that I am the only Turk at the party and starts asking me questions about my hometown by switching to Turkish. Wondering about his Turkish language learning experience, I then direct him the following question:

Excerpt 4.15 [Recording at a birthday party, 23/02/2020]

204 Özge : *ne zamandır burdasınız? türkiye'de?=*
205 Ray : *=ben sekiz (.) se-=*
206 Özge : *=sekiz sene (.) sizin de türkçeniz iyi*
207 Ray : *evet* ((laughs))
208 Özge : *öğrenmişsiniz (.) nasıl öğrendiniz?*
209 Ray : *sokakta öğrendim=*
210 Özge : =hm
211 Ray : *o manada*
212 Özge : mm hm
213 Ray : *ticaret için=*
214 Dianne: =you see
215 Judy : ((laughs))
216 Dianne: *ben de öyle:* ((laughs))
217 Özge : hm?
218 Judy : ((laughs))
219 Özge : hm::

220 Ray : *ben okula gitmedim=*
221 Özge : =mm hm
222 Dianne: for <u>language</u> judy you don't need to go to school <u>*sokak*</u> street language

Translation

204 Özge : *how long have you been here? in turkey?=*
205 Ray : *=me eight (.) ye-=*
206 Özge : *=eight years (.) your turkish is also good*
207 Ray : *yes* ((laughs))
208 Özge : *you have learnt it (.) how did you learn it?*
209 Ray : *I learnt it on the street=*
210 Özge : =hm
211 Ray : *in that way*
212 Özge : mm hm
213 Ray : *for trade=*
214 Dianne: =you see
215 Judy : ((laughs))
216 Dianne: <u>*me*</u> *too* <u>*the same*</u>*:* ((laughs))
217 Özge : hm?
218 Judy : ((laughs))
219 Özge : hm::
220 Ray : *I didn't go to school=*
221 Özge : =mm hm
222 Dianne: for <u>language</u> judy you don't need to go to school <u>*street*</u> street language

As I inquire about the duration of Ray's residence in the host country, I rephrase my question in line 204 so that there would not be any misunderstandings that might result from the ambiguity of the deictic term *burda* since it may also refer to their city of residence. In the next line, Ray attempts to answer my question; however, I interrupt him and complete his turn in line 206. Complimenting him on his Turkish, I also seem to position him among the other Africans with a good command of Turkish that I have met throughout the fieldwork. In line 207, Ray acknowledges my statement in an amusing tone. Upon hearing it, I seem to take his language learning experience as complete through the suffix *-mIş*, which functions as a marker of evidentiality, and then I further inquire about his process of learning Turkish in line 208. In the subsequent line, Ray links his good command of Turkish to his informal language learning experience by using the adverb *sokakta*. Later on, he elaborates on his answer and refers to his business as his main motivation of learning Turkish (line

213). In line 214, Dianne joins the conversation and directly addresses Judy through the discourse marker *you see,* to which Judy responds with a laughter (line 215). In the following line, Dianne aligns with Ray's statement by considering her own language learning experience. As I seem to have hard time following the conversation (line 217), Ray reiterates his point and emphasizes that he has not gone through formal instruction while learning Turkish (line 220). In line 222, Dianne switches to English and continues addressing Judy. Here, she hints at the nonnecessity of going through formal education to learn Turkish through an emphasis on the noun *language*. Therefore, she points out that *sokak street language* will suffice to ease their communication with the locals.

As Ray evokes the chronotope of school in line 220, Dianne builds on it by drawing on her own language learning experience since she has improved her Turkish by interacting with the locals "on the street" rather than receiving formal instruction. Therefore, she questions the relative power of such a chronotope in helping them become better Turkish speakers by addressing Judy. In doing so, she also claims power over Judy since she knows that going to a language course does not guarantee a good command of Turkish.

Besides situating herself as a better Turkish speaker than Judy, Dianne has also helped her learn the local language mainly through translating from English to Turkish. Towards the end of the fieldwork, Judy started dating Demir, a Turkish man who did not want to improve his English proficiency at all. Driven by the desire to maintain a healthy relationship with him, Judy began to invest in Turkish again. Dianne, as an eager Turkish language learner, guided Judy in this process since she resembled it to her prior language learning experience, when she was dating Mert.

The next excerpt is taken from our last home gathering with Judy and Dianne at their home. As we eat dinner in the living room, Judy starts talking about her relationship with Demir for the first time and starts complaining about his unwillingness to use English in their interactions. That's why Dianne asks her if they are still using a translation software to communicate with each other. Once Judy responds negatively to her question, I further inquire about their language use:

Excerpt 4.16 [Recording at the participants' home, 18/11/2020]

223 Özge : so are you speaking in <u>english</u>?=
224 Judy : =no:
225 Özge : with him
226 Judy : this days I'm- I'm- I'm speaking turk[ish
227 Dianne: [hm:::
228 Judy : I'm a *<u>türk</u>* **((**laughs))
T turk
229 Dianne: [hm:::
230 Özge : [wo::w
231 Judy : ((chuckles))
232 Dianne: *bravo sana*
T bravo to you
233 Judy : *<u>bugün</u> <u>gelcek</u>* ((laughs))
T he's coming today
234 Özge : hm::
235 Judy : are you coming <u>today</u>? hm? isn't it
236 Özge : hm bugün gelcek?=
T he's coming
237 Judy : =mm hm
238 Özge : [means
239 Judy : [I'm-
240 Özge : he's coming=
241 Judy : =mm hm
242 Özge : today
243 Dianne: he's coming today [bugün gel-
T today he's com-
244 Judy : [then I'm- me I'm just asking him (.) that (.) are you
245 coming today?=
246 Özge : =hm::
247 Dianne: *geliyo musun*
T are you coming
248 Judy : ((laughs))
249 Özge : *aa güzel*
T nice

As I seem to take English as the main medium of communication between the two through my question (line 223), Judy negatively responds to it (line 224). Then, she

points towards a recent language change in their interaction and assumes that she has taken the initiative to ease their communication through using Turkish (line 226). Once Dianne shows her interest in Judy's statement in the subsequent line, Judy identifies herself as *türk*, which she equates with speaking Turkish (line 228). Our overlapping turns with Dianne (lines 229 and 230) demonstrate our further amazement at Judy's remarks since we witness her great interest in learning Turkish for the first time. As Dianne appreciates Judy's efforts to speak Turkish in line 232, Judy mentions a certain Turkish sentence she uses in her interactions with Demir by keeping her joyful tone. However, not being sure about the accuracy of her sentence, she translates it into English and asks us for confirmation (line 235). I take the floor first (line 236) as I seem to take the question directed towards me as a native speaker of Turkish. Rather than basing my answer on Judy's translation, I focus on her previous utterance in Turkish and provide her with its literal translation in Turkish (lines 238-242) once I receive Judy's confirmation in line 237. Later on, Dianne reiterates my utterance (line 243) and begins to tell it in Turkish; nonetheless, Judy interrupts her talk and repeats the question she asks Demir in English, which demonstrates her discontent at our explanation (lines 244 and 245). Realizing that Judy is trying to form an interrogative sentence through *bugün gelcek*, which is regarded as declarative, Dianne translates it into Turkish in line 247. While Judy demonstrates her amusement in the next line, I seem to appreciate her efforts to use Turkish in her daily life through using the adjective *güzel* (line 249).

In this excerpt, Judy builds on the chronotope of monolingual society since she feels the need to learn Turkish even if she is not very willing to invest in it. Moreover, she reinforces the ideology of one language one nation since she assumes that an individual automatically becomes a Turk when s/he starts learning Turkish.

Nevertheless, still being in the early processes of learning the local language, she asks for the help of someone more knowledgeable in Turkish. To this end, Dianne guides her as a more proficient Turkish speaker even at times when a local may not understand Judy's requests.

Furthermore, Dianne sometimes mocks locals when she realizes that they are not familiar with certain Turkish phrases. During the time Dianne dated Mert, she used Turkish most in her interactions with either Mert's friends or relatives, most of whom were from low socio-economic backgrounds. Mert, himself, had dropped out of high school and was involved in unskilled labor. In addition, he had a religious upbringing back at home in Mardin. Likewise, his mother, Fatma, had not attended school; therefore, her knowledge of Turkish was limited. These, in turn, shaped Dianne's lexical repertoire to a great extent. In our informal talks, she frequently used such phrases as *maşallah* (this is what God wills)*, inşallah* (if God wills) or *çok şükür* (thank God), which an educated Turkish speaker may utter only in certain occasions.

To this end, the subsequent excerpt demonstrates another phrase Dianne gets acquainted with in a conversation with Mert. As we have early Christmas dinner with Dianne and my flatmate Mine at home, Dianne receives a phone call from Mert. As she tells him that she is already feeling full because of all the food she has eaten, Mert utters a certain phrase in Turkish, of which Mine and me have heard for the first time in our lives:

Excerpt 4.17 [Recording at my home, 26/12/2019]

250 Özge : *allah doldursun?*
251 Mine : *yerini doldur=*
252 Özge : =hm::
253 Mine : *yerine doldur=*
254 Özge : =hm okay [okay
255 Dianne: [*anladın mı ya? şimdi anladı* ((laughs)) *maşallah sen türkçe var*
256 *mı? sen nerelisin?* ((Dianne and Özge laugh))

257 Mine : *de yani*
258 Mert : *şimdi anladın di mi şimdi=*
259 Dianne: *=evet şimdi anladım şimdi anladım bu türkçe aynı benim türkçe bu ben: türkçe*
260 *konuş var ya (1.5) valla özge (1.0) aynı türkçe*

Translation

250 Özge : *may the lord fill it ((the plate))?*
251 Mine : *fill its place=*
252 Özge : =hm::
253 Mine : *fill into its place=*
254 Özge : =hm okay [okay
255 Dianne: [*have you understood it? now she has* ((laughs)) *mashallah <u>do</u> you*
256 *<u>have</u> <u>turkish</u>? where are you from?* ((Dianne and Özge laugh))
257 Mine : *but well*
258 Mert : *now you've understood it right now=*
259 Dianne: *=yes now I've understood it now I've understood it this turkish is just like my*
260 *turkish this is me: speak Turkish (1.5) I swear özge (1.0) the same turkish*

As I demonstrate my confusion about the pragmatic function of the phrase *allah doldursun* in line 250, Mine, in pursuit of clarifying its meaning, rephrases it in the next line. Even though I acknowledge her statement (line 252), she slightly changes it through a shift in the case marker in that she uses the dative suffix *–(y)A* instead of the accusative suffix *-(y)I* in line 253. Once I show complete understanding of her explanation in line 254, Dianne directly addresses me and signals her amusement through the discourse marker *ya* (line 255). After she informs Mert about the clarity of the phrase for me, she starts mocking the non-existence of such a phrase in my linguistic repertoire. In a sarcastic tone, she questions my identity as a native Turkish speaker by first centering on my knowledge of Turkish and then my country of origin (line 256). While I seem to take Dianne's remarks as entertaining, Mine demonstrates her discontent at the use of such a phrase through the conjunction *da* (line 257). In the next line, Mert addresses Dianne and assumes her to understand the function of the phrase. Once she acknowledges Mert's statement, she jokingly starts comparing her Turkish level with mine (line 259). However, she limits her argument to our Turkish speaking skills and aims to increase her credibility through the discourse marker *valla* (line 260).

The excerpt reveals that because of her social network, Dianne is sometimes exposed to the Turkish phrases that are not commonly used by educated Turkish speakers. This is illustrated through the phrase *allah doldursun,* which functions like a prayer after dinner. Nevertheless, not being aware of its relatively less usage among educated Turks, Dianne teases a native Turkish speaker about her unfamiliarity with the phrase. Doing so, she brings along the chronotope of monolingual society into the interaction since she associates being a Turkish speaker with belonging to the Turkish nation (lines 255 and 256). Moreover, she further claims that her yet developing Turkish skills are comparable with those of a local's, which might not include the knowledge of a very basic Turkish phrase.

In this section, I have attempted to portray two different Turkish language learner profiles by exploring the participants' investment in the language and demonstrating the invocation of several chronotopes in their discourse. Therefore, I have argued that given their different levels of attachment to İstanbul, Dianne has always had a better command of Turkish despite Judy's longer stay in the city. I have explained this mainly through their different socialization practices in the city. Since Judy usually socializes with other Africans in İstanbul, she does not resort to Turkish much apart from such instances as doing shopping, where she can find other ways of communicating, as well. On the other hand, Dianne has been willing to interact with the locals since she arrived in İstanbul and improved her Turkish speaking skills thanks to her frequent encounters with some families in the city. To this end, she positions herself as a better Turkish speaker than Judy by questioning the role of school in improving their speaking skills. Drawing on this positioning, she further helps Judy learn Turkish in that she frequently provides her with the Turkish equivalent of an utterance in English. Because of her strong investment in Turkish,

Dianne even mocks some locals for their unfamiliarity with certain Turkish phrases, which she is acquainted with due to her everyday interactions with people of lower social class.

4.4 Negotiating power as Turkish speakers

Regardless of their differing levels of investment in Turkish, both Judy and Dianne consider themselves as possessing the linguistic capital once they start learning Turkish and attempt to use it in their everyday encounters with locals. In an informal gathering, Dianne once said that when she began to learn Turkish, everything got like a "soft spoon", meaning that she easily gained access to local resources in İstanbul. To illustrate, before Dianne moved into a new apartment with Judy in the summer of 2020, she already had a good command of Turkish; therefore, I sent the phone number of the haulers to her so that she could arrange a suitable time for themselves. However, she did not confine her interaction with the haulers to the mobile communication only since she also accompanied them to their new apartment, where she informed them about the furniture arrangement. Similarly, despite her lower proficiency in Turkish, Judy demonstrated her excitement about conveying her message to several shop assistants in Turkish while I was giving her online classes. They also attributed these successful exchanges to the locals' cooperative attitudes when they saw their efforts to speak Turkish.

To this end, both women claim that they frequently receive positive comments about their Turkish speaking skills, especially from people with whom they happen to interact with while trying to get their errands done in the city. That's why I wanted to further inquire about this in an interview, where I asked Dianne to illustrate her point through an example:

Excerpt 4.18 [Interview at a café, 05/12/2019]

261 Dianne: for example when I'm at work when I go to pick <u>food</u> (1.0) I say *abla:m (.)*
T ***sister***
262 *bardak alabilir <u>miyim</u>?=*
T ***can I take a glass***
263 Özge : =mm hm
264 Dianne: and they <u>laugh</u> they say oh: *çok tatlı senin konuşuyorum*[7] and I'm like (.)
T ***the way you talk is so sweet***
265 *neden <u>gülmek</u>?=*
T ***why laugh***
266 Özge : =mm hm
267 Dianne: *neden gülmek? neden? (2.0) çok tatlısın söyle (.) konuşuyorum* they have the
T ***why laugh*** ***why*** ***you're so sweet tell*** ***I'm talking***
268 way they say it=
269 Özge : =mm hm
270 Dianne: but me I'm saying ( ) I know *söyle* is *<u>konuş</u>*=
T ***tell*** ***talk***
271 Özge : =mm hm
272 Dianne: it's <u>talk</u>
273 Özge : =mm hm
274 Dianne: so (.) they- they're so <u>funny:</u> sometimes they don't understand me and they
275 laugh=
276 Özge : =mm hm

In line 261, Dianne starts drawing on an example from a recent exchange she has had with the catering staff at her workplace. In doing so, she centers on a request she has made to one of the staff and quotes her own utterance. Here, she uses a formal style with an emphasis on the particle *mI* but addresses the staff through the informal address term *ablam*. In line 264, she hints at the staff's positive attitudes towards her use of Turkish by focusing on their non-verbal behavior first and then their comments. As she tells me about their comments, she begins to voice them, and her utterance becomes polyphonic. However, not being able to link their non-verbal behavior with their comment, she inquires about their laughter in line 265. After she reiterates her question in line 267, she attempts to utter the exact comment she has received from the staff but fails to do so because of her limited knowledge of Turkish then. Furthermore, she distances herself from the locals since she suggests that they

[7] konuşman

use a certain phrase, which she is not familiar with, while complimenting on her knowledge of Turkish (lines 267 and 268). In line 270, she mentions a particular strategy she uses to fully understand the locals' utterances, where she centers on the words she is already acquainted with. Therefore, she initially provides me with a synonym of the verb *söyle* in Turkish and then translates it into English (line 272). In lines 274 and 275, she also expresses her positive feelings towards the locals and suggests that the locals are cooperative even if they sometimes have difficulty in understanding Dianne's utterances in Turkish.

In this excerpt, Dianne builds on the chronotope of work life while referring to a recent conversation she has held with the staff at the cafeteria. Despite her role as an English teacher within this timespace, there are also instances where she resorts to Turkish so that she could both build rapport and ease their communication with the locals. To this end, Dianne's efforts to speak Turkish are well received especially by those who do not speak English within this chronotope.

Nevertheless, there are also times when locals do not cooperate much when the participants try to communicate with them in Turkish. This especially occurs in formal settings where they deal with their paperwork processes. To illustrate, as an undocumented migrant for a long time, Judy was determined to obtain a residence permit through an intermediary, but the process took much longer than she had expected because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Every time she called the intermediary to ask for any updates on her application, he refused to talk to her in Turkish and instead told her to visit his office, where they interacted with each other in English with the help of a translator. Likewise, Dianne had trouble getting a work permit at most of the schools she worked for. In fact, she resigned from one of them since the school administration broke its promise to provide her with the work permit

and kept ignoring her attempts to discuss the matter in Turkish. In our casual conversations, both women occasionally referred to the locals' unwillingness to communicate with them in Turkish in these professional spaces.

The subsequent excerpt highlights such a conversation between me and Dianne. As she tells me about her work permit application process at her previous workplace, she complains about the uncooperative behaviors of the administrative staff. Then, she elaborates on the negative attitudes of one of them, who works as a secretary:

Excerpt 4.19 [Recording at my home, 26/12/2019]

277 Özge : but (.) like (.) have you ever [tried to talk to her
278 Dianne: [every time I try to talk to her=
279 Özge : =mm hm
280 Dianne: immediately she says (.) *anlamıyorum anlamıyorum anlamıyorum*=
T I don't understand I don't understand I don't understand
281 Özge : =hm:
282 Dianne: I'm speaking turkish (.) bi::tch like try to understand me at least I'm trying
283 Özge : mm hm

In line 277, I seem to take the problem between the two as something that can be solved by using the conjunction *but,* and then I focus on one action she can take through my question. Here, I also inquire about her agency in this process. In the next line, she gives me a positive response and points towards her continuous efforts to solve the issue through the adverbial phrase *every time* (line 278). Later on, she contrasts her constructive stance with the unwillingness of the secretary to deal with the problem by first using the adverb *immediately* (line 280). Then, she starts voicing her and repeats the phrase *anlamıyorum* three times. In line 282, she demonstrates her anger at her through her response to these utterances since she thinks that the secretary does not cooperate with her even when she tries to ease their communication by speaking in Turkish. Therefore, she addresses her through the insulting word *bitch.* Later on, she shows her disappointment at the uncooperative

acts of the secretary by again contrasting them with her individual efforts to speak Turkish. She further suggests that her efforts to ease their communication deserve attention on the part of the listener, as well.

This excerpt reveals that the locals are not always cooperative when interacting with the participants in Turkish. To illustrate it, Dianne invokes the chronotopic images of work life, where she sometimes feels that addressing her problems in Turkish will help her solve them more easily. Therefore, she attempts to use it in her interactions with the school management but cannot convey her message to them since they do not even appreciate her efforts to speak Turkish. What's more, they use her limited knowledge of Turkish as an excuse for refraining from such important talks as procedures for work permit application.

Although some locals do not view either Judy or Dianne as possessing the linguistic capital in formal settings, both women claim power through speaking Turkish, especially in spaces where they hide their Turkish speaker identities. As a more proficient user of Turkish, Dianne often narrated stories where she admitted to a local that she understands Turkish after an unpleasant situation. For instance, she once told me that she had flirted with a Turkish man on a boat tour in Marmaris but had not informed him about her knowledge of Turkish since she had not trusted him much at first. Once she learnt that the man was already married from conversations among his friends, she replied back to him in Turkish and never talked to him again.

The following excerpt demonstrates a similar instance where Dianne claims power over other teachers by hiding her knowledge of Turkish from them. As she complains about the duration of the school break times, she also tells me that she has received a warning from the school administration since some teachers have reported her for starting her classes late:

Excerpt 4.20 [Recording at my home, 26/12/2019]

284 Dianne: and those teachers they're always gossiping (1.0) about each other (1.0) they
285 even gossip about me (.) when I see them (.) so:me (.) [I make them
286 Özge : [ho:w?
287 Dianne: really understand=
288 Özge : =like into your face? [or do-
289 Dianne: [I made them understand I don't understand turkish at
290 all=
291 Özge : =hm:::
292 Dianne: some classes (.) when I see someone and I know these are good gossips so (.) I
293 also not (.) so I made them understand I don't understand anything=
294 Özge : =hm so the teachers don't know that they- [you know turkish
295 Dianne: [some
296 Özge : hm
297 Dianne: some
298 Özge : hm some
299 Dianne: so they really gossip about me <look at her ass look at her (.) her hair may-
300 like [about my life>
301 Özge : [but maybe they- they say nice things?=
302 Dianne: =no
303 Özge : hm?
304 Dianne: some say nice things some say bad things=
305 Özge : =mm hm
306 Dianne: some like ( ) oh she came late °*geç kaldı*°=
T ***she's late***
307 Özge : =mm hm
308 Dianne: °*beş dakika* oh::° (.) that like (1.0) and I'm just like uhm like
T ***five minutes***
309 Özge : ((chuckles))
310 Dianne: hm:: I know if you fall me I can fall you too I'm like *türkçe* (1.0) wha::t?
T ***turkish***
311 Özge : ((laughs))
312 Dianne: but I understand them fully ((laughs))

In line 284, Dianne shifts her focus towards a common practice among the Turkish teachers at her workplace. Even though she first excludes herself from it, she later on adds that she finds herself included in their gossips, as well. Here, she demonstrates her surprise at such an act through an emphasis on the adverb *even* and the object pronoun *me* (line 285). After she suggests that the teachers even gossip about her in her presence, she highlights that not all the teachers are engaged in this practice. In lines 285-290, she elaborates on a strategy she uses to deal with their gossips. As her account indicates, she pretends that she does not understand Turkish at all. In line 292, she emphasizes that she restricts this act to certain individuals whom she thinks

gossip a lot and reiterates her main strategy in line 293. As I seem to miss Dianne's earlier point in the next line by expanding her strategy to all the teachers, she corrects my utterance through using the pronoun *some* (lines 295 and 297).

In lines 299 and 300, she begins to elaborate on the content of the teachers' gossips by first focusing on her physical appearance and then her private life. In the subsequent line, I seem to approach their gossips from a positive perspective through hinting at the possibility of a misunderstanding on the part of Dianne. Nevertheless, she does not acknowledge it and demonstrates her certainty in her response (line 302). As I ask her for confirmation again in the following line, she, later on, softens her argument and points towards the existence of both positive and negative gossips depending on the teachers (line 304). In lines 306 and 308, she focuses on the latter and voices the teachers who gossip about her late arrival to class. Here, the frequent use of the discourse marker *like* signals her negative response to these utterances. Even though she is aware of the bad consequences of being late to class for her work life, she also points out that the same thing can be observed in the work lives of other teachers who gossip about her (line 310). In doing so, she formulates a very strong statement by using the zero conditional and the verb *fall*, which brings to mind a defeat against somebody. Then, she attributes this to her knowledge of Turkish which she hides from certain teachers. In this regard, she puts herself in a more powerful position as she has convinced them that she does not understand even a single word in Turkish. As I show my amusement at her remarks in line 311, she builds on a contrast through the conjunction *but* in that she compares the way she has projected herself to the teachers with her good comprehension skills in Turkish.

Throughout this excerpt, Dianne evokes the timespace of work life, where she constructs an oppositional stance towards some teachers' attempts to distort her

image as a professional employee. In doing so, she builds on her identity as a foreign English teacher who presumably lacks basic knowledge of Turkish in her interactions with other Turkish teachers. Moreover, she claims power over them since she suggests that they might face the same material consequences as her if she uses her knowledge of Turkish against them.

Besides resisting the locals' attempts to portray them as "bad employees" in professional spaces, Judy and Dianne also negotiate power through speaking Turkish in their everyday encounters with the locals in their neighborhood, who perceive them as lacking the linguistic capital and therefore try to take advantage of their status as a foreigner in the country. This especially occurs when they want to buy something from a local street vendor in their neighborhood. The subsequent fieldnote illustrates this point well as I narrate Dianne's unpleasant experience at the bazaar she regularly visited in her previous neighborhood:

Excerpt 4.21 [Fieldnote at my home, 26/12/2019]

> As we were sipping our tea after dinner, Dianne started talking about her experience in the bazaar last week. She wanted to buy a kilo of mandarins from a street vendor, but the man did not let her choose the mandarins herself. Rather, he picked them up from the back of the stand. She knew that he would put some rotten mandarins inside the plastic bag, so she checked them later. She told me that it would have been normal if she had found two or three rotten mandarins inside it because it was "business". However, out of 12 mandarins he put into the bag, only two of them were okay. So, she was really pissed off and wanted to get her money back, but the guy refused it. Instead, he offered her to choose other mandarins. When she insisted on taking her money back, he finally gave it to her, but she was so angry that she started swearing at him in Turkish and he replied back to her with a swear word, as

well. She said that she felt really relaxed after swearing at him and was glad that Mert had taught her those swear words.

In a similar vein, Dianne also claims that knowledge of Turkish emerges as a form of capital while bargaining with the local salespeople in the city, who otherwise overcharge them. To give an example, as a migrant who dreamt of building a house for her father in Uganda, Dianne started making extra money by shipping clothes mainly to Africa. Thanks to her good command of Turkish, she was able to interact with several wholesalers in the city and lower the prices of certain items upon her customers' requests. In our casual conversations, she drew on these work experiences to emphasize the symbolic power she gains through speaking Turkish.

The next excerpt exemplifies such a conversation among us as Dianne talks about a recent experience where she wanted to buy some flowers from a street vendor in the city:

Excerpt 4.22 [Interview at a café, 14/02/2020]

313 Dianne: so uhm:: (.) when I- I talked to the lady and then she- she was like one flower
314 thirty *tl* (.) one rose thirty *tl*
315 Özge : wha::t?=
316 Dianne: =*evet* and I'm like *abla <u>ne</u> diyosun ya?(.) otuz tl (1.0) bu bi tane gül otuz tl*
317 *nede::n? diyo:: çünkü bugün (.) sevgili günü ben diyo: ama başka orda ben*
318 *aldım diyo on beş yirmi tl bi tane diyosun neden otuz tl* (.) and then when I
319 changed my face and she said >*tamam tamam tamam*< *on beş ver* like oh my
320 god (1.0) and then (.) it's like like <u>really</u> because now I speak in turkish and I
321 can argue with them I can bargain that's when we understand each other (…)

Translation

313 Dianne: so uhm:: (.) when I- I talked to the lady and then she- she was like one flower
314 thirty *tl* (.) one rose thirty *tl*
315 Özge : wha::t?=
316 Dianne: =*yes* and I'm like *sister <u>what</u> are you saying?(.) thirty tl (1.0) this rose is thirty*
317 *tl why::? she says because today (.) is valentine's day but I bought another one*
318 *there I sa:y fifteen twenty tl why are you saying one rose is thirty tl (.)* and then
319 when I changed my face and she said >*okay okay okay*< *give me fifteen* like oh
320 my god (1.0) and then (.) it's like like <u>really</u> because now I speak in turkish and
321 I can argue with them I can bargain that's when we understand each other (…)

Referring to the interaction she has had with one of the florists in her neighborhood, she begins to quote her utterance and informs us about the price of a specific type of

flower (lines 313 and 314). As I seem to take the florist's offer as too expensive (line 315), Dianne acknowledges her statement by switching to Turkish. Then, she starts drawing on the exact conversation between the two and demonstrates her resentment towards the florist through an emphasis on the wh-phrase *ne*, which is followed by the discourse marker *ya* (line 316). As her account indicates (lines 317-319), she inquires about the rationale behind selling flowers at such a high price, which the florist links to the celebration of a special day. However, Dianne keeps challenging the pricing strategy of the florist by first comparing it with that of another florist and then changing her facial expression, which, in turn, makes the florist submit to Dianne's will. Even though she shows her resentment again through the interjection *oh my god* (lines 319 and 320), she expands her argument to all the street vendors this time and attributes her successful exchanges to her good command of Turkish, which enables her to *argue* and *bargain* with them (line 321).

From line 320 onwards, Dianne invokes the chronotope of monolingual society, where knowledge of Turkish may bring her different forms of capital while purchasing goods from the locals. Whereas a good command of Turkish enables her to resist the locals' attempts to overcharge her, it also helps her use bargaining as a strategy, which turns the situation to her advantage. To this end, being a Turkish speaker not only means speaking the language but also involves being engaged in certain cultural practices of the host country.

Finally, Judy also resists the locals' attempts to legitimize their unfair treatments of foreigners in several public spheres. Despite her lower proficiency in Turkish, Judy especially resorted to Turkish when she could not stand a discriminatory act against migrants, including herself, while getting her errands done in the city. For instance, she once told me that she shouted at everyone who was

trying to cut the line as she was trying to cancel her cable service at a telecommunication company in İstanbul.

The subsequent excerpt demonstrates a similar instance as Judy starts narrating an event where she has eavesdropped on a conversation among locals:

Excerpt 4.23 [Online interview, 12/06/2020]

322 Judy : ( ) I went to buy some things in mecidiyeköy and the landlord- there are some
323 girls who came to buy things as well
324 Özge: mm hm
325 Judy : but the lady there was telling them was telling the guy who was selling to me
326 things (.) that he- she has houses but she doesn't give it to foreigners
327 Özge: hm::
328 Judy : and then I- I shouted I didn't shout but I reacted in a way that *neden yabancı gi-*
T ***why foreigner***
329 ((laughs))
330 Özge: mm hm
331 Judy : I was speaking turkish [*neden yaban-*
T ***why foreign-***
332 Özge: [*neden yabancı?*
T ***why foreigner***
333 Judy : ((laughs)) *neden yabancı* ((laughs)) ( ) *neden* you don't give to *yabancı* I- I was
T ***why foreigner*** ***why*** ***foreigner***
334 just hurt

After Judy informs me about the purpose of her visit to Mecidiyeköy, she hints at the presence of other visitors in the shop, that is a few customers and a landlady, as well (lines 322 and 323). In her next turn, she starts elaborating on the conversation among them, including the shop assistant, and points towards the discriminatory act of the landlady while leasing out apartments. In line 328, she demonstrates her resentment towards the landlady through using the verb *shout* but then replaces it with the verb *react*, which carries neutral connotations. Then, she switches to Turkish and quotes her own utterance, through which she attempts to question the landlady's motive behind such an unfair treatment of foreigners. However, failing to utter the whole question in Turkish, she starts laughing at herself in line 329. In her following turn, she implies that Turkish is not a language that she regularly uses in her interactions with the locals and then tries to formulate her question again. As I

seem to take her question as incomplete in line 332, she keeps her joyful tone and repeats the question. Nonetheless, she, later on, decides to formulate it by inserting the English phrase *you don't give to* in between her previous utterance in Turkish. Finally, she attributes her use of Turkish to her disappointment at the landlady's intolerance towards foreign renters through the adjective *hurt* (line 334).

While addressing the locals in her surroundings in the excerpt above, Judy resorts to Turkish in order to contest the prevailing notion among the landlords that foreigners do not deserve to live in decent apartments as locals do. Hinting at their monolingual tendencies, she considers Turkish as the only way to resist these notions among locals, thus builds on the chronotope of monolingual society. Even if she cannot formulate the whole question in Turkish, she still conveys her message to the locals and claims power through her basic knowledge of Turkish.

In this section, I have revealed that both Judy and Dianne negotiate power in their encounters with the locals by drawing on their Turkish speaker identities within two chronotopes. To this end, I have argued that although some locals receive their investment in the language positively, others do not even appreciate their efforts to speak Turkish especially in cases where they try to get out of precarity. Nevertheless, they claim power through their knowledge of Turkish in different social spaces and resist the locals' attempts to portray them as foreigners who lack the linguistic capital and therefore are prone to exploitation by the locals. While Dianne puts herself in a more powerful position over her Turkish colleagues by hiding her identity as a Turkish speaker within her workplace, she confidently uses Turkish in her everyday encounters with the locals in her neighborhood and even becomes involved in the cultural practices of the host country. Likewise, Judy tries to contest the locals' unequal treatments of foreigners through her basic knowledge of Turkish.

CHAPTER 5

NEGOTIATING POST-COLONIAL IDENTITIES AS ENGLISH SPEAKERS

In this chapter, I illustrate how being fluent speakers of English contributes to the participants' construction of their translocal identities in İstanbul. Having grown up in Kampala and having received good education in English medium schools, both Dianne and Judy mainly speak English in their encounters with people of different backgrounds in İstanbul. Furthermore, their high level of proficiency in English has shaped their career in Turkey in that Dianne has worked as an English teacher at several private schools in İstanbul while Judy has written book reviews in English to assist certain American authors in improving the quality of their work. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that they approach İstanbul through English. Originating from a former colonial country, they often draw on their post-colonial backgrounds to negotiate certain identities in their interactions with English-speaking individuals in İstanbul.

To this end, in the first section below, I attempt to reveal how the participants situate themselves as native speakers of English in İstanbul by drawing on their English language learning experience in a post-colonial context. In the next section, I discuss how the participants, as Ugandan English speakers, negotiate the 'local' in their interactions with other English-speaking individuals in the city by resorting to their 'post-colonial' English. Finally, the last section turns its gaze on how the participants, through their post-colonial backgrounds, employ the notion of English as a global language to negotiate power in their encounters with the locals in İstanbul.

5.1 Negotiating native English speaker identities

Apart from rare occasions where the participants were accompanied by other Ugandan migrants at such private spaces as home, English dominated the entire fieldwork - both as a means and an end. Because the participants felt themselves most comfortable in English while communicating with me, I did not only conduct all the interviews in English but also kept holding our informal conversations in English despite Dianne's good command of Turkish towards the end of the fieldwork. Quite often, in our casual talks, English emerged as a subject by itself, as well - either haphazardly or through my triggering questions. This was obvious because of my identity as an English teacher. Since I was curious about their English use in İstanbul, I kept asking them questions about their English language learning background, especially at the beginning of the fieldwork.

Yet, English also meant native language for my participants. Having started learning it at an early age, both Judy and Dianne felt themselves confident about speaking the language regardless of their interlocutor or locality. While referring to their English language learning experience in our meetings, Dianne, for instance, often said that they had learned everything "Britain way" at school and particularly narrated her literature classes, where she had read the works of such famous authors as Shakespeare and Charles Dickens. In this regard, English, for them, meant more than the knowledge of a certain language. This was reflected in our informal conversations, as well. Whenever I made a mistake or had trouble finding the correct word in English, they would position themselves as better English speakers and help me complete my utterance. To this end, I particularly decided to inquire how they view themselves as English speakers in an interview.

The excerpt below is taken from the first interview I conducted with Judy at a shopping mall close to her home, which, later on, became a frequent meeting spot for us. As it was a Sunday afternoon, she was coming from the church and was accompanied by another Ugandan migrant, Beth, throughout the entire interview since they were staying at the same apartment then. At the beginning of the interview, Beth was telling us about the languages she spoke fluently but had not initially included English in her answer. Complimenting Beth on her fluent English, I asked them if they consider it as their mother tongue. Judy said that it was rather their official language and linked its prevalence to its status in Uganda. In pursuit of exploring whether they also associate being a native speaker of English with its official status, I directed the following question to them:

Excerpt 5.1 [Interview at a café, 13/10/2019]

1 Özge: do you consider yourself as the (.) native speakers of english then
2 Judy : [yes we do
3 Beth : [yes we do >we say that< oh yeah >we say that<=
4 Judy : =we do because we were colonized by the british=
5 Özge: =mm hm
6 Judy : so: we- we feel like (.) english is part of [us
7 Özge: [mm hm

Judy's and Beth's overlapping turns with affirmative answers to my question (lines 2 and 3) indicate that they certainly regard themselves as native speakers of English. From line 4 onwards, Judy explains her rationale and links it to the British colonization of Uganda. Here, she focuses on the 'colonized' rather than the 'colonizer' by using a passive voice structure; however, she still lays an emphasis on the latter by pointing out that it was the British who colonized them, not the other colonial powers. In line 6, she extends her main argument and articulates that they feel English is part of them because of colonialism.

In this excerpt, starting from line 4, Judy evokes the chronotope of post-colonial Uganda, where English is the de facto official language of the country and

has significantly affected Ugandans' everyday linguistic practices to the present. Drawing on this chronotope, Judy, likewise, suggests that English has become an integral part of her identity construction. To this end, being a native speaker of English does not only refer to speaking the language fluently but also involves accepting the linguistic and cultural imposition by the 'colonizer'.

This also applies to Dianne since she situates herself as a native speaker of English and connects it with the official status of the language in Uganda, as well. However, she also stresses that the other speakers of English around the globe acknowledge their status as legitimate native speakers. Not only has this been reflected in our casual meetings at coffeeshops, where Dianne would occasionally mention the compliments she receives on her English from her different conversation partners in İstanbul, but also at certain home gatherings, where I heard Samantha, Dianne's acquaintance from Rwanda, praise Dianne for her more fluent and clearer English compared to people from other African countries.

The subsequent excerpt also illustrates this point as I try to understand how Dianne differentiates between the notions of 'mother tongue' and 'native language' as an English speaker:

Excerpt 5.2 [Interview at my home, 08/10/2019]

8 Özge : so: for <u>english</u> (.) you don't consider it as you:r <u>mother tongue</u>
9 Dianne: it's <u>not my mother tongue</u> because [I also learnt
10 Özge : [o:r your native language
11 Dianne: <u>but</u> it is actually our native language because it's known as <u>our</u> (.) official
12 language=
13 Özge : =mm hm
14 Dianne: and we grew up <<u>studying it</u>> and we grew up <<u>using it</u>> and all our <offices>
15 and everywhere in my country we use english
16 Özge : mm hm
17 Dianne: so: actually we're known for being like natives=
18 Özge : =mm hm
19 Dianne: because of english

As my emphases on the words *english* and *mother tongue* in line 8 indicate, I seem to ask for confirmation that Dianne does not consider English as her mother tongue, and she confirms this in her next line. As she begins to explain her reasoning, I interrupt her and complete my confirmation check. In my turns, I seem to take mother tongue and native language as the same. However, from line 11 onwards, Dianne starts building a counter argument with an emphasis on the conjunction *but* and associates being a native speaker of English with the official status of the language. Here, she uses the hedge *it's known* to lessen the impact of her utterance, which, in turn, helps her sound more polite. In lines 14 and 15, Dianne elaborates on her reasoning and says that they were not only exposed to English when they were growing up but they also use it now. Therefore, she reiterates that they are native speakers of English through using a passive voice structure (line 17), which suggests that being a native speaker of English is not something they assert themselves but also a fact that is acknowledged by the general public due to its special status in the country.

From line 14 onwards, Dianne starts constructing the chronotopic images of post-colonial Uganda, which encompasses such timespace configurations as school, childhood, and work life, and where the use of English is regarded as linguistic capital. Furthermore, she builds on a comparison of the past and the present and points out the invariant role of English in their native country through a shift in tense and hinting at the spread of English in different physical settings.

Besides highlighting the prevalence of English in every sphere of life in Uganda, Judy and Dianne also associate being a proficient speaker of English with being educated. Therefore, knowledge of English in several public spaces appears as a form of linguistic capital compared to the knowledge of other indigenous languages such as Luganda. Throughout the entire fieldwork, the participants emphasized this

point while referring to their earlier work life in Uganda. Before coming to Turkey, both Judy and Dianne were involved in several skilled jobs that required high level of competence in English. To illustrate, as a young girl who dreamt of being a TV presenter, Dianne had worked at an English radio station that was funded by a big organization in Uganda thanks to her high level of proficiency in English. Likewise, Judy had worked with several non-governmental organizations to protect the local women's rights and exchanged correspondence in English as a part of her job. The two women occasionally referred to these past work life experiences in our casual conversations.

Taken from a casual coffee meet-up with Dianne at a shopping mall in Şişli after work, the excerpt below illusrates one such conversation among us. As I inquire about the public's attitudes towards English and Luganda in Uganda, Dianne gives me the following response:

Excerpt 5.3 [Interview at a café, 16/11/2019]

20 Dianne: (…) if you:: know english ( ) if you speak english or if you: (.) to- I would
21 say they look at you as a learnt person they look at you as a professional person
22 as a (1.0) a person yeah who knows what they're doing oh like you've been to
23 school because you know you know [english
24 Özge : [mm hm
25 Dianne: but so english and luganda they have the same=
26 Özge : =mm hm
27 Dianne: I'd say it's fifty fifty=
28 Özge : =mm hm
29 Dianne: but when you: you have english of course because all jobs they need someone
30 who is gonna speak english=
31 Özge : =mm hm
32 Dianne: because most of the offices (.) ninety percent is english
33 Özge : hm:
34 Dianne: so most of the schools if you are a teacher if you are a what like any kind of job
35 (.) english is a must (.) even for a waitress in my country someone who is gonna
36 make this food like this guy here in busters coffee
37 Özge : =mm hm
38 Dianne: you have to understand english=
39 Özge : =mm hm
40 Dianne: yeah
41 Özge : hm:
42 Dianne: so like english is yeah:: like a big deal

Starting from line 20, Dianne directly links being a competent user of English with getting a formal education at school and states that if one has a good command of English, the public considers them as a *learnt* or *professional* person. Highlighting that access to English can only be maintained through schooling in Uganda, she differentiates it from the other local languages, most of which are learnt through informal education. Although pointing out to the balance between the use of English and Luganda within the country (lines 25 and 27), Dianne acknowledges the material consequences of knowing English in the job markets of Uganda by starting her subsequent turn with the conjunction *but* and the adverb *of course* and emphasizing that for *all jobs* it is a necessity to hire people who speak English. She continues explaining her rationale in line 32 and states that English is the main medium of communication in the majority of the offices. In her next turn, she expands her argument to all the workplaces, including schools and cafés, and highlights the necessity of knowing English in unskilled labor, as well, unlike Turkey. Therefore, she concludes that English is a *big deal* (line 42) and stresses its importance not only as linguistic capital but also as economic capital in her native country.

As it is illustrated in the excerpt, the predominance of English within nearly all the public spaces in Uganda shapes how the participants define themselves as native speakers of English in that they position themselves as *learnt* people compared to those who do not get formal education at school, thus not being able to speak English. However, from line 29 onwards, Dianne shifts her focus from the chronotope of school, where English is regarded as linguistic capital, to that of work life, where the language turns into economic capital since knowing it is related to engaging in professional work. As she attempts to underline the importance of English in Ugandan work life, she also contrasts Uganda with Turkey through her

reference to the waiter at the café we were sitting at and denotes the need to speak English in her native country regardless of the type of work in contrast to Turkey.

As the participants were informing me about the benefits of speaking English in Uganda, they frequently referred back to their school memories. Then, I started inquiring more about their English use at school in order to understand how it relates to their construction of native speaker identities in İstanbul. To this end, I have discovered that being a native speaker of English is also entrenched in Ugandan schools, where English is the medium of instruction starting from the early years of schooling. While it is taught as a subject in the first three years of primary school, it becomes the main medium of instruction in the fifth year. However, this does not apply to urban areas characterized by complex multilingualism since English is used as the language of instruction from primary one onwards (Ssenteda, 2016). As residents of Kampala, both Judy and Dianne started learning English as a subject at kindergarten and received English-only instruction since primary school. In our informal gatherings, Dianne frequently drew on these language learning experiences while talking about her students at the kindergarten she currently works.

The next excerpt represents one such talk as Dianne informs me about her primary school in Kampala, where English played an important role in the class:

Excerpt 5.4 [Interview at a café, 16/11/2019]

43 Dianne: >actually< most of the classes (.) are conducted in english
44 Özge : hm:
45 Dianne: yeah so they start from baby classes I told you (.) they're teaching us alphabet
46 Özge : [mm hm
47 Dianne: [in baby class=
48 Özge : =mm hm
49 Dianne: they're teaching you (.) <come go goodbye> those=
50 Özge : =mm hm
51 Dianne: norma:l=
52 Özge : =mm hm
53 Dianne: verbs (1.0) and yeah by the time you're finishing baby class (.) so you
54 understand oh:: so life is about english

Comparing the amount of instruction in English with that of Luganda at primary school (line 43), Dianne points towards the dominance of English as the medium of instruction at school. In her subsequent turn, she states that English is taught from *baby classes* onwards, by which she means the pre-school years, referring to our earlier discussion of the topic at the beginning of the interview. Through the phrase *they're teaching us alphabet*, she does not only refer to the teachers but also to the school as a social entity, which prioritizes the teaching of literacy skills starting at an early age (line 47). Here, her emphasis on the noun phrase *baby class* demonstrates that she does not perceive it as a commonly practiced phenomenon in every part of the world since she draws on her own experience as an English teacher at a kindergarten in Turkey, where she does not engage in such pedagogical practices. In line 49, she adds that they also learn the basic English phrases and addresses them as *normal verbs* (lines 51 and 53). By building on her teacher identity, she receives them as appropriate for her age in contrast to the need to learn the Latin alphabet. In line 54, she comes to the conclusion that *life is about english*, where one must have a good command of English to accomplish one's goals regardless of locality.

By evoking the chronotope of school in the excerpt above, Dianne clearly demonstrates that the notion of being a native speaker of English in Uganda is instilled from the early years of schooling onwards, where it is common to teach students literacy skills in English. While Dianne refers to some of these teaching practices as typical by using the adjective *normal*, she does not regard others as common. This, in turn, compels her to think that English holds great symbolic power in the society she lives in since her early childhood.

After hearing about such stories from their early years of schooling, I wanted to learn more about their English-speaking personae. Therefore, I asked them more

questions about the English-only policies in Ugandan classrooms since I also witnessed the same pedagogical practices in the early years of my teaching career as an English teacher in İstanbul. Attending private schools in Kampala, which promote themselves as English-only institutions (Ssenteda, 2016), the two women often highlighted that they owe their high proficiency of English to the good education they received in these schools. Nevertheless, they occasionally expressed their disapproval of these classroom practices at the expense of their local languages and informed me about some of the punishments they got if they did not use English. Judy, for instance, once told me that the teachers would give the students a bone so that they would feel ashamed of using their home languages in the classroom. Likewise, Dianne elaborated on the same punishment in the next excerpt, where she described how they learned English at school:

Excerpt 5.5 [Interview at a café, 05/12/2019]

55 Dianne: >for example like< they could put something around your <u>neck</u> that you didn't
56 use english and you don't want to <u>have that</u>
57 Özge : hm::=
58 Dianne: =so this is the way they motivate us to learn english=
59 Özge : =mm hm
60 Dianne: and like you know we'll- like they're teaching us like this like even on the
61 compound (.) because we use this in the compounds because they know in the
62 classroom teachers are always watching us (.) so we are not speaking (.) our-
63 our home languages=
64 Özge : =mm hm
65 Dianne: but when we're in the playgrounds and running around (.) they <u>know</u> that
66 teachers are not watching us always >so they're <u>putting some small small</u>
67 <u>things</u> to motivate us to speak [english<
68 Özge : [hm: mm hm
69 Dianne: like for example like there is something called a **<u>kigumba</u>**=
70 Özge : =mm hm
71 Dianne: like uhm ye:s a **kigumba** it's like a <u>bone</u> uhm it's like a goat's bone
72 Özge : okay
73 Dianne: <u>dried bone</u>
74 Özge : okay
75 Dianne: so they put in on something (.) on like a <u>thread</u>=
76 Özge : =mm hm
77 Dianne: and then like you know and you wouldn't want to wear that on your <u>neck</u> some
78 everyone to tell that you spoke luganda in <u>school</u>
79 Özge : aa
80 Dianne: <u>ye::s</u> because you want to: be able to speak english and the teachers want to
81 motivate you like this=

82 Özge : =hm
83 Dianne: so they'll make you feel like it is not forbidden to speak that in school because
84 we are here to learn also [english
85 Özge : [mm hm but do you: think that this is a nice thing?
86 Dianne: (1.0) oh: [I've-
87 Özge : [now?
88 Dianne: have two two way of it=
89 Özge : =mm hm
90 Dianne: because I think (.) we would be- we should be proud of ourselves but already
91 english is our official language so I have two feelings about it (.) I feel (.) when
92 after travelling uhm I just have travelled like >two times< and I understood how
93 important english is=
94 Özge : =mm hm
95 Dianne: then I understood they really did good impacting this much on us
96 Özge : mm hm
97 Dianne: but also: on the other hand I feel like (.) when I feel- when I think like
98 politically (.) because of colonialism they force us to speak english actually=
99 Özge : =mm hm
100 Dianne: because they force us they even (.) put like punishment because we speak our
101 own language that's not normal

Referring to the teachers in her early years of education, Dianne begins to explain a certain type of punishment given to students as a way of increasing the use of English in the classroom, and she adds, *you don't want to have that* (line 56). Her subsequent turn, however, implies that she does not regard it as a bad classroom practice since the teachers *motivate* them to learn English in this way. Starting from line 60, she expands this classroom practice to the present through a tense shift, and she claims that the same punishment is applied to the students *even on the compound*, where they are more likely to interact with each other in their home languages since they know that the teachers are not constantly monitoring them during playtime (line 66), in contrast to the classrooms, where the teachers *are always watching* them (line 62). Therefore, Dianne states that the teachers are making efforts to encourage the students to speak English on the compounds. In an attempt to clarify what she means by punishment; she begins to inform me about an object called *kigumba*. Besides reiterating her previous statement in line 75, she mentions other students' judgements as another deterrent against speaking home languages at school; however, this time she specifically refers to Luganda, her own

home language as she draws on her own experience as a Ugandan student. As I approach her statement with surprise in line 79, she explains her reasoning and acknowledges that a good command of English is something desired also by the students, which is clearly demonstrated through the phrase *you want to be able to*. Dianne also thinks that the teachers cooperate with the students in their endeavor to become proficient speakers of English since they will allow the students *to speak that in school* (line 83), through which she refers to the use and promotion of English as opposed to the indigenous languages. In addition, she legitimizes such a pedagogical practice by hinting at the need to learn English.

In line 85, I seem to take this punishment as a bad classroom practice since I direct Dianne a question starting with the conjunction *but*, and she approaches it from two different perspectives. While she firstly constructs ethnolinguistic identities by denoting the need to take pride in their tribal background (line 90), she brings her postcolonial identity to the front in the next line by pointing out to the long-existing status of English as an official language in Uganda. Then, she highlights the importance of English as a global language even after traveling few times and feels happy about being exposed to that much English in her native country (line 95). Nevertheless, from line 97 onwards, she centers on the former perspective and articulates that she does not consider it as a good practice since English was brought to Uganda with colonialism and they *force* them to speak English, which signals that it has been an involuntary act on the part of Ugandans, thus punishing students' use of their own languages at school is not regarded as typical.

The excerpt illustrates how Dianne's identity as a native speaker of English is shaped by the chronotope of school in that she draws on a comparison of two spatial elements of school, that is the classroom and the compound. Whereas she considers

compounds as a space for communicating with her friends in their local language, she also appreciates the teachers' efforts to spread the use of English to these areas. Moreover, although initially constructing the chronotopic images of Ugandan schools in the past by referring to her student life only, she later on expands it to the present and points out to the unchanging nature of such English-only policies at these schools. While elaborating on her contradictory stance towards these policies, Dianne herself attributes to colonialism and therefore starts evoking the larger chronotope of post-colonial Uganda, where the use of English is promoted at the expense of local languages (line 91). Here, she situates English as something that the colonial powers imposed on them in contrast to the local languages, which she describes through the possessive determiner *our* and the adjective *own*, and therefore demonstrates her strong disapproval of such policies at schools.

In this section, I have demonstrated how the participants negotiate their native English speaker identities by drawing on the multiplicity of chronotopes in their past. Evoking such timespace configurations as childhood, school, and work life within the larger timespace frame of post-colonial Uganda, they do not only identify themselves as native speakers of English but also claim that their status as the authentic or legitimate native speakers has been acknowledged by others, as well, on the grounds that English has been declared as Uganda's only official language until recently. In their attempts to highlight the prevalence of English in Uganda, they also draw on their experiences in Turkey. Dianne compares the level of English a Ugandan waiter needs to have with that of a Turkish waiter in İstanbul, or as someone who is familiar with the English teaching practices in both localities, she mentions what she considers as a typical or atypical classroom practice. In doing so, she invokes the chronotopic representations of work life and school respectively and

makes a comparison between Kampala and İstanbul, which, in turn, contributes to her translocal identity construction in İstanbul.

5.2 Negotiating the 'local': Being Ugandan English speakers

Although the participants identify themselves as native speakers of English, they also negotiate the 'local' in their everyday interactions in İstanbul as Ugandan English speakers. Having been exposed to Ugandan English in their native country, they frequently drew on their local linguistic resources to achieve effective communication throughout the fieldwork. As this was the first time I had encountered Ugandans in İstanbul, I was curious to understand how it is to be a Ugandan English speaker and therefore paid more attention to their speech. For instance, it was not uncommon to hear Judy utter the noun "upstairs" while complimenting on my outfit or Dianne use "isn't it" as the only form of tag questions while requesting confirmation.

In the same vein, both Judy and Dianne resorted to their indigenized variety of English while communicating with their friends and family members abroad. Before the COVID-19 outbreak, Elena had visited Judy in İstanbul and they had spent all their time together during her entire stay. In our first home gathering after Elena left for the U, Judy showed me a lot of videos she took of her daughter and narrated several instances where they had hard time communicating with each other in English. In fact, this was not the first time I had heard such stories from her since she would very often point out that she finds her daughter's English very different from hers.

The next excerpt clearly demonstrates this point as I fancy a cup of tea with Judy at her apartment, where she has invited me for the first time right after her Christmas trip to Uganda, and I realize that her bedroom is filled with photographs of

her daughter Elena. As I get more curious about their communication as mother and daughter, Judy centers on her daughter's English language learning experience in both İstanbul and Chicago and illustrates how she positions Ugandan English in comparison to American English:

Excerpt 5.6 [Recording at the participants' home, 10/01/2020]

102 Özge: so like (.) at that time she was a baby?=
103 Judy : =yes
104 Özge: so: she- you only talked to her uhm [in
105 Judy : [in luganda and english
106 Özge: in luganda and hm [in english
107 Judy : [°english°
108 Özge: mm hm
109 Judy : she went to us when she knows ugandan english
110 Özge: hm::
111 Judy : ((laughs)) the one which is <u>softer</u>
112 Özge: mm hm
113 Judy : now she's <u>so</u> quick (.) sometimes I don't understand her when she speaks °in
114 english°

As Judy informs me about the period when she raised her daughter in İstanbul and the languages she taught her, I ask Judy for confirmation of the exact period (line 102). After she gives me an affirmative response, I again check my understanding of the languages she used to talk to her, which is completed by Judy with her overlapping turn in line 105. Here, I seem to take Luganda as the main medium of communication between them since I initially utter the word Luganda and then add English (line 106). In line 109, however, she elaborates on the variety of English she taught to her daughter and differentiates Ugandan English from American English. Moreover, when comparing the two varieties, she defines the former as *softer* (line 111), whose positive connotation conveys that she favors it over the latter. In line 113, she builds on a comparison of her daughter's Ugandan English in the past with her American English at present and asserts that she does not comprehend Elena's English from time to time. Therefore, Judy equates Ugandan English with clearer

speech whereas she associates American English with unintelligible talk, which is *so quick*.

In this excerpt, Judy draws on the chronotopic representations of post-colonial Uganda, where English also goes through a process of indigenization. In doing so, she attributes a positive feature to Ugandan English in that she portrays it as a *softer* variety than American English. Moreover, she highlights the impact of the two localities on her daughter's identity as an English speaker, and she ascribes their occasional communication breakdown to her daughter's American English, with which she is not acquainted on a daily basis.

In addition, Judy and Dianne are aware of the fact that Ugandan English has emerged as another variety of English since the British colonization of the country and has diverged from the so-called native speaker norms with its own features. To this end, Judy has pointed to a major shift in everyday linguistic practices of the Ugandan youth in that they attach more importance to having a 'good' accent than forming grammatically accurate sentences while speaking English. This is revealed in the following excerpt which is taken from the last interview I conducted with Judy once we returned from our summer holidays to İstanbul:

Excerpt 5.7 [Interview at a café, 27/08/2020]

115 Özge: >so< do you observe any changes in the way young people speak english or (.)
116 luganda
(2.0)
117 Judy : yeah (1.0) there are so many changes because (2.0) <u>those days</u> people were so
118 worried about (1.0) if you're speaking english you have to be <u>perfect</u> (.)
119 >grammar< you have to: join the sentences in a- a different way you just have to
120 be perfect (.) but <u>these days</u> they are not about <u>perfectionism</u> but they just want
121 to have a <u>good</u> accent even if they- they don't speaking the <u>correct</u> english but
122 they want to maintain the- (1.0) the accent=
123 Özge: =mm hm

As I inquire about the changes in the linguistic practices of the Ugandan youth, Judy responds that people felt the urge to speak *perfect* English in the past (line 118),

which was instilled at schools through a strict English-only policy. In her subsequent line, she exemplifies her point through grammar and begins to draw a comparison between the past and the present from line 120 onwards. She asserts that Ugandans are not fond of *perfectionism* any longer, which is associated with excelling in grammar, and maintains that as language learners they have shifted their focus away from grammatical accuracy to having good accented speech. Here, the use of the verb *want* indicates that having a 'good' accent is something the Ugandan youth desire themselves unlike speaking the 'perfect' English, which is evident through the use of the modal verb *have to* as it denotes something dictated by the others. Judy further articulates that the acquisition of a 'good' accent is more important than *speaking the correct English* (line 121), which is restricted to forming grammatically accurate sentences, and she adds that the Ugandans want to *maintain* the accent (line 122), which implies that they desire to preserve the way they pronounce words as Ugandan English speakers.

In attempting to compare the linguistic practices of the Ugandan youth in the present and past in the excerpt above, Judy evokes the chronotope of post-colonial Uganda, where speaking English with a 'good' accent is considered more desirable than speaking the 'correct' English. Even though she somehow conforms to the 'native' speaker norms since she equates correctness with British English, she also underscores the importance of locality in shaping Ugandans' understanding of which feature of English is regarded as linguistic capital.

Despite their willingness to acquire a 'good' accent as English speakers, the participants do not aspire to sound like Americans or the British but rather value their identity as Ugandan English speakers by hinting at their local values, and they even mock some Africans' attempts to sound like the others. In the excerpt below, which

is taken from a friendly gathering with both participants at my home, Dianne is trying to comprehend the details of the job interview she has just been invited to whereas Judy is playing with her mobile phone. Silence prevails in the room until Judy starts mentioning a famous Nigerian gospel singer, who has immigrated to the U.S. and immediately changed her name to sound "more" English:

Excerpt 5.8 [Recording at my home, 24/01/2020]

124 Judy : pastor said
125 Özge : huh?
126 Judy : pastor (.) said that the real name of this lady
127 Dianne: °hm°
128 Judy : is not sinachi
129 Dianne: °hm°
130 Judy : she is called osinachi but because when they went to america ((laughs)) they
131 put it in english form ((laughs))
132 Dianne: sinachi
133 Judy : [sinach-
134 Özge : who [is that singer
135 Judy : she is a a what she is a::=
136 Dianne: =famous gospel music sing[er
137 Judy : [yeah=
138 Özge : =hm:
139 Judy : osinachi (.) this
140 Dianne: she is osinachi
141 Judy : the real name is osinachi [but
142 Özge : [hm
143 Judy : but when they went to america they said (.) they changed the name to- to
144 sound more english

Showing me a photograph of an African singer on her phone, Judy refers to a recent conversation she has had with pastor Samuel (line 124) and states that the *real* name of the singer was not Sinachi, which Dianne acknowledges in the subsequent line; however, her low volume indicates her disinterest in the topic since tries to prepare for her upcoming job interview at the same time. In line 130, Judy provides us with the singer's previous name and the use of passive voice here denotes that it is a well-known fact among Africans. She, later on, connects the singer's name change to her country of destination and begins to make fun of her by emphasizing that they *put it*

in english form. Although it is not quite clear who the pronoun *they* refers to, the pronoun shift suggests that the singer did not initiate the process herself.

From line 132 onwards, Dianne demonstrates her engagement in the conversation by uttering the English equivalent of the name, and as I further inquire about the singer (line 134), Dianne completes Judy's utterance and elaborates more on the topic. In lines 139-141, they continue highlighting that the singer's true identity is reflected through the name *osinachi*; nevertheless, Judy reiterates that when they arrived in the U.S., they changed her name to *sound more english* (line 144), which signals that her identity as an African singer has been reconstructed in her current locality because her name has not sounded English enough.

Through the excerpt above, the participants construct chronotopic images of tribal culture, where preserving one's identity as an African is regarded as cultural capital regardless of his/her locality. Therefore, they discursively negotiate "Africanness" and mock a Nigerian gospel music singer for changing her name *Osinachi*, which is affiliated with the Igbo, one of the largest ethnic groups of Africa, to *Sinachi* in an attempt to sound 'more' English. In doing so, they draw on a comparison of two localities, that is Africa and America, and acknowledge the importance of English in the singer's new setting since her original name did not sound English 'enough' for her to prosper in the U.S. However, they still consider Africanness as an essential part of their identity construction; therefore, they resort to their localized variety of English by addressing her as *Sinachi* rather than "Sinach", which the singer is known as in the U.S.

Furthermore, the participants perceive the use of certain English words in sentences as 'incorrect' English due to their infrequent use in nativized Ugandan English. That's why they sometimes brought those words into discussion in our

casual meetings. Dianne, as an English teacher, would always initiate the discussion and ask for our opinions. This is highlighted in the subsequent excerpt as Dianne, who has asked me for help in planning a demo lesson, pages through an English language coursebook and notices a sentence which includes the verb "phone". Finding it odd, she attempts to check its accuracy by addressing us:

Excerpt 5.9 [Recording at my home, 24/01/2020]

145 Dianne: (…) but is it correct to use this language when I phoned you is it correct
146 english=
147 Judy : =[like
148 Dianne: [when I phoned you
149 Judy : °when I°=
150 Dianne: =while you are asleep when I phoned you this morning?
151 Özge : I think british people use [it
152 Dianne: [use it=
153 Özge : =mm hm
154 Judy : hm
155 Dianne: when I phoned you=
156 Özge : =[mm hm
157 Judy : [°hm°
158 Dianne: yes I heard it before [but I was thinking
159 Judy : [°I don't remember this one°
160 Dianne: probably it's- (2.0) I don't know phoned °okay° [but I think here
161 Judy : [like call
162 Dianne: it's actually (.) yeah I- I thought ca- always ca- called was the- the best (.)
163 preposition to us- like the adjective to use but here (3.0) °when I phoned you
164 (.) this morning°

In line 145, Dianne begins to question the use of "phone" in the sentence, and Judy's subsequent turns (lines 147 and 149) indicate that she is also hesitant about its accuracy since she initially uses the discourse marker *like* and then attempts to utter the sentence in a low volume. Thinking aloud, Dianne reads the whole sentence this time (line 150), and I confirm its correctness in the next line since I have used the book several times and therefore know that it was published by an English publishing house years ago. Even though Dianne's overlapping turn demonstrates her alignment to my statement, Judy still does not seem convinced of its properness, which is signaled by her low volume (lines 157 and 159). From line 158 onwards, Dianne shows her hesitance again by first using the conjunction *but* and then

recognizing the use of the verb as appropriate after a relatively long pause. As she attempts to explain what is meant by "phone" in that context, Judy interrupts her by articulating that it corresponds to *call*, a frequently used word among them. In the following line, Dianne confirms Judy's statement, which suggests a lexical difference between the two varieties of English, and this is further supported by Dianne's repetition of the whole sentence in a low volume after a considerably long pause.

As it is indicated in the excerpt above, both Dianne and Judy regard the verb "phone", which is associated with the British English, as 'incorrect' English. In doing so, Dianne builds on her identity as an English teacher and demonstrates metalinguistic awareness by initiating a discussion on the appropriateness of the word. Drawing on the chronotope of post-colonial Uganda and taking their everyday linguistic practices into account, one may also assert that their understanding of correct English is shaped through their identities as Ugandan English speakers and their more frequent encounters with the speakers of other varieties of English. Therefore, they do not consider the use of the verb "phone" as appropriate in their interactions in both localities, that is Uganda and Turkey.

Finally, the participants occasionally bring their localized variety of English into a third space where they address an English-speaking individual from another locality and draw on their multifaceted linguistic repertoire to contribute to the communication. This particularly occurred in our home gatherings where we prepared dinner together and talked about certain aspects of Ugandan cuisine. The excerpt below illustrates such a conversation among us, where Judy and Dianne inform me about "cassava", one of the most typical dishes in Uganda. As we eat homemade Turkish food in my living room, I ask them whether it is served in the

Ugandan restaurant in İstanbul they have mentioned me beforehand. Comparing it with “matoke”, a popular food in central Uganda, Judy negatively responds to my question and explains why it is hard to serve a good “cassava” in any restaurant:

Excerpt 5.10 [Recording at my home, 24/01/2020]

165 Judy : anyone can make it but fo:r (.) this kind of food (.) you should be an expert
166 because it needs mingling=
167 Dianne: = [yeah
168 Özge : [hm
169 Judy : >so< if you don’t know how to do the mingling=
170 Özge : =mm hm
171 Judy : you will leave so many: (.) >whatever they call them< in english I don’t know
172 (2.0) ungrinded un::
173 Dianne: un[:::
174 Judy : [hm
175 Dianne: smashed
176 Judy : hm
177 Dianne: unmingled [( )
178 Judy : [((laughs))
179 Dianne: something like that

Referring to “matoke” in line 165, Judy compares it with “cassava”, whose preparation she thinks requires expertise. After Dianne confirms her statement in line 167, Judy attempts to explain her rationale through the sentence *you will leave so many* (line 171); however, she cannot find the English equivalent of the word in Luganda at that moment and therefore refers to it as *whatever they call them*. Here, the use of the pronoun *they* suggests that she distances herself from the English-speaking individuals despite her earlier statement that she considers English as her native language. After a relatively long pause, Judy utters the word *ungrinded* to convey the intended meaning; however, feeling that she has not clarified her point, she attempts to find another adjective by elongating the negative prefix *un-* in line 172.

From line 173 onwards, Dianne contributes to the interaction, and she first comes up with the word *unsmashed* (line 175) and then resorts to *unmingled* (line 177) by drawing on Judy’s earlier use of the noun *mingling*. As Judy begins to laugh

in the next line, Dianne articulates that the meaning they want to convey is something similar (line 179). This indicates that even though they could not find the exact word they were looking for in English, they are aware of the fact that they have successfully conveyed the intended meaning to their interlocutor through their collaborative efforts to bring their local linguistic resources into the interaction.

As revealed in the excerpt above, both Judy and Dianne are collaboratively engaged in expressing a certain aspect of their culture to their interlocutor. In doing so, they evoke the consumption of two traditional dishes, that is "matoke" and "cassava" in their home country, and take the role of culture mediators. Although one may tend to think that they are not 'proficient' speakers of English since they cannot find the 'correct' English word to convey the intended meaning, they draw on the chronotope of post-colonial Uganda and employ their nativized variety of English to find other ways of expressing themselves in this ELF context.

In this section, I have shown that the participants also draw on their local linguistic resources in Uganda to communicate with the other English-speaking individuals in İstanbul; therefore, Ugandan English continues to remain as linguistic capital in these translocal migrants' everyday lives although certain timespace configuration givens may shape which feature of Ugandan English is considered more desirable. For instance, while having a 'good' accented speech in English is of great importance within the chronotope of post-colonial Uganda, sounding like a 'native' speaker of English is something that the participants mock within the timespace of tribal culture as they emphasize their "Africanness" and produce their localized utterances in English. Furthermore, sometimes Ugandan English plays such an important role in these migrants' linguistic repertoires that they do not regard certain English words as 'correct' English and at times when they cannot find the

'correct' English word to convey the intended meaning, they make use of their indigenized variety of English to accommodate their addressee in an interaction.

5.3 Negotiating power through 'global' English

Coming from a post-colonial background and bringing their localized variety of English into a third space, both Judy and Dianne perceive English as a global language and negotiate power through it in their everyday interactions with the locals in Turkey. Throughout the entire fieldwork, the participants pointed towards the international use of English by drawing on their past travels. Before arriving in Turkey, Judy, for instance, had lived in Malaysia for two years and shared an apartment building with other migrants from India and Thailand. Similarly, Dianne had attended a Youth Forum in China and interacted with people of different nations in English. Therefore, acknowledging the global status of English, they did not even question the role and status of English in Turkey prior to their arrival in İstanbul. In fact, Judy once stated that she first heard of Turkish when she landed in the city.

Even though the two women improved their communication skills in Turkish and used Turkish in their interactions with the Turkish-only speakers in their surroundings over the course of the fieldwork, they also kept negotiating their English speaker identities in İstanbul by building on the notion of English as a global language. That's why I wanted to inquire about this in an interview. The excerpt below is a good example of how the participants differentiate being a speaker of English from being a speaker of Turkish:

Excerpt 5.11 [Interview at a café, 14/02/2020]

180 Özge : how is being an english speaker different from being a turkish speaker
181 Dianne: how is it <u>different</u>=
182 Özge : =mm hm if you think about the benefits of them in your daily life=
183 Dianne: =hm:
184 Özge : a:nd the feelings that (1.0) arose in you=

185 Dianne: =hm: for me I think it's a two way traffic issue since I need the turkish=
186 Özge : =mm hm
187 Dianne: so: being a turkish speaker I'm learning it it's- (.) it's beneficial and it's a one
188 advantage and since the country we live in its people don't speak english
189 easily (.) so uhm it's beneficial and it's great so [it's important
190 Judy : [turkish can only help me in
191 turkey it can't help me anywhere=
192 Özge : =hm
193 Judy : english will help me in uganda it will help me in somewhere where they speak
194 the english
195 Özge : mm hm

As I direct the question to the participants in line 180, Dianne asks me for a clarification with an emphasis on the adjective *different*. While elaborating on the question, I seem to shift their focus towards the advantages of speaking English and Turkish in İstanbul (line 182) and intend to explore their attachment to each language since I further inquire about their feelings when communicating in English or Turkish (line 184). In the subsequent line, Dianne refers to the twofoldness of the situation through the phrase *two way traffic issue* and starts explaining the advantages of being a Turkish speaker in line 187. She articulates that as a motivated learner of Turkish, she finds it *beneficial* by pointing to the monolingual tendency of the Turks she interacts with (line 188). However, she softens her argument through her reference to Turkey and Turks with the phrases *the country we live in* and *its people*. Before moving onto her second argument, Judy interrupts her speech in line 190 and utters that Turkish functions as a main medium of communication only in Turkey, thus not helping her *anywhere* (line 191), which refers to the other parts of the globe. She builds on her argument in lines 193 and 194 by comparing it with English in that she claims that English will not only be useful in Uganda but also in any other countries with a considerable number of English speakers.

Through the excerpt above, the participants build on the notion of English as a global language by drawing on the comparisons of being an English speaker and being a Turkish speaker. Evoking the chronotopic representations of monolingual

society from line 188 onwards, they assert that Turkish serves as an important medium of communication at a local scale whereas English is considered as a global language, through which they can interact with other English speakers all around the world.

Recognizing the importance of English as a global language, they also claim power as 'better' English speakers and link it to their colonial history. This is demonstrated in the following excerpt, which is taken from a conversation that I held with Judy and Ray at a birthday party organized in a neighborhood of Şişli. Once Ray starts directing some criticism towards Turks for not being modern enough, which Judy associates with Turks' not being colonized unlike Nigerians or Ugandans, I ask Judy whether she considers colonialism as a good phenomenon:

Excerpt 5.12 [Recording at a birthday party, 23/02/2020]

196 Ray : it's not [>a good thin'<
197 Judy : [tha:t's good (.) but also bad
198 Ray : no
199 Özge: mm hm
200 Judy : for (.) countries that have been colonized (.) they're- they're easy to adopt other
201 cultures because those other cultures (.) before came and became the rulers of
202 those countries=
203 Ray : =countries yeah
204 Judy : but for you you've never got any=
205 Ray : =any [anyone
206 Judy : [person to rule you
207 Özge: mm hm
208 Judy : that's why you're stuck in a:: speaking turkish
209 Ray : yeah
210 Judy : you're stuck in your mo:ney
211 Ray : °mm°
212 Judy : you're stuck in your thinkin'
213 Özge: [mm hm
214 Ray : [yeah

Even though Ray takes the floor first and negatively responds to my question with an emphasis on the negation *no* in his subsequent line, Judy gives me a more positive response and the structure of her utterance signals her further elaboration on a positive aspect of colonialism. Starting from line 200, she begins to compare the

countries that have been colonized with Turkey and states that they easily *adopt* other cultures. By resorting to the passive voice, she focuses on the phenomenon itself rather than the 'colonizer', and she suggests a total immersion in the customs of the 'colonized' by using the word *adopt* rather than "adapt". In line 201, she explains her rationale but does not assign any bad status to the 'colonized' by using the neutral connotation *rulers*, which is confirmed by Ray in the next line.

From line 204 onwards, Judy compares the colonial contexts with Turkey by beginning her sentence with the conjunction *but*, which signals her negative comments on the Turkish context that are yet to come. With an emphasis on the second-person plural pronoun *you*, she also brings they vs you discourse into her speech and builds on it with her statement that Turkey did not have anyone to *rule* her, which overlaps with Ray's turn in line 206. Here, Judy associates the verb "rule" with being governed by colonial powers. In lines 208-212, she continues her critical tone by using the second-person plural *you* to address Turks. Linking Turkey's non-colonial history with its repercussions for the Turkish society, she criticizes Turks for being monolinguals, not having a strong currency, and not being open-minded. In addition, the emphasis on the adjective *stuck* with its negative connotations in each line denotes that Turks are in an unpleasant situation which they cannot escape from.

In this excerpt, Judy draws on two chronotopes, that is the chronotope of post-colonial Uganda and monolingual society respectively. She first evokes the former while centering on the different capitals that the colonized countries possess in comparison to Turkey. Then, she invokes the latter since she perceives Turkish society as monolingual, thereby not possessing the disposition to connect with the global world, which is achieved through the use of English. Therefore, as a post-

colonial migrant residing in a non-colonial context, she asserts power over Turks by positioning herself as a better English speaker.

Just as the participants connect being a good English speaker with colonialism, they often criticize Turks for their lower proficiency in English and claim power as 'better' English speakers in their everyday encounters with the locals. The fieldnote below illustrates such a criticism directed to Turks by Judy for not putting an English sign at a clothes shop located in Mecidiyeköy:

Excerpt 5.13 [Fieldnote at a shopping mall, 23/02/2020]

> Since Dianne couldn't find enough clothes either for herself or her brother in the shopping mall, we decided to check two more clothes shops in Mecidiyeköy. As she was trying on a pair of trousers in the latter, I was chatting with Judy in front of the fitting rooms, where she saw a Turkish-only sign. Finding it bizarre, she asked me why an English translation was not included in it.

This was not surprising since both Dianne and Judy spent most of their leisure time in İstanbul doing shopping at different shopping malls. In fact, we held most of our informal gatherings at several shopping centers located within walking distance of our homes. It was a common practice for us to go shopping after having a drink at coffee shops. In these commercial spaces, I often heard Judy nagging about Turks' low command of English. Still, the participants, at times, expressed their criticism towards Turks overtly and mocked Turks' low level of competence in English by pointing to the relatively low number of shop assistants with a good command of English in their surroundings.

In the subsequent excerpt, as we wait for the haulers to transport the household goods at Judy's bedroom, Judy, Michelle, and Julia chat about the attitudes of shop assistants towards Africans in different shopping malls in İstanbul:

Excerpt 5.14 [Recording at the participants' home, 19/06/2020]

215 Judy : even in- in alltech this days=
216 Michelle: =hm
217 Judy : when I want to buy something (.) I go in the one (.) of kadıköy
218 Michelle: okay [they're good ( )
219 Judy : [they're good they speak <u>english</u> and also they give you attention when
220 you want something I think they are <u>good</u> with international people (.) so
221 when you come in they will give you a person to go escort you to choose
222 what you want and then the person will help you <u>this ones</u> in cadde
223 Julia : ((laughs))
224 Judy : <u>they'll look at you</u> and they're like ((laughs))
225 Julia : ((laughs))
226 Judy : I <u>swear</u> (.) <u>only one person</u> speaks english in ( ) <u>maybe</u> and then when he's
227 in (.) like the third floor they'll all be running away from you ((laughs))
228 Julia : ((laughs))
229 Michelle: >like me when I was speaking< you see I don't speak turkish
230 Judy : °hm°
231 Michelle: I don't speak english
232 Judy : °hm°
233 Michelle: *burası türkiye* ((all laugh))
T this is turkey
234 Julia : here is turkey ((laughs))
235 Judy : *ben de burası: uganda'da* ((laughs))
T and I ((say)) this is uganda

Referring to the electronics store she regularly visits in her surroundings in line 215, Judy implies that the shop assistants do not treat her well as a customer *even* there these days, since she knows that it is frequently visited by foreigners; therefore, she highlights a change in her habits by adding that she has started buying goods from another branch in Kadıköy, an increasingly popular district in the Asian side of İstanbul (line 217). As Judy elaborates on her choice of that particular branch, she utters that the shop assistants *speak english* (line 219) and help customers upon their request in contrast to her previous experiences in the other stores, where she was not attended at all. Moreover, she does not restrict her argument to the Africans only through her reference to the customers as *international* (line 220). From line 222 onwards, she builds on the comparative images of the two electronic stores by referring to the shop assistants in the former through the deictic term *this* and emphasizing their inability to communicate in English through the phrase *they'll look*

at you (line 224), which is followed by laughter. In lines 226 and 227, Judy stresses the scarcity of English-speaking employees, and she tries to increase her credibility through an emphasis on the verb *swear*. Furthermore, she claims that those who know English are unwilling to communicate in it through the phrasal verb "run away" (line 227), which suggests that being exposed to English is something to be avoided among the shop assistants.

Starting from line 229, Michelle cooperates with Judy by giving an example from her own shopping experience and voices herself and the shop assistant by quoting from both parties and hinting at a communication failure between them. In line 233, Michelle continues voicing the shop assistant with the quote *burası türkiye*, which is immediately translated into English by Julia in the following line. Here, Michelle perceives the shop assistant as someone who tries to rationalize their monolinguistic tendencies through their current locality; however, this is challenged by Judy's statement in line 235, through which she asserts that she endorses her identity as an English speaker and will continue using it as a translocal migrant in İstanbul.

In the excerpt above, Judy draws on the comparative images of two shopping malls in İstanbul as she focuses on the linguistic practices of the shop assistants in these two localities. Identifying herself as an *international* person, she finds it odd to encounter shop assistants with almost no knowledge of English in a shopping mall which is situated in one of the prominent business quarters of the city. To this end, she evokes the chronotope of monolingual society and mocks Turks' lack of competence in English in these social spaces by highlighting the value of English as a global language.

The participants also criticize the way Turks speak English in professional spaces in order to resist the prevailing notion among the locals that their English is not as good as the 'natives''. For instance, feeling that she was being exploited as an African at her previous workplace, Dianne experienced several conflicts with the school manager. While referring to these incidents, she often imitated the school manager's accent in English. Similarly, Judy sometimes went shopping to Beyazıt, home to the so-called 'suitcase trade' in İstanbul, to buy textile products for a few African customers and said that the local shop owners would favor African-American customers over Africans. As a response to these, she criticized Turkish shop owners for their 'bad' English in our informal gatherings.

The following excerpt reveals another such criticism as Judy mentions a job interview Dianne has recently had, in which she has overtly criticized the school director for her 'fake' English and claimed power through being a 'better' English speaker:

Excerpt 5.15 [Interview at a café, 14/02/2020]

236 Judy : so: some lady was like (.) you know you don't deserve this money because
237 you're black and then I'm taking natives and I give them this kind of money
238 she stood up for herself=
239 Dianne: =in a language [school
240 Özge : [wha::t?
241 Dianne: in the some [fucked up language school called
242 Özge : [which (.) which language
243 Dianne: british castle
244 Özge : british castle?
245 Dianne: in şişli
246 Özge : mm hm
247 Dianne: and she told me: like per hour I'll give you twenty two *tl* and I told her
248 >twenty two *tl*< per <u>hour</u>? I told her sorry I'm sorry I don't work for that
249 money (.) and she asked me how much >do I want< I said the <u>least least</u> I'd
250 work for <u>per hour</u> thirty *tl*=
251 Özge : =hm?
252 Dianne: that's the <u>least</u> actually (.) and she said hm:: thirty *tl* is too <u>much</u> you don't
253 deserve that <u>money</u> I have like british people who are taking that thirty *tl* and I
254 told her wait wait wait I don't deserve that money I also- do you- do you even
255 listen to yourself (.) and uhm do you know my qualifications (.) I have a
256 degree and a certificate tesol (.) and I know my english and I know >who I
257 am< so you don't decide for me who- how much I deserve and if you can't

258 afford that just don't please call me and I told her like you don't even have a
259 right to say I don't deserve that because (.) she even- her english was so fake
260 like I'm like do you even understand like you don't- your english is I don't-
261 maybe I don't understand you because of your english (…)

In lines 236-238, Judy starts narrating Dianne's recent job interview by voicing the female interviewee, whom she refers to as *some lady* and who claims that Dianne does not *deserve* that amount of money because of being Black and a 'non-native' speaker of English. As her account indicates, Dianne is both racially and linguistically marginalized in the job markets of Turkey since she is not considered to be worthy of earning the same amount of money as 'natives', who are associated with the individuals belonging to the inner-circle countries. Nevertheless, Judy adds that Dianne took an active stance against this stigmatization.

From line 239 onwards, Dianne begins to elaborate on the story and informs me about the whereabouts of the event. As I show surprise through my overlapping turn in the subsequent line, she provides me with the complete name of the language school, which is notorious for exploiting its employees. In lines 247-249, Dianne's utterance becomes polyphonic since she starts voicing the school director, and she expands on Judy's narration by centering on the main conflict she experienced with the school director. While negotiating over the hourly payment that the school director offers her, Dianne mocks her offer, which indicates that she does not work for that little amount of money. Apparently, she tells the director the minimum hourly payment she expects from the language school through emphases on the adjective *least* and the noun phrase *per hour*. However, in lines 252 and 253, her English competence is questioned by the school director since she thinks that Dianne does not *deserve that money* as opposed to the British, who are considered as the authentic and legitimate speakers of English in the eyes of locals.

Starting from line 254, Dianne contests the notion that she does not deserve to earn the same as 'native' speakers of English by pointing to the irrationality of the school director's offer, and she highlights her assets as a qualified English teacher. In addition, she feels confident as an English speaker as she shows ownership of the language through the possessive determiner *my* (line 256) and claims power by saying that she decides on how much she should earn and they should not contact her if they cannot *afford* that amount of money (line 258). In the subsequent lines, she asserts superiority over the school director by criticizing her *fake* English, as a result of which she does not understand her.

Through the excerpt above, Dianne invokes the chronotope of work life in Turkey, where she is not considered as a native speaker of English. However, she resists the circulating discourses of native speakerism in these spaces by firstly building on her identity as a professional English teacher and then by claiming power as a better English speaker since she refers to the school director's English as *fake* and questions her authenticity in return.

Nevertheless, the participants sometimes internalize the pervasive ideology of native speakerism at private schools in İstanbul in that they acknowledge that being African and having darker skin legitimizes the locals' notion that their English is not as good as the natives'. This mainly results from their fruitless attempts at finding a skilled job shortly after their arrival in Turkey. In fact, Dianne had to deal with these ideologies on a daily basis when she was desperately looking for a teaching position in İstanbul at the beginning of the fieldwork. In our informal talks, she would quite often remind me that some schools had not even allowed her to enter inside the building and submit her résumé.

The following excerpt clearly illustrates this point as Dianne informs us about the number of English teachers at her latest workplace during a casual conversation at a café in Mecidiyeköy:

Excerpt 5.16 [Recording at a café, 23/02/2020]

262 Dianne: (…) there are so many english teachers actually (1.0) yeah: one ah one is from
263 tanzania=
264 Judy : =>wow<
265 Özge : hm::?=
266 Dianne: =yeah there's one from >tanzania< but she's so brown you know tanzanians
267 [they are so brown skin
268 Judy : [yeah tanzanians are so brown
269 Özge : hm?=
270 Dianne: = they're so brown skin [actually
271 Judy : [because ( ) they're=
272 Dianne: =so the kids don't even notice she's african= ((chuckles))
273 Özge : =hm:
274 Dianne: because she is too brown

In line 262, Dianne points towards the high number of English teachers at the kindergarten she has recently started working, and she suggests that she finds it as a rare practice among schools in İstanbul through the adverb *actually*. After a brief pause, she elaborates on one of the teachers, who is from Tanzania, and Judy responds to her turn with the interjection *wow*. Here, Dianne's emphasis on the country and Judy's amazement indicate that they have not heard of an English teacher from such a background beforehand. In line 266, Dianne reiterates her statement upon my request for clarification and then draws on a contrast between being an African and having lighter skin through the conjunction *but*. Moreover, she aspires to build on shared knowledge by using the discourse marker *you know*, which is acknowledged by Judy in their overlapping turns. Because I find it difficult to follow their reasoning, I again ask them for clarification, and while Judy attempts to explain why the Tanzanians have lighter skin color (line 271), Dianne interrupts her and states that the students are not aware of the Tanzanian teacher's country of origin because of her skin color, which is *too brown* (line 274). Here, she equates having a

dark complexion with being a true African. In addition, she shows how she internalizes the prevalent notion of native speakerism by implying that recruiting African teachers is not something that either the school management or the students favor in this school setting.

Evoking the native speakerism ideology within the timespace of work life in the excerpt above, Dianne shifts her focus away from the school management to the students, and she acknowledges that being an African teacher, which she directly links with having dark skin, is not something favored by the students, either, since African teachers are not considered as the authentic users of English compared to those originating from the 'inner-circle' countries.

In this section, I have attempted to demonstrate how the participants capitalize on the notion of English as a global language and position themselves as 'better' English speakers while interacting with the locals in İstanbul. Even though they acknowledge the importance of Turkish at the local level, they criticize Turks for their monolingual tendencies even in spaces where it is not uncommon to encounter foreigners. By relating Turks' low level of competence in English to "not being colonized", they draw on their post-colonial identities and assert superiority over Turks in both overt and covert manners. While they criticize Turks' inability to speak English in a mocking tone in their private spheres, they also disapprove the way Turks speak English and resist the locals' attempts to portray them as English speakers who do not possess the necessary linguistic capital, which, in this case, is narrowed down to the issue of who is considered as the legitimate or authentic speaker of English; however, at times, they internalize this ideology by hinting at the need to hide their identities as Africans in such timespace configurations as work life.

CHAPTER 6

NEGOTIATING 'HERITAGE' IDENTITIES THROUGH AFRICAN LOCAL LANGUAGES

For Judy and Dianne, being a translocal migrant in İstanbul has also meant erasing some parts of their multilingual repertoires. Even though the two women have a rich multilingual repertoire in that they can speak at least three different African local languages, they do not use them in their everyday lives in İstanbul much, apart from Luganda. Furthermore, they sometimes minimize the use of Luganda in their encounters with other Ugandans. For instance, Judy does not talk to her daughter in Luganda at all although she used to teach it to her when they were living in İstanbul together, or Dianne rarely resorts to Luganda when she talks to her younger brother back home in Kampala. Drawing on such observations, I have asked them many questions about their use of African local languages both in Kampala and İstanbul throughout the fieldwork to understand what gets erased in their multilingual lives in İstanbul.

To this end, in this last analytical chapter, I aim to demonstrate how the participants discursively negotiate their translocal positionings through the discussions of how they situate themselves as speakers of Luganda and other African local languages and attempt to contest the notion of heritage language in these multilingual migrants' lives. In the first section below, I focus on the participants' construction of local identities in positioning themselves as proficient speakers of Luganda. In the subsequent section, I look into their construction of ethnolinguistic identities as speakers of other African local languages.

6.1 Negotiating local identities as Luganda speakers

Being former residents of Kampala, both Dianne and Judy frequently use Luganda in their everyday interactions in İstanbul with other Ugandans in the city or in their native country. As a matter of fact, this has also been reflected throughout the entire fieldwork since it was natural to hear Dianne talk to one of her family members or friends over the phone during a casual meeting or encounter Judy's satirical social media posts in Luganda on a daily basis. I noticed early into the fieldwork that, both participants consider themselves as highly competent users of Luganda and assign it a different status than the other languages in their multilingual repertoires. That's why I wanted to inquire about this more in an interview.

Taken from the first interview I conducted with Dianne at my home, the following excerpt demonstrates how she situates Luganda within the Ugandan context. As she informs me about the ethnic and linguistic background of Uganda at the beginning of the interview, she states that Kiswahili and English are considered as the two official languages in the country. Upon hearing it, I further inquire about the status of Luganda in Uganda:

Excerpt 6.1 [Interview at my home, 08/10/2019]

1 Özge : what about luganda you also speak luganda right?=
2 Dianne: =yes we speak luganda (.) luganda is like a tribal language for example: what
3 can I say (.) <here as you could see maybe like *kürtçe*> kurdish
T ***kurdish***
4 Özge : mm hm
5 Dianne: is like the second after turkish language is like the second language maybe=
6 Özge : =mm hm
7 Dianne: yes so uh: luganda is in mother languages
8 Özge : mm hm
9 Dianne: it's like the official language in mother languages (.) because like you know
10 english and kiswahili they're foreign languages=
11 Özge : =mm hm
12 Dianne: we don't have any tribe like english tribe in my country but it's a foreign
13 language (.) but <which we adopted now as our official language> it came way
14 back from our colonialism
15 Özge : mm hm

In an attempt to respond to my question, Dianne likens Luganda to the other local languages in Uganda through the adjective *tribal* (line 2). She elaborates on her response in the next line and highlights the degree of 'sharedness' between Luganda and Kurdish with respect to ethnicity. While referring to the latter, she first utters it in Turkish, which is signaled through her use of the deictic term *here.* In line 5, she builds on her comparison and switches her focus to the high number of Kurdish speakers in Turkey. In line 7, however, she goes back to her main argument and situates Luganda among *mother* languages, which replaces the adjective *tribal* and puts more emphasis on being native to the land. This is further highlighted in lines 9 and 10 through a contrast between Luganda, English and Kiswahili. In line 9, Dianne seems to take Luganda as the *official* language among the African local languages in Uganda and assigns it a higher status. While explaining her rationale, she hints at the *foreign* status of the two official languages since they have not originated in the lands of Uganda. Moreover, she links the foreignness of English to the absence of an English tribe in her country (line 12) and attributes its use to Uganda's colonial past in the subsequent lines. She utters that they *adopted* it as an official language, which indicates that the process did not occur naturally or at their will, as opposed to the use of Luganda, and she contrasts the country's long colonial history with the recent official status of English by using the phrases *now* and *way back* (lines 13 and 14).

Through the excerpt above, one may see how language and ethnicity intersect in the way Dianne situates Luganda within the Ugandan context, and how the chronotopes of tribal culture and post-colonial Uganda shape Dianne's categorization of languages as 'mother' or 'foreign' languages. She initially invokes the chronotope of tribal culture and enacts ethnolinguistic identities since she refers to Luganda as a *tribal* language rather than "indigenous" or "local" in line 2. Furthermore, she

constructs the comparative images of two countries through her reference to Kurdish. However, from line 12 onwards, she draws on the chronotopic representations of post-colonial Uganda and constructs national identities by contrasting the status of Luganda with that of English in her native country.

Besides situating Luganda among the local languages and acknowledging its prevalence in Uganda, Dianne and Judy also emphasize its perceived higher status in the country compared to the other local languages. As someone who demonstrates less tolerance towards certain ethnic groups and languages in Uganda, Judy, in our casual gatherings, occasionally made jokes about Lusoga, a local language spoken in the eastern part of Uganda, and she pointed towards the difficulty of understanding a Lusoga speaker in spite of the high lexical similarity between Luganda and Lusoga (cf. Eberhard et al., 2021).

This is further highlighted in the next excerpt, in which we are having dinner at my home and talking about the different local languages and ethnic groups in Uganda. Judy starts telling us about the Basoga, an ethnic group whose first language is Lusoga, and then they start comparing it with Luganda in a mocking tone:

Excerpt 6.2 [Recording at my home, 24/01/2020]

16 Judy : like for the basoga they go to eyitale every day ((laughs))
T ***south***
17 Özge : [huh?
18 Dianne: [huh?
19 Judy : to eyitale (.) ((laughs)) to eyitale do you understand that sound=
T ***south*** ***south***
20 Dianne: =°mm hm°
21 Judy : like when they say that (.) najja eyitale (.) like (.) I went to that that over that
T ***I'm going south***
22 side=
23 Özge : =mm [hm
24 Dianne: [hm::
25 Judy : [mm hm for them they'll say like najja eyitale ((laughs)) [so=
T ***I'm going south***
26 Dianne: [hm::
27 Judy : =you feel like they've gone to [eyitale
T ***south***
28 Dianne: [I understand now=

29 Özge : =hm
30 Judy : ((laughs)) that (.) that language is funny=
31 Özge : =hm
32 Judy : it's like luganda but when you change the luganda to (.) be a little bit <u>bad</u>
33 Özge : mm hm
34 Judy : what do I say (1.0) **osobola okunyoyola**
T ***can you explain***
35 Dianne: hm
36 Judy : **olusoga nga bweluli (.) oluganda ol- olwononese**
T ***lusoga as it is*** ***it's twisted luganda***
37 Dianne: hm for example like (.) uhm <u>basoga</u> f- sophia's side=
38 Judy : =hm
39 Dianne: the way they speak their language=
40 Judy : =hm
41 Dianne: it's like luganda=
42 Judy : =but <u>twisted</u>
43 Dianne: but <u>twisted</u> luganda for example <u>*ama*</u> turkish and kurdish °*aynı değil*° <u>*çünkü*</u>
T ***but*** ***is not the same because***
44 you don't understand kurdish <u>*di mi*</u>
T ***do you***

In line 16, Judy jokingly tries to explain us a semantic difference between Luganda and Lusoga; however, not being familiar with the noun *eyitale,* which corresponds to "manga" in Luganda, me and Dianne ask Judy for clarification. Therefore, she repeats the word twice and checks if we comprehend its meaning in line 19. Dianne's low volume in the subsequent line, however, indicates that she has not clearly understood at what exactly Judy is pinpointing. That's why Judy further elaborates on it and provides us with the whole phrase in Lusoga followed by its literal translation into English (line 21). While negotiating her metalinguistic engagement in the conversation, she draws on a distinction between two localities and brings us vs them discourse into her speech from lines 25 to 27. Realizing that the same word "najja" means coming rather than going in Luganda, Dianne finally understands Judy's point in the next line. Therefore, from line 30 onwards, Judy starts mocking Lusoga and states that it is *like luganda* but *a little bit bad* (line 32), which signals mutual intelligibility between the two languages but places Lusoga in a lower position than Luganda. Nevertheless, as Judy does not feel that she has clarified her point, she addresses Dianne in Luganda and asks her for help in line 34. While

describing Lusoga in her subsequent turn, she uses the adjective *olwonenese* to refer to its perceived strangeness. Dianne, directly addressing me, starts explaining Judy's argument in line 37 and draws on our shared knowledge while referring to the Basoga, which Sophia, one of their close friends, originates from. As she reiterates Judy's initial remark (line 41), Judy completes her description with the adjective *twisted*. To this end, in lines 43 and 44, Dianne tries to compare Luganda-Lusoga with Turkish-Kurdish but fails to do so since she realizes that Turkish and Kurdish are not mutually intelligible like Luganda and Lusoga, and her uncertainty is evident through the phrases *ama*, *aynı değil*, and *di mi* while addressing me.

In this excerpt, Judy draws on the chronotope of tribal culture and constructs ethnolinguistic identities through the comparison of Lusoga and Luganda. From line 32 onwards, however, she enacts her own local identity as a Luganda speaker since she mocks how the Basoga utter a certain phrase in Lusoga and puts Luganda in a higher status, which is also acknowledged by Dianne. Doing so, they both claim power through their knowledge of Luganda. While Judy draws on her more frequent encounters with the Basoga in her native country, Dianne draws a comparison between the two localities as she emphasizes that the case of Luganda and Lusoga is not applicable to that of Turkish and Kurdish.

Positioning Luganda in a more privileged status than the other local languages such as Lusoga, the participants also consider themselves as native speakers of Luganda, even though not affiliating themselves with the ethnic group Buganda. In fact, both Judy and Dianne were born into families of different ethnic backgrounds; however, they were mostly exposed to Luganda during their childhood since their parents had started using it more in their everyday lives after moving to Kampala for better working conditions. To this end, the two women frequently drew

on these past experiences while explaining the important role of Luganda in their lives.

The following excerpt is taken from the third interview I conducted with Dianne, and it illuminates this point as I inquire why she considers Luganda as her mother tongue:

Excerpt 6.3 [Interview at a café, 05/12/2019]

45 Dianne: >but the reason is< I grew up from the central where it's mostly used=
46 Özge : =°mm hm°
47 Dianne: so I adapted to <u>it</u> for example if I- I'm african but if I get- if I got married to a
48 <u>turkish</u> (.) and I grew my kid in istanbul or in turkey (.) of course my speak- my
49 kid would probably speak much more <u>turkish</u>=
50 Özge : =mm hm
51 Dianne: than even my mother language
52 Özge : =°mm hm°
53 Dianne: but I'm her <u>mother</u>=
54 Özge : =°mm hm°
55 Dianne: probably she should know much even of my language but definitely we will use
56 turkish because we're in <u>turkey</u> and she will go to schools where turkey is-
57 turkish is considered so it's the same thing that happened with [<u>me</u>
58 Özge : [mm hm=
59 Dianne: =yeah
60 Özge : okay=
61 Dianne: =so: I consider myself like more of a native of <u>luganda:</u>=
62 Özge : =mm hm
63 Dianne: <u>though</u> actually I am- but the reason is because of tha:t up- upgrowing like
64 upbringing=
65 Özge : =mm hm
66 Dianne: from that region

In line 45, Dianne links her rationale to growing up in Kampala, where Luganda is mainly spoken, and highlights the relevance of locality rather than ethnicity in learning Luganda, which is supported through the verb *adapt* in line 47. She further draws on a hypothetical situation to illustrate her point and generalizes it to all the Africans in Turkey, whose children would be more proficient in Turkish (lines 47-51). Although she acknowledges the importance of teaching the local language to her child through the adverb *even* (line 51) and an emphasis on the noun *mother* (line 53), she knows that her child will certainly be exposed to Turkish, including at school, due to locality (line 56). In the subsequent line, she links this hypothetical

example with her own language learning experience in Uganda. Doing so, she seems to situate herself as a native speaker of Luganda (line 61) although being affiliated with another ethnic group, which she attempts to articulate in line 63, but then decides to reiterate her main argument (lines 63-66).

As demonstrated in the excerpt, Dianne, this time, does not bring her ethnolinguistic identity into her discourse but rather focuses on her local identity as a Luganda speaker through the chronotope of childhood. She links her proficiency in Luganda to being raised in Kampala. This, in turn, reveals that despite close attachment to her mother tongues, that is Runyankole and Rufumbira, locality plays a more important role in determining how she labels herself as a native speaker of Luganda. In an attempt to clarify her argument, she also evokes the timespace of school through her example of raising a child in İstanbul and questions the role of local languages in her everyday life in Kampala and İstanbul.

The importance of locality rather than ethnicity in situating themselves as native speakers of Luganda is further supported by the prevalence of Luganda in their everyday interactions with friends back in Kampala. Judy, for instance, had several friends from different ethnic groups in the orphanage, with whom she would chitchat in Luganda while doing such chores as setting the table or fetching water. Similarly, Dianne mostly spoke Luganda with her friends in the neighborhood while they were running around or playing house. Therefore, in our informal conversations, both of them frequently referred to Luganda as the major language they used in their interactions with their childhood friends.

The next excerpt highlights such a conversation between me and Judy as she refers to Luganda as the main medium of communication with her classmates in primary school:

Excerpt 6.4 [Interview at a café, 27/08/2020]

67 Özge: (…) which languages or language did you use most in your interactions with your
68 friends in the <u>class</u>
69 Judy : luganda (.) luganda mostly ((chuckles)) even in class
70 Özge: even in class?=
71 Judy : =yes
72 Özge: what do you mean by like <u>even</u> in class
73 Judy : even in class because most of them we::re in the central and they were speaking
74 luganda=
75 Özge: =mm hm
76 Judy : so when we want to <u>discuss</u> something we speak in <u>luganda</u>=
77 Özge: =hm
78 Judy : °yeah most of the time we used to [speak in luganda°
79 Özge: [okay what about like outside <school
80 Judy : °hm°
81 Özge: or recess time>
82 Judy : luganda ((chuckles))=
83 Özge: =all the time?=
84 Judy : =vernacular yes
85 Özge: =mm hm
86 Judy : we used to call it vernacular like our local language=
87 Özge: =hm
88 Judy : yes
89 Özge: okay that's why you said vernacular (.) uhm what about english?
90 Judy : english was (.) we mostly used when we are in <u>class</u> when we are: talking back to
91 our <u>teachers</u>
92 Özge: hm: okay=
93 Judy : =but not with our fellow
94 Özge: hm:
95 Judy : students

As a response to my question regarding her language use in the classroom, Judy states that she mostly used Luganda even in this context (line 69). Focusing on the use of the adverb *even* in her response, I ask her for clarification (lines 70 and 72), and she attributes the use of Luganda to their locality (line 73). Even though she initially narrows it down to the situations where they discussed something (line 76), she expands it to the other instances through the adverbial phrase *most of the time* in her subsequent turn. As I further inquire about her language use outside class (line 79), she points towards the higher use of Luganda in this setting (lines 82-84). While describing Luganda, she uses the adjective *vernacular* interchangeably with *local* in line 86 and constructs her local identity as a resident of Kampala. Later on, I seem to shift the focus towards the use of English in the classroom (line 89) since I am aware

that it is usually the language of instruction from grade fifth onwards in Uganda. As her account indicates (lines 90-95), Judy divides the classroom interactions into two spatial units and limits the use of English to communication with teachers.

The excerpt above clearly shows the existence of multiple microscopic units within the school chronotope, which renders the specific use of language as appropriate or inappropriate. To clarify, two spatial elements are invoked in Judy's discourse, that is front-stage and back-stage activities. Whereas they were using English to address their teachers in front-stage activities, they were communicating in Luganda with their *fellow* students during back-stage activities, where the teachers were not involved. Considering these interactions in a post-colonial context, however, one may witness the prevalence of Luganda even in a formal setting where the use of English is minimized to the front-stage activities. Therefore, one may argue that Luganda enables the residents of Kampala to interact with each other on a daily basis, in contrast to the rare use of the other African indigenous languages and minimal use of English in instructional settings.

This linguistic reality remains the same in their quotidian lives in İstanbul since the participants keep using Luganda in their interactions with Ugandan friends, which is illustrated in the following fieldnote I took on a gathering with Dianne and Judy's Ugandan friends at a café in Mecidiyeköy:

Excerpt 6.5 [Fieldnote at a café, 22/09/2019]

> After ordering coffee, I sat between Dianne and Sophia while Judy and Beth were sitting opposite us. As we were chatting, I realized that none of the girls present in the gathering were coming from the same district of Uganda, so they all had a different mother tongue; however, they were mainly using Luganda (sometimes English) to communicate with each other, and all of them could speak at least four languages.

Even though Luganda is of great value to these migrants in both countries, they do not regard it as linguistic capital outside these contexts. As a single mother, Judy raised her daughter, Elena, in a bilingual home environment where Luganda and English were the main medium of communication until Elena left for the U.S. In our friendly gatherings, however, Judy would often point out that Elena had already forgotten Luganda by drawing on their phone conversations, which they always held in English. Although feeling disappointed about it, she would also add that she does not feel obliged to teach Luganda to her daughter again.

To this end, the following excerpt is taken from our first gathering with Judy and Dianne after Elena's visit to İstanbul. As we talk about their recent sightseeing experiences in the city, I ask Judy if Elena remembers some Luganda, upon which Dianne questions its value in Elena's everyday life:

Excerpt 6.6 [Recording at my home, 20/03/2020]

96 Özge : by the way does she remember any luganda=
97 Judy : =no
98 Özge : she [forgot it
99 Judy : [she doesn't (.) like (.) when she was four years I tried to call her video
100 call and I asked her something in luganda **ogamba otya**=
T ***how are you***
101 Özge : =mm hm
102 Judy : then she was asking >what is she talking about< I don't <understand> she
103 could not understand anything so (.) I no longer speak to her in luganda
104 ((laughs))
105 Dianne: why would you ( ) with luganda what is she going to do luganda with eh
106 Judy : to learn some different language
107 Dianne: she doesn't want=
108 Judy : =when they came they were like °if we want to talk about judy which
109 language can we talk about° that (.) can you guys speak spanish ((laughs))
110 Dianne: *ispanyol*
T ***spanish***
111 Judy : but they're teaching the kids spanish

In her response to my question, Judy puts an emphasis on the negation *no* (line 97) and starts narrating a phone call she made to Elena several years ago in her next turn. In an attempt to clarify what she means by *something in luganda*, she switches to Luganda and addresses her daughter through a basic Ugandan phrase (line 100).

Starting from line 102, Judy's utterance becomes polyphonic in that she forms a dialogic relationship between the two voices by quoting her daughter's utterance, as a result of which she no longer uses Luganda in her interactions with Elena. In line 105, Dianne joins the conversation by directly addressing Judy and questions the significance of Luganda in Elena's everyday linguistic practices in the U.S. Although Judy shows disagreement with Dianne in her response, she does not assign a special status to Luganda since she regards it as *some different language* (line 106). In the subsequent line, Dianne builds on her argument and centers on Elena's reluctance to learn Luganda this time. From line 108 onwards, Judy starts aligning with Dianne and narrates a short anecdote about Elena's last visit to İstanbul (lines 108 and 109). Here, her utterance becomes polyphonic again as she voices both Elena and her siblings. In the following line, Dianne, as an avid learner of Turkish, pays attention to the language in focus and translates it into Turkish, while Judy explains the children's motive behind asking such a question through their Spanish classes at school.

As reflected through the excerpt, the participants do not consider Luganda as beneficial outside the Ugandan and Turkish contexts. Although Judy desires to communicate with her daughter in Luganda by enacting the identity of a 'good' mother who attempts to transmit the family's heritage language to the next generation within the chronotope of tribal culture, she cannot build on this identity since the use of Luganda is not seen as acceptable in her interactions with Elena and her siblings, who reside in the U.S. and do not even know the existence of such a language. Therefore, Judy gives up on the idea of teaching Luganda as a heritage language to Elena, which is further downgraded by Dianne, who is aware of the relatively low value assigned to Luganda in the U.S.

In this section, I have demonstrated how the participants negotiate their local identities as speakers of Luganda within the specific timespace configurations. To this end, I have argued that even though ethnicity shapes the way the participants frame the languages in their multilingual repertoires, locality remains as a major point of departure in situating themselves as native speakers of Luganda. Therefore, being a Luganda speaker is different from being a speaker of other African local languages because of its special status in the country in that Luganda is an emerging lingua franca through which Ugandans of diverse ethnic backgrounds communicate with each other, particularly in Kampala. In addition, this special case of Luganda remains the same when they migrate to İstanbul since Luganda functions as the primary medium of communication with Ugandan friends whereas English holds a secondary place. Hence, the perceived value of Luganda among these women can be explained by the importance of locality rather than ethnicity. Nevertheless, the participants do not embrace Luganda as a heritage language since they are aware of the fact that their communication is restricted to conversations with Ugandan friends and family members, thus not regarding it as linguistic capital outside their country of origin and the host country.

6. 2 Negotiating ethnolinguistic identities

While the participants emphasize the importance of Luganda in both countries and closely associate being a native speaker of Luganda with locality, they also show close attachment to their mother tongues by drawing on their ethnic backgrounds. For example, originating from the northern part of Uganda, Judy would always address Alur speakers as “my people” or Dianne would occasionally remind us that she shares the same mother tongue with the president Yoweri Museveni, whose

father belonged to the Banyankole tribe. Intrigued by the details of such an ethnolinguistic identification, I started wondering whether the same case applied to their interactions with other Africans in İstanbul; therefore, I paid closer attention to their socialization practices at the Pentecostal church in Mecidiyeköy.

The subsequent excerpt is taken from an informal gathering with Dianne and Judy at a café in Mecidiyeköy right after a Sunday service. Given my absence at the church on that day, Judy informs me about the two regular churchgoers from Nigeria, Nichole and Simon. Considering their intimate relationship, I ask Judy if they are siblings, and she states that they are not genetically connected but explains their close proximity through their language and ethnicity:

Excerpt 6.7 [Recording at a café, 23/02/2020]

112 Judy : they just come from the same::
(2.0)
113 Özge: district?=
114 Judy : =language
115 Özge: hm
116 Judy : same tribe=
117 Özge: =hm:
118 Judy : like (.) if in uganda I speak one language and that person comes from that place
119 >where they speak the same language< when you come abroad you're like
120 sisters and brother=
121 Özge: =hm
122 Judy : that's what makes them like (.) siblings but=
123 Özge: =hm
124 Judy : just because they speak the same language=
125 Özge: =mm hm

As Judy searches for the right word to explain her rationale in line 112, I complete her turn with the noun *district* (line 113) and give reference to locality. However, she first relates their strong communication to speaking the same language (line 114) and then to originating from the same ethnic background (line 116). Starting from line 118, she further elaborates on her answer and draws on her experience as a Ugandan migrant abroad in that the knowledge of an indigenous language is associated with pertaining to one locality, in this regard, to a certain ethnic makeup, which, in turn,

helps to create close proximity with the migrants of the same ethnolinguistic background and makes them as *like sisters and brother* in the host country (in line 120). This is further emphasized by Judy's turn in line 122 with an emphasis on the noun *siblings*, which is boiled down to possessing the same linguistic background in her subsequent turn.

While referring to the close relationship of the two Nigerians at the church in the excerpt above, Judy evokes the chronotopic images of tribal culture, but this time she expands the notion to another country in Africa. To this end, she continues constructing ethnolinguistic identities in Turkey and considers sharing the same ethnolinguistic background as a form of cultural capital, through which closer ties are created with the Africans of the same ethnic makeup in İstanbul.

Although the participants give a lot of importance to their local languages and believe that sharing the same language creates solidarity among the Sub-Saharan Africans in İstanbul, they have not invested much in these languages, thus barely using them in their everyday interactions in both countries. Judy, for example, always takes pride in being Alur and asserts superiority over other ethnic groups through her sarcastic posts on social media. However, she does not feel herself confident speaking the language since she stopped learning it at a young age after her father's death. The next excerpt illustrates it well as Judy tells me that she does not feel herself fluent in her mother tongue:

Excerpt 6.8 [Interview at the participants' home, 01/03/2020]

126 Judy : (…) but even alur I'm not so fluent because=
127 Özge: =hm
128 Judy : =my father used to speak with us like short time short [time
129 Özge: [mm hm
130 Judy : but (.) when we grew up we went to the village the kis- the alur that we know is
131 the alur of the city not the critical alur

Judy's use of the adverb *even* in line 126 before referring to Alur indicates that she acknowledges the importance of knowing one's mother tongue although not being able to speak it very fluently. Then, she links her lower proficiency in Alur to its rare usage at home, where only her father spoke with them briefly because of his ethnic background (line 128). Furthermore, in her subsequent turn, she contrasts their knowledge of Alur with the Alur spoken in the village and points out that the variety of Alur that they learnt at home was not the *critical* one. In doing so, she draws on her observations in two localities and situates the Alur of the village in a higher status than that of the city.

In the excerpt above, Judy first invokes the chronotopic representations of her childhood as she states that her father, the only speaker of Alur within the family, did not invest in teaching it to his children much. In her next turn, however, she begins to draw on the larger timespace of tribal culture since she compares two localities, that is the city and the village, and claims that the 'real' Alur is spoken by the people of the same ethnic origin in the northern part of Uganda. Therefore, she does not situate herself as a fluent speaker of Alur.

Judy's lower proficiency in Alur affects her everyday interactions in both countries in that her use of Alur is restricted to people of the same ethnic background and certain occasions. Growing up on the streets and then in an orphanage in the Kampala region, Judy did not have many people with whom she can interact in Alur in her surroundings other than some friends in the orphanage.

The subsequent excerpt illustrates this point as Judy begins to talk about Sean, one of her best friends in the orphanage, and the use of Alur as a medium of communication between them:

Excerpt 6.9 [Interview at a café, 27/08/2020]

132 Özge: and with sean? yes you were [°telling me°
133 Judy : [we could speak some alur
134 Özge: hm:=
135 Judy : =because he is a northerner and I'm a northerner so: most of the time the words
136 we could speak
137 Özge: mm hm
138 Judy : °the alur°=
139 Özge: =but like (.) right now are you speaking alur with anyone
140 Judy : >no<= ((chuckles))
141 Özge: =hm
142 Judy : because nobody knows it

In line 133, Judy hints at the relatively less usage of Alur compared to such languages as Luganda and English, where they were the main medium of communication in the orphanage. Labeling herself and Sean as a *northerner* in line 135, she associates the use of Alur with talking to someone from the same ethnic origin and indicates that their interactions in Alur were not beyond the phrase-level. In line 139, I seem to shift the focus towards her linguistic practices in the present with my question. As a response, she highlights the irrelevance of Alur in her new setting and explains her rationale through not having anybody who could speak the language in her social network (line 142).

Evoking the chronotope of childhood in the excerpt above, Judy demonstrates that Alur only functioned as a communication tool in conversations with friends from the same ethnic background within the orphanage, through which she built on her identity as a *northerner* in the past. However, when the use of Alur is considered in İstanbul now, it is evident that she does not resort to it at all due to the absence of Alur speakers in her surroundings, hence the status of Alur as a heritage language is totally erased in her new locality.

Similar to Judy, Dianne is a less proficient speaker of her mother tongue, Runyankole, as well. Even though she was exposed to it at home because of her mother's ethnic background, she did not use it much outside this setting since

Luganda or English dominated the public space. Therefore, in the excerpt below, I inquire whether she uses Runyankole in her quotidian life in İstanbul at all, and she points out its relatively scarce use although acknowledging its importance as a heritage language:

Excerpt 6.10 [Interview at a café, 05/12/2019]

143 Dianne: runyankole: I <u>rarely</u> now speak it
144 Özge : mm hm
145 Dianne: only (.) actually I- >the last time I spoke runyankole when I called my
146 grandmother< I told you=
147 Özge : =mm hm mm hm
148 Dianne: that's the last time ((chuckles)) because even with my mom we don't speak (.)
149 when I call her (.) we're speaking <u>luganda</u>=
150 Özge : =mm hm
151 Dianne: yeah and a little bit of english
152 Özge : mm hm
153 Dianne: yeah but most of it (.) <u>no</u>: I don't usually use it but actually it should be the
154 one I use most because it's where I come from=
155 Özge : =mm hm
156 Dianne: but unfortunately I don't use it

Emphasizing that she *rarely* uses Runyankole since her arrival in İstanbul (line 143), Dianne explains in which situations she communicates in it in line 145 and limits it to a single case through the conjunction *only* before narrating the last phone call she made to her grandmother back in Uganda. In line 148, she reiterates her statement and points towards the infrequent usage of Runyankole in her everyday linguistic practices and its function as a medium of communication with some people back home. While explaining her rationale, Dianne articulates that she does not *even* use it while communicating with her mother, who originates from the Banyankole ethnic group, and rather interacts with her in Luganda (line 149) and in some English (line 151). Although acknowledging that Runyankole should function as a main medium of communication in her everyday interactions and forming closer ties with her ethnic background (lines 153 and 154), she laments that she does not speak it much.

Invoking the timespace configuration of tribal culture in the excerpt above, Dianne states that her use of Runyankole is limited to the rare phone conversations

with the older family members, whose linguistic repertoires do not include either Luganda or English. To this end, she barely uses Runyankole in her everyday interactions with family members and does not think of it as linguistic capital in either Uganda or Turkey despite her recognition of the significance of Runyankole as a heritage language.

Not using the African indigenous languages actively except Luganda in her everyday interactions in İstanbul, Dianne admits to forgetting Kiswahili and mixing it up with Turkish. As a matter of fact, I have not heard either Judy or Dianne utter a single word in Kiswahili apart from singing along certain hymns with the church choir throughout the entire fieldwork. This is illustrated in the subsequent fieldnote I took in a friendly gathering with Dianne at a café in Mecidiyeköy:

Excerpt 6.11 [Fieldnote a café, 05/11/2019]

> When we were chatting, Dianne mentioned to me her paperwork processes for her new job. She said that she talked to somebody from Uganda on the phone in Kiswahili in order to get her paperwork done and she often inserted some Turkish words such as *evet, yani, vallahi* ((yes, well, I swear)) to her speech, and she told me that she was forgetting Kiswahili as she is not using it much in her daily life in İstanbul.

This is further evident through the following excerpt, which is taken from one of the initial interviews I conducted with Dianne. As I remember her earlier remarks on her occasional use of the African local languages with a few friends back in Africa, I ask her if she has forgotten some of them since she arrived in İstanbul:

Excerpt 6.12 [Interview at a café, 05/12/2019]

157 Özge : and do you feel that uh: you forget (1.0) some of the languages that you don't
158 uh use regularly
159 Dianne: ye:s most especially swahili <oh my god swahili I mix it so much with>
160 turkish
161 Özge : mm hm
162 Dianne: and ( ) runyankole [itself

163 Özge : [really
164 Dianne: yes=
165 Özge : =why
166 Dianne: like I'm used now to turkish like my tongue has a lot of turkish here and I
167 think I loved turkish language (1.0) so every time I try to: (1.0) I try to speak
168 (.) like for example if I'm talking let's say runyankole with my grandma I'll
169 say *tamam* I'll say *yok* *hayır* something like this I'll mix it up
T okay no no

In line 159, Dianne gives an affirmative response to my question and says that she forgets Kiswahili most among the other African local languages in her multilingual repertoire. She adds that she confuses it with Turkish a lot just as it is demonstrated in the fieldnote above. However, in line 162, she asserts that the same case is applicable to her mother tongue, Runyankole. As I seem to take her response as a surprise, I further inquire about the reason. Starting from line 166, she connects it to her experience of learning Turkish in İstanbul and demonstrates her frequent exposure to Turkish and her desire to be a fluent Turkish speaker. Then, she starts drawing on an example from her conversations with her grandmother in Runyankole, and the use of the verb *try* twice (line 167) gives the impression that she has to pay a special effort to communicate in it. In line 169, she elaborates on her argument and states that she inserts some basic Turkish words into her utterances in Kiswahili.

The excerpt above clearly indicates that Dianne switches to Turkish even at times when she communicates with someone from Uganda who does not have any knowledge of Turkish. Although her linguistic behavior does not fit into the particular timespace configuration givens, that is the need to speak her local languages within the chronotope of tribal culture, her frequent exposure to Turkish in İstanbul makes her deviate from such a norm when interacting with her family members back home. In addition, she starts forgetting these languages since she does not invest much in them as a heritage language and places more value to Turkish as a new resident of İstanbul.

In this section, I have analyzed how the participants negotiate their ethnolinguistic identities in İstanbul through their translocal positionings in the city. To this end, both Judy and Dianne first underpin the importance of knowing/learning their mother tongue by invoking two chronotopes in their speech, that is the chronotope of tribal culture and childhood respectively. Judy draws on a hypothetical situation to demonstrate that sharing the same ethnic and linguistic background continues to be an important element in creating solidarity and a sense of belonging to their roots among these migrants in İstanbul. However, they are also aware of the fact that their mother tongues do not bear much significance in their everyday lives in either Uganda or Turkey. That's why they do not invest in learning or speaking these languages much and end up becoming less proficient in their mother tongues. Whereas their use of Kiswahili is restricted to governmental issues such as getting a paperwork done, they resort to Runyankole or Alur in rare instances where they have to speak with a friend or a family member from back home from the same ethnic background or with whom they cannot communicate in languages like Luganda or English. As opposed to the infrequent use of these African local languages, the participants are exposed to Turkish on a daily basis, which, in turn, results in the production of Turkish utterances in their conversations with friends or family members back in Africa.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This chapter consists of six main sections. While, in the first section, I will summarize the findings of each analytical chapter respectively, in the subsequent section, I will discuss these findings in light of the relevant literature and the theoretical frameworks I have adopted in this study. After addressing the limitations of the study in section three, I will provide the readers with ideas for future research in the next section. I will then reflect on the implications of this research and conclude the thesis by informing the readers about the aftermath of the fieldwork.

7.1 Summary of the findings

By adopting chronotopes as an analytical tool, I have attempted to demonstrate how the participants construct their translocal identities in İstanbul throughout the three analytical chapters of this thesis. In Chapter 4, I have depicted how the participants negotiate their multilingual identities in İstanbul through their encounters with the monolingual Turks in their surroundings. In section 4.1, I have shown that Dianne and Judy reconstruct their multilingual realities in the city by evoking two timespace configurations in their speech: the chronotope of tribal culture and monolingual society, respectively. While referring to the prevalence of multilingualism in their native country, both of them drew attention to the notion of "truncated multilingualism" (Blommaert, 2010), which suggests that a speaker always knows the particular bits of language instead of the whole of it. Based on their personal experiences, they also claimed that being a multilingual speaker hinges on someone's locality. Whereas Dianne highlighted the impact of intertribal marriages on the

multilingual scenery of rural areas, Judy associated multilingualism with urban areas, where Ugandans have easier access to formal education, hence to languages such as Luganda, English, and other African local languages. The data also suggested that despite their multilingual background, these rich linguistic practices were limited to certain socialization practices with other Africans in İstanbul. Therefore, the participants often emphasized that their multilingual repertoires did not translate as economic capital in their new locality. Acknowledging the monolingual tendencies of Turks in their surroundings, the participants further pointed to the importance of learning Turkish to integrate into the host society.

In section 4.2, I have demonstrated that the participants lack access to many local resources in the receiving society, especially in their first few months in İstanbul, because of not speaking Turkish. I have also argued that they bring the chronotopic representations of monolingual society and work life into the interaction as they talk about the material consequences of not possessing this linguistic capital in their encounters with the locals. The language barrier that Dianne experienced on her first days in the city, for example, revealed that even lacking basic knowledge of Turkish may hinder these migrants' access to such local resources as making friends or doing shopping in the neighborhood. However, this was not restricted to their neighborhood only as they experienced similar communication problems in their work lives. Despite her position as an English-speaking nanny at her work, Dianne eventually lost her job because of not speaking Turkish, or Judy could not do volunteer work since her low command of Turkish put her in a less advantageous position than other foreigners during the hiring process. Moreover, their lack of Turkish proficiency made them more vulnerable to locals' intolerant attitudes towards them, which Dianne related to monolingual tendencies of Turks and,

therefore, to their local ways of living as opposed to the global status of English. Even if they started communicating with the locals in Turkish, their yet developing phonological and morphological awareness sometimes resulted in communication breakdowns. In such instances, they usually preferred resorting to other semiotic resources rather than using 'global' English.

In section 4.3, I have explored the participants' investment in Turkish through their construction of several chronotopes in their speech: chronotopes of monolingual society, work life, and school. I have further argued that they differ in their level of investment in Turkish mainly because of their different levels of attachment to the city. To this end, I have explained Dianne's better command of Turkish than Judy through their different social networks in İstanbul. Whereas Judy usually socialized with other Africans in the city and therefore did not resort to Turkish much apart from instances where she needed to do shopping from local shop owners, Dianne tried to use Turkish even in her interactions with the locals whose L1 was not Turkish. This, in turn, made her situate herself in a more powerful position than Judy. She, for instance, questioned the role of school in improving their Turkish speaking skills by contrasting her language learning experience with Judy's, or she assisted Judy in learning Turkish. Drawing on her interactions with people of lower social class, Dianne sometimes positioned herself as a better Turkish speaker than locals, as well, by teasing them for not being acquainted with certain Turkish phrases, which may not be frequently used by educated Turks.

In section 4.4, I have revealed how the participants, given their investment in Turkish, consider themselves as possessing the linguistic capital and negotiate power in their everyday interactions with the locals by drawing on two chronotopes: chronotopes of monolingual society and work life. While some locals received their

investment in Turkish positively, others did not cooperate much, especially when the participants tried to avoid living in precarity. However, they asserted power through their knowledge of Turkish in several social spaces. For instance, Dianne resisted the locals' attempts to portray her as a "bad employee" by building on her identity as a foreign English teacher and consequently concealing her identity as a Turkish speaker at her workplace, or she confidently spoke Turkish with the local salespeople who wanted to take advantage of her status as a foreigner in the host society. Similarly, Judy, through her basic knowledge of Turkish, challenged the local landlords' attempts to marginalize foreigners.

In Chapter 5, my focus was on showing how the participants negotiate their post-colonial identities as English speakers in İstanbul and how this, in turn, contributes to their translocal identity construction in the city. In section 5.1, I have focused on the participants' English language learning experiences in Uganda to better understand how they situate themselves as native speakers of English in İstanbul. The data revealed that the participants drew on several chronotopes in their past to claim native speaker identities. They first linked their positioning to Uganda's colonial past, where learning English also meant accepting the linguistic and cultural imposition of the colonial power. Doing so, Dianne argued that their legitimacy as English speakers was not questioned by other English speakers in Uganda, either. They also situated themselves in a more powerful position than other Ugandans since they received formal education in English in Kampala. They also drew on their school memories, where they received English-medium instruction from their early years of schooling, which, in turn, made them think that English holds great symbolic power in the society they live in. However, they also criticized English-

only language policies at school, which were implemented at the expense of their mother languages.

In section 5.2, I have demonstrated that the participants also negotiate the 'local' in their interactions with other English-speaking individuals in İstanbul by drawing on the chronotopes of post-colonial Uganda and tribal culture. Judy, for instance, built on her identity as a Ugandan English speaker and positioned it as a softer variety than American English. Being aware of its distinct features, she further argued that having a 'good' accent is valued more among Ugandans than speaking the 'correct' English. Nevertheless, the participants did not equate having 'good' accented speech with sounding like an English speaker from 'inner-circle' countries; therefore, they mocked other Africans for their attempts to disguise their "Africanness" for the sake of sounding more English. Sometimes, the rare usage of certain English words in Ugandan English also made them question their accuracy while interacting with other English-speaking individuals in İstanbul, as in the metalinguistic discussion of the verb "phone", which is associated with British English. Furthermore, they sometimes brought their indigenized variety of English into their interactions with other English speakers in İstanbul to achieve effective communication.

In section 5.3, I have demonstrated how the participants negotiate power through their knowledge of English in their everyday encounters with the locals in İstanbul. In doing so, I have found three chronotopes relevant to their identity negotiation: chronotopes of monolingual society, post-colonial Uganda, and work life. The participants first contrasted the global status of English with the local use of Turkish. Drawing on the former notion along with their post-colonial background, they situated themselves as better English speakers than Turks. To this end, they

frequently criticized Turks for their lower command of English, particularly in commercial areas where they found it rare to encounter a Turkish-only speaker. In addition, they criticized the way Turks spoke English in professional spaces to resist the native speakerism ideologies prevalent in Turkish schools and questioned the authenticity and legitimacy of English-speaking Turks in return. Nonetheless, this did not stop them from internalizing these ideologies since they also thought that being African and having darker skin legitimizes the locals' notions that they do not speak English as well as those who originate from 'inner-circle' countries.

In Chapter 6, I have analyzed how the participants negotiate their heritage identities in İstanbul through being speakers of Luganda and other African local languages. In section 6.1, I have revealed how the participants negotiate their local identities as Luganda speakers in İstanbul by evoking several timespace configurations in their speech. Dianne, for instance, situated Luganda differently from other foreign languages such as English and Kiswahili in her native country, thus constructing national identities. Furthermore, both Judy and Dianne considered Luganda speakers as holding symbolic power in Uganda compared to speakers of other indigenous languages. To this end, they asserted superiority over Lusoga speakers by enacting their local identities. Having grown up in Kampala, they further claimed to be native speakers of Luganda, which was also reflected through their interactions with Luganda speakers of different ethnic backgrounds in Kampala and İstanbul. Despite various forms of capital that Luganda brought in these localities, the participants did not consider it as linguistic capital outside these contexts. Even though Judy first thought that being a good mother means transmitting her home language to her daughter, she later aligned with Dianne, who believed that Luganda is not of any value outside the Turkish or Ugandan contexts.

In section 6.2, I have demonstrated how the participants, through their knowledge of other African local languages, negotiate ethnolinguistic identities in İstanbul. Doing so, I have come up with two emerging chronotopes in their speech: chronotopes of childhood and tribal culture. Even though Judy argued that sharing the same linguistic background brings intimacy within the African community in İstanbul, neither Judy nor Dianne invested much in learning their mother tongues. Although originating from Alur, Judy did not consider herself as a fluent speaker of Alur, and she related her low proficiency to its limited use at home and orphanage. She further pointed to its erasure from her multilingual repertoire in İstanbul. Similarly, Dianne did not invest in Runyankole much, despite its role as a home language. She still acknowledged the importance of learning it as a heritage language; yet, pointed towards its rare usage in her interactions with family members. Along with her investment in Turkish in her current locality, Dianne also started codemixing between Turkish and Kiswahili or Runyankole.

In this section, I have provided the readers with a detailed summary of each chapter respectively. Considering the relevant literature and the theoretical underpinnings of the study, I will now discuss the findings of this study.

7.2 Construction of translocal identities

This study has explored the translocal identity construction of multilingual Ugandans in İstanbul through a close linguistic analysis of the participants' discursive practices in the city. To this end, two research questions have guided the study:

1. What kind of identities do multilingual Ugandans construct as translocal migrants in İstanbul?

2. What kind of languages and linguistic practices are involved in this construction?

By employing the Bakhtinian conceptualization of chronotopes as an analytical tool, I have answered these questions throughout the three analytical chapters, that is Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6. Presenting a total of 51 excerpts, which are comprised of the naturalistic interaction data, the participants' interview accounts, and the fieldnotes I took in our gatherings, I have found the following six chronotopes relevant to their translocal identity construction in İstanbul: chronotopes of childhood, school, work life, post-colonial Uganda, tribal culture, and monolingual society. Despite the frequent emergence of the last three chronotopes in participants' speech, my detailed analysis has shown that they are also complemented by the chronotopes of childhood, school and work life, as chronotopes draw on personal histories, as well. To this end, I have separated the analysis into six chronotopes.

As a result of the chronotopic organization mentioned above, the data have, first of all, revealed the multiplicity of chronotopes in participants' discursive practices. In other words, the participants oftentimes evoked more than one chronotope in their speech. For example, in excerpt 5.5, Dianne initially invoked the timespace of school when she elaborated on a certain type of punishment that they received for not speaking English at school, but then brought the chronotope of post-colonial Uganda into the discussion since she attributed English-only policies at school to colonialism and demonstrated her disapproval of such an implementation at the expense of their local languages. This multiplicity has been frequently cited in the literature on chronotopes (e.g., Wang, 2020) as much as scales (e.g., Erduyan, 2019).

Secondly, the data set has clearly pointed towards the transgression of chronotopes in participants' discourse. Put differently, two different chronotopes sometimes emerged as the same timespace configuration in participants' speech, as in the instance of Dianne's mention of her students not favoring English teachers of African descent at her latest workplace in excerpt 5.16.

Furthermore, as individuals' social behaviors are simultaneously evaluated according to the "moralized behavioral scripts" of various chronotopes (Blommaert, 2017), the overall findings of this study have also suggested that a chronotopic shift in participants' discursive practices also led to a change in what was perceived as linguistic capital. To this end, below, after discussing the relevance of each chronotope to the participants' translocal identity construction in İstanbul, I will also discuss the capital conditions that each chronotope brings into the interaction.

I have earlier on defined the chronotope of childhood as a contraction of time, where participants tell their childhood memories to account for a certain situation (Paquette, 2013). In the findings of this study, the chronotope of childhood has emerged as salient in relation to participants' efforts to legitimize their (non)use of African local languages in İstanbul by bringing their urban identities into the interaction as former residents of Kampala. For instance, in excerpt 6.3, Dianne constructed her identity as a native Luganda speaker by referring to her upbringing in Kampala, where Luganda serves as an alternative lingua franca among speakers of different local languages in the country. Similarly, the erasure of Alur from Judy's multilingual repertoire in İstanbul may be attributed to her childhood memories in Kampala, where she could build on her ethnolinguistic identity but not learn the "critical" Alur, as it is demonstrated in excerpt 6.8. Therefore, she demonstrated a contradictory stance towards her 'heritage' identity as an Alur speaker in İstanbul in

that she claimed belonging to an imagined Alur ethnic community by labeling herself as a "northerner" while, at the same time, pointing to its irrelevance in both Kampala and İstanbul (see excerpt 6.9).

As White (2011) suggests, locality, in this case, proves to be more relevant than ethnicity in shaping participants' translocal identity construction in İstanbul. Then, it would not be wrong to argue that the chronotope of childhood is a translocal act itself since the participants draw on their childhood memories in Kampala to make sense of their (non)use of African local languages in İstanbul. In this regard, while the knowledge of Luganda emerges as linguistic capital in participants' everyday interactions in both Kampala and İstanbul, the same case does not apply to Alur since it has been already erased from Judy's multilingual repertoire due to locality.

The chronotope of school emerges when the participants refer to their experiences in a formal educational setting within a particular historical period (see also Johnston & Tupper, 2009). This study has shown that the participants initially evoked the chronotope of school in their speech to claim native English speaker identities in İstanbul. Throughout section 5.1, Dianne shared recollections of her school memories to legitimize her native speaker status in her current locality. For instance, in excerpt 5.3, she associated knowledge of English with being educated and situated herself in a more powerful position than other Ugandans who did not receive formal education at school and therefore did not have access to English. Nevertheless, the data have also revealed that the participants brought the same chronotope into their discussions to question the relative power of school in helping them become proficient speakers of Turkish. In excerpt 4.15, Dianne pointed out that learning Turkish at school does not necessarily help them become more proficient

speakers of Turkish by referring to Judy's language learning experience at a language school in İstanbul.

To this end, one may argue that while the participants approach their new locality through English, which grants them upward mobility once they learn how to navigate the bureaucracy of the receiving country, they consider Turkish as a tool which eases their integration into the social fabric of life in their neighborhood, where they frequently encounter non-English speaking Turks. In other words, even though they think that learning *sokak* (street) language suffices their needs in İstanbul, they consider the English-medium instruction they have received at school as an important part of their native speaker identity construction in the city. The relevance of this chronotope to their translocal identity construction, then, can be traced back to their school memories in Uganda, through which they assert superiority over locals for their better command of English in various social spaces in İstanbul. In light of these, while knowledge of English appears as linguistic capital within this timespace configuration, which may then be transformed into different forms of capital, the same chronotope does not necessarily bring them social capital in the receiving society.

The chronotope of work life is a timespace configuration through which participants bring their language-related work experience in the past into the interaction. In this data, this timespace configuration emerged as salient in participants' discourses pertaining to their professional identities in İstanbul. Although Judy and Dianne constructed their professional identities through their knowledge of English in Ugandan work life, they had to negotiate these identities upon their arrival in İstanbul, since English did not grant them immediate access to skilled labor in the city. For instance, in excerpt 4.7, Dianne related her short-term

employment as an English-speaking nanny to her lack of knowledge of Turkish. Similarly, in excerpt 4.9, Judy could not even get involved in volunteer work at a company where English served as the main medium of communication because she did not speak Turkish, which, in turn, resulted in her racial marginalization as an immigrant of African descent. Even at times when knowledge of English eased their access to steady employment, they were not seen as authentic speakers of English in various workplaces in İstanbul. Dianne's mention of her job interview at a language school in excerpt 5.15 illustrates this point well since the school director did not recognize her legitimacy but she still built on her professional identity as a native English speaker by referring to the school director's English as "fake". Nevertheless, Dianne sometimes reinforced these native speakerism ideologies by assuming that being African means not speaking English as well as those who come from 'inner-circle' countries, as shown in excerpt 5.16.

All these excerpts, in turn, tell us that the chronotope of workplace is an important chronotopic dimension in participants' translocal identity construction in İstanbul since the participants negotiate the professional identities that they construct through their knowledge of English in various workplaces in İstanbul, which does not only demand good knowledge of Turkish but also questions the native speaker status that these migrants claim to possess. Unlike Uganda, their knowledge of English is not easily converted into economic capital in the receiving society since they come from an 'outer-circle' country and they do not speak Turkish, a form of linguistic capital which, otherwise, eases their access to many local resources in İstanbul.

Against these widely adopted chronotopes in the literature, the following three chronotopes emerged in my data within the context of Ugandans in İstanbul,

that is chronotopes of post-colonial Uganda, tribal culture, and monolingual society. The chronotope of post-colonial Uganda pertains to discourses about the nature of being an English speaker after the British colonization of Uganda. This study has demonstrated that being an English speaker, for these migrants, also means negotiating the contradictions that are brought along with colonialism. While they claimed to be native speakers of English, they also acknowledged that such a status does not reflect their true "Ugandan" identities since English does not belong to the lands of Uganda, as in Dianne's reference to English as a "foreign" language as opposed to Luganda in excerpt 6.1. This might be further observed in Dianne's ambivalent positioning towards the English medium instruction that she has received at school in Kampala. While she recognized its role in shaping their identities as "global" citizens, she also deplored it at the expense of their local languages.

One may argue that this contradictory situation also applies to their multilingual lives in İstanbul. Dianne's mention of the importance of English at a global scale in excerpt 5.5 is further reflected in the women's negotiation of power with the locals in İstanbul. For instance, in excerpt 5.12, Judy pointed towards the different capitals that the colonial countries endow their citizens with and equated knowledge of English with being able to connect with the global world. Against this background, they also negotiated the 'local' in their interactions with other English-speaking individuals in İstanbul by embracing their identities as Ugandan English speakers in the city. To illustrate, in excerpt 5.8, Judy and Dianne mocked a Nigerian gospel music singer for changing her name to sound "more" English and discursively negotiated their "Africanness" by still addressing her through their localized variety of English.

Considering all these excerpts, it would not be wrong to argue that the chronotope of post-colonial Uganda lies at the center of the participants' translocal identity construction in İstanbul since migrants' localized experiences are also informed by broader spatial processes and histories (Conradson & McKay, 2007; Guarnizo & Smith, 1998). Naturally, it was an overarching theme in their discourse as they speak English because of post-colonialism; therefore, they kept negotiating the contradictions that are brought along with colonialism in their quotidian linguistic practices in İstanbul, as well, by asserting power over locals through 'global' English while at the same time drawing on their local resources as English speakers. Within this timespace configuration, then, as knowledge of English brings Judy and Dianne different forms of capital such as having a high level of education and being involved in skilled labor in Kampala, they also consider themselves as holding symbolic power in their everyday linguistic practices in İstanbul as proficient speakers of English, since the post-colonial world order has mobilized them.

The chronotope of tribal culture is a distant timespace, through which participants bring certain language practices that are shaped by local cultures and customs in Uganda into the interaction. In this study, the participants first invoked this chronotope in discourses pertaining to their local languages, through which they negotiated their heritage identities in İstanbul. Doing so, they initially constructed their gendered identities and produced heteronormative discourses, framing femininity within motherhood and marriage (e.g., Preece, 2008), but then pointed towards the importance of locality in shaping one's dominant language in his/her multilingual repertoire. For instance, in excerpt 6.3, Dianne attempted to account for her rare use of Runyankole in Kampala, and consequently in İstanbul, by drawing on

a hypothetical situation, where marrying a Turk would "of course" mean having children who speak Turkish more than her mother tongue. On a similar note, in excerpt 6.6, despite her initial desire to teach her daughter Luganda, Judy later aligned with Dianne since she just considered it as a "different language to learn" rather than a heritage language that needs to be transmitted to younger generations. To this end, it can be said that neither Judy nor Dianne embraces their local languages as heritage language in İstanbul since they do not see any economic benefits of speaking these languages outside their native country. Therefore, when participants refer to their mother tongues in İstanbul within this chronotope, they only associate themselves with an imagined community but do not necessarily adopt their linguistic practices in their quotidian lives.

Furthermore, the participants drew on the same chronotope to demonstrate their understanding of multilingualism, where speaking "bits" of several African local languages along with English is considered the norm; however, they could continue such linguistic practices only within certain socialization practices with other Africans in İstanbul, as in the case of listening to gospel music in several African indigenous languages at church (see excerpt 4.3). In this regard, being a translocal migrant also meant the erasure of certain chronotopic dimensions from these migrants' everyday lives in İstanbul since speaking various African local languages did not transform into any form of capital in their interactions with the locals in İstanbul.

Even though the participants positioned themselves as holding symbolic power through their English-mediated multilingualism in Kampala, they also pointed that knowledge of African local languages did not bring them any forms of capital in İstanbul by comparing it with certain European languages they hear in the city, as

shown in excerpt 4.4. Therefore, it would not be wrong to argue that their awareness of such language hierarchies is well grounded in the chronotope of tribal culture, where they learn to favor certain languages over others. To illustrate, in excerpt 6.1, Dianne described Luganda as the "official language in mother languages" in Uganda and situated Luganda speakers in a more powerful position than speakers of other African local languages in her native country. This language order remains the same in their quotidian lives in İstanbul, as in the instance of participants' mocking Lusoga speakers for speaking "twisted" Luganda in excerpt 6.2.

The chronotope of monolingual society refers to a present timespace configuration, in which participants talk about their encounters with the monolingual Turks in their surroundings. As both Judy and Dianne reconstructed their multilingual realities in İstanbul, the norms associated with the chronotope of tribal culture became nearly obsolete in their current locality, since their discourse became highly informed by the chronotope of monolingual society, which emerged as a more powerful timespace configuration because of the ideological belief system behind it (Karimzad & Catedral, 2018). Therefore, the participants frequently evoked this chronotope to highlight the monolingual tendencies of the locals in İstanbul. For instance, in excerpt 4.8, Dianne attributed Turks' local way of living to their monolingual tendencies and then contrasted it with the global status of English. Similarly, in excerpt 5.14, Judy pointed towards the monolingual tendencies of the staff even in shopping malls in İstanbul, which are regarded as the byproducts of globalization, and mocked their low command of English by enacting her "international" identity.

As migrants' localized experiences are also informed by unequal power relations (Brickell & Datta, 2016), the chronotope of monolingual society also

emerged as salient in participants' discourses regarding the material consequences of not speaking Turkish in the host society throughout section 4.2, where they found it easier to convey their message to the locals through non-semiotic resources rather than speaking the 'global' English. Given their lack of access to various local resources in the city, the participants invested in learning Turkish, although in varying levels. Due to her richer social network in the city, Dianne eased her mobility within various spaces in the city and situated herself in a more powerful position than Judy; however, her social network was still restricted to people of lower social class, thereby shaping her language use in Turkish. Finally, the participants evoked the chronotope of monolingual society to claim power over the locals through their knowledge of Turkish in different social spaces, as in excerpt 4.23, where Judy resisted the marginalization of immigrants in her neighborhood through her basic knowledge of Turkish. Therefore, it would not be wrong to assume that translocality also relates to the emergence of a new chronotopic dimension in these migrants' lives since they encounter a monolingual society for the first time in their lives, which, in turn, compels them to reorient their linguistic practices into this new social system (Noble, 2013; Vertovec, 2009).

Even though knowledge of Turkish brought participants different forms of capital in İstanbul, it did not always grant them with symbolic capital while interacting with locals in İstanbul. Blackledge (2005) maintains that the formality of a situation determines whether the linguistic capital of the dominated group will be received less or more favorably. Similarly, the data have revealed that while speaking Turkish in an intelligible way could transform into different forms of capital in their encounters with monolingual Turks in İstanbul, such as bargaining with the local salespeople in the neighborhood or forming friendships with locals, it

did not emerge as linguistic capital in more formal occasions, where they were not regarded as legitimate speakers of Turkish, as in the case of Dianne's interaction with one of the administrative staff in her workplace in excerpt 4.19. Consequently, one may argue that the acts of delegitimization do not really stem from the participants' lack of linguistic capital but rather from their vulnerable position as immigrants who want to avoid precarity in the host society.

All in all, this study reveals that the participants construct their translocal identities in İstanbul by drawing on the multiplicity of chronotopes in their past and present; therefore, I have found the following six chronotopes relevant to their identity construction in the city: chronotopes of childhood, school, work life, post-colonial Uganda, tribal culture, and monolingual society. As the participants tried to establish their new lives in İstanbul, they did not only evoke chronotopes pertaining to their old lives in Kampala, but their discursive practices were also informed by various timespace configurations in their current locality. Therefore, in line with Blommaert & De Fina (2017), the overall findings have suggested that the participants' translocal subjectivities in İstanbul are organized chronotopically and that their understanding of linguistic capital is informed by a chronotopic shift in their discourse. In other words, the interaction of various chronotopes with one another has shaped participants' identities as translocal migrants in İstanbul along with what they consider as linguistic capital, through which they have negotiated certain identities.

7.3 Limitations to the study

As a fieldworker who has explored the everyday linguistic practices of Ugandans in İstanbul, I place the low degree of familiarity I had with Luganda as the first

limitation of this study. Even though I acquired a basic knowledge of Luganda throughout the fieldwork, I should acknowledge that my low level of proficiency in the language affected the data collection and analysis processes. First of all, it affected the nature of the spontaneous interactions where the participants were addressing each other or their acquaintances since my presence in the field meant that they usually felt the need to speak English more. Moreover, my selection and analyses of these data were affected by my level of Luganda. Asking for the participants' help to transcribe and translate the Luganda data did not always prove to be practical. I should also mention that my interpretation of these data only concerned the discursive level of analysis since I was not acquainted with Luganda much.

Halfway into the fieldwork, I also started meeting the participants less frequently due to COVID-19 restrictions in Turkey. Even though I employed different strategies to collect data, such as conducting online interviews or asking the participants to record their interactions at home (see Chapter 3), I find these below the optimal level of effectiveness as these attempts produced less data than I had collected prior to the outbreak of the pandemic. If it were not for the pandemic, I believe that I could capture more multilingual interactions, as well since I followed the participants and their acquaintances in different social settings. This, in turn, would ensure a better representation of their everyday linguistic practices in İstanbul.

7.4 Directions for future research

Through a close linguistic analysis, this study has investigated the identity practices of multilingual Ugandans in İstanbul, one of the newly emerging African communities in the city against the background of the rather under-studied language

constellation of Turkish-English-Luganda. Nevertheless, it has also revealed the potential for research in exploring the nexus between language and identity among other multilingual African communities in İstanbul. Given their diverse plurality (see Chapter 1), further studies could depict the different language constellations these migrants use in their everyday lives in İstanbul and demonstrate how these contribute to their identity construction through various perspectives such as feminist, post-colonial, raciolinguistic, and so on.

Moreover, although I have not initially opted for a female-only group or adopted a feminist perspective in my study, I have depicted the discursive practices of two immigrant women in İstanbul. My focus on these two women has merely stemmed from the different field relations I developed as I tried to access their everyday lives in İstanbul (see Chapter 3). Therefore, further research might also incorporate male participants into the study since they may portray different identity constellations among Ugandans or other African communities in the city.

In this study, I have also employed a chronotopic analysis to illuminate the identity practices of multilingual immigrants. However, recent studies (e.g., Erduyan, 2020) have incorporated chronotopes along with scales in their analysis since the former are seen as "mediated by scales" (Blommaert, 2015, p. 105). Therefore, future studies might adopt a chronotopic-scalar approach to language in society to fully capture a dynamic understanding of context and contextualization and ensure a better portrayal of the participants' meaning making processes.

7.5 Implications

Over the past decade, İstanbul has been home to an increasing number of international migrants, including Sub-Saharan Africans who show considerable

diversity in terms of national, ethnic, and cultural make-up, and social and economic status. This study has provided a glimpse into such diversity by focusing on the everyday linguistic practices of two Ugandan women living in İstanbul as skilled migrants. With their high level of education and rich multilingual repertoires, these migrants open up new spaces of encounter for the host society and challenge the stigmatized portrayal of Africans in the public discourse; however, they are still approached with various degrees of caution and distance in their quotidian lives. Given their increasing presence in the city, it is important to ease their integration into the host society through various channels. At a community level, practitioners may promote positive interaction between these migrants and the host society by raising locals' awareness of the different languages and cultures that they encounter in their neighborhoods. At a national level, policymakers may formulate multicultural and multilingual policies to promote inclusion, diversity, and pluralism in the host society.

This study has also revealed the need for raising awareness on various Englishes spoken by migrants of different backgrounds in İstanbul. Through their English-mediated multilingualism, Ugandan migrants bring their indigenized variety of English into their interactions with other English-speaking individuals in the city. Nevertheless, these migrants are not seen as authentic or legitimate speakers of English in the host society, where the ideology of native-speakerism prevails among English-speaking Turks. Considering the emergence of various localized varieties of English in the city, ELF-aware pedagogical practices should be implemented in language classrooms.

7.6 After the fieldwork

Even though my fieldwork ended in November 2020, I kept communicating with Judy and Dianne through different means. I usually chatted with them over the phone or sometimes met them separately for coffee. Unfortunately, two months after the fieldwork, they separated their homes because of a disagreement and stopped talking to each other. Therefore, Dianne moved into a new apartment in the same neighborhood and hosted a Ugandan friend in her flat for a few months.

Right now, she is living with a Rwandese friend who has recently moved to İstanbul for work. She also continues working at the same school and shipping clothes abroad, but her business is not working very well. Although she feels content about her living conditions in İstanbul, she is also worried about the economic instability in Turkey. So, upon a friend's invitation, she is also thinking of relocating to the U.S. in the near future. On the other hand, Judy has recently obtained her residence permit; therefore, she feels very happy to live alone and is still considering herself as a permanent resident of the city. In fact, she has started investing in Turkish more. Shortly after my last field visit, she borrowed a Turkish coursebook from me to study it on her own. However, she still limits her interactions mainly to other Africans in the city, apart from such instances where she travels to other parts of Turkey for business. She also keeps asking me for help whenever she feels that the language emerges as a barrier to reaching local resources in the city.

APPENDIX A

LOCATIONS OF TURKEY AND UGANDA

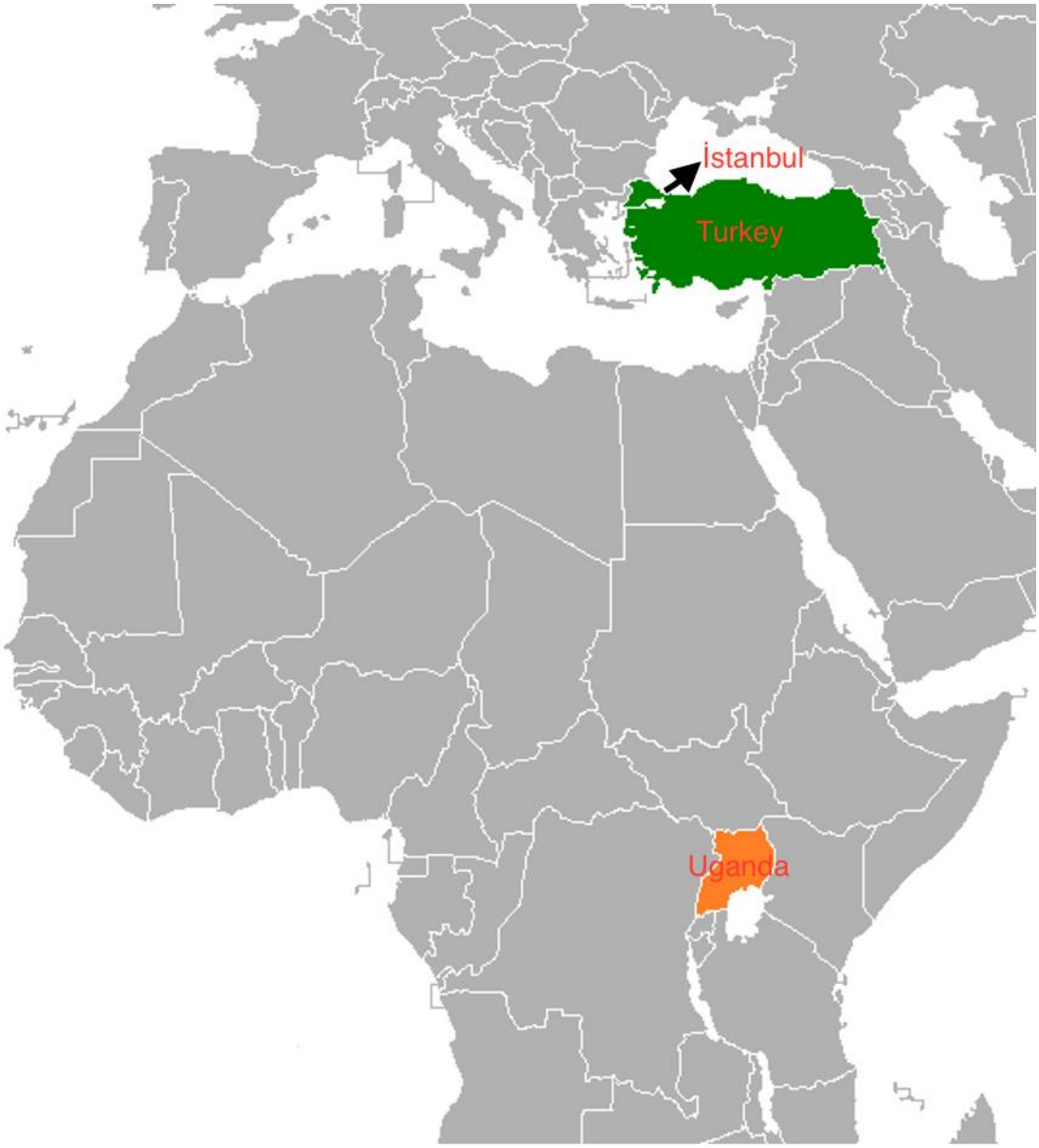

Fig. 1 Locations of Turkey and Uganda

Retrieved and adapted from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2d/Turkey_Uganda_Locator.png

APPENDIX B

AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC MAP OF UGANDA

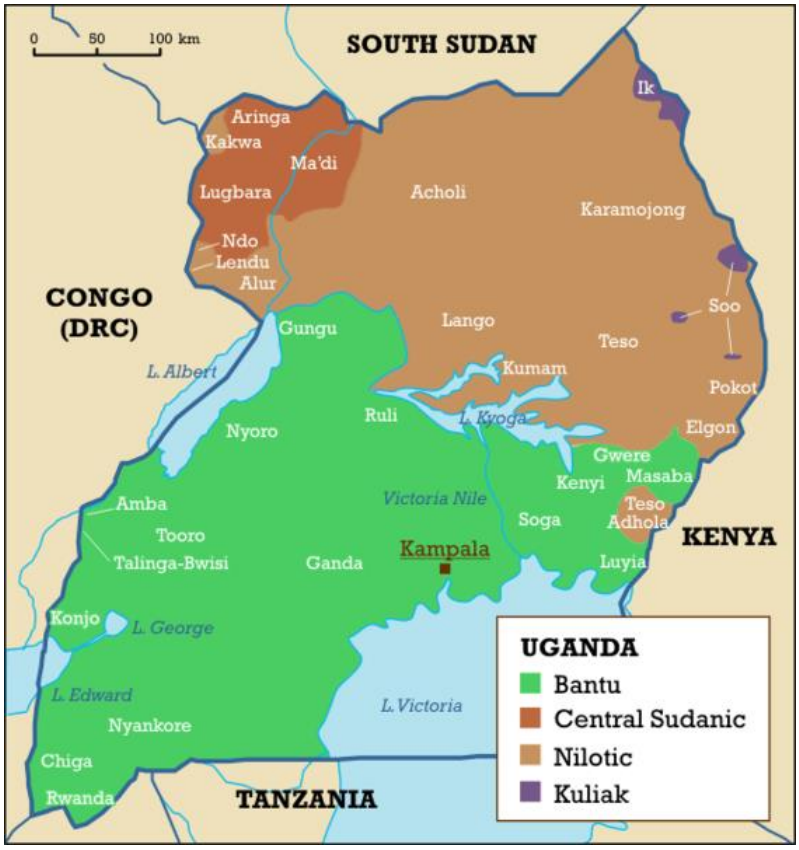

Fig. 2 An ethnolinguistic map of Uganda

Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Uganda#/media/File:Languages_of_Uganda.png

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Migration specific questions

1. When did you move to Turkey?
2. What made you decide to come to Turkey?
3. Did you know anything about Turkey before you moved here? If so, can you explain a little bit?
    a. How did you imagine Turkey to be?
    b. Has it met your expectations? If not, why not?
4. Have you made friends in your neighborhood?
    a. Have you tried finding Turkish friends?
    b. Do you have friends other than Africans and Turks?
5. Is there any social space you regularly go to?
    a. How do you spend your free time in general?
6. How often do you find yourself in regular contact with Turks?
    a. How can you describe your relationship with Turks in general?
7. How do you think Turks perceive you?
8. Have your opinions about Turkey/Turks changed since you moved here? If so, in what ways has it changed?
9. What do you think a Ugandan should know before coming to Turkey?
10. How can you describe being an African in Turkey?
    a. Can you tell me a typical day of yours in Turkey?
    b. How is it different from a typical day in your country?

B. Language specific questions

1. How do you feel about being a multilingual speaker?
    a. What is it like to be a multilingual speaker in Uganda?
    b. What is it like to be a multilingual speaker in Turkey?
    c. Do you think you benefit from being a multilingual speaker in Turkey? Why/why not?
2. Which language(s) do you use the most/the least in your daily life in İstanbul?
3. In which situations do you use
    a. English,
    b. Your local language(s),
    c. Turkish,
    d. Any other language(s) in your daily life?
4. Are there any difficulties that you encounter in these interactions? If so, can you explain them a little bit?
    a. How do you cope with them?
5. What are the people's reactions to the languages you are speaking?
    a. Do you observe any changes in people's reactions to the languages you are speaking?
6. How did you learn your local language(s)?
    a. In which situations did you use this/these language(s) in your country?
    b. Are they similar to your native tongue(s)?
7. What kind of an English speaker are you?
    a. How would you describe your English?
    b. How did you learn it?

c. Did your native tongue(s)/local language(s) help you in learning English?

d. In which situations did you use English in your country?

8. How was your Turkish when you first came to İstanbul?

    a. How did you communicate with people when you first came?

9. What is easy/difficult about learning Turkish?

10. How does Turkish sound to you?

11. Do you have plans to be a fluent Turkish speaker?

12. How is being a Turkish speaker different than being an English speaker?

APPENDIX D

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

English	regular case
Turkish (original and translation)	*regular italics*
Luganda	**bold case**
Lusoga	grayscale
T	***translations of the Turkish/Luganda/Lusoga insertions in English text***
(.)	short pause
(0.5)	longer pause
(…)	omitted speech
( )	unintelligible fragment on the recording
((laughs))	commentary
=xx	fast connection
[xxx [yyy	overlapping talk
underlined	speaker emphasis
°low°	low volume
>xx<	fast tempo
<xx>	slow tempo
?	rising inflection
xx-	sharp cut-off of the prior word or sound
no::	phonemic lengthening

Adapted from Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008)

APPENDIX E

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL FORM

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonu

Sayı: 2020-01

11 Aralık 2019

Özge Deniz
Yabancı Diller Eğitimi

Sayın Araştırmacı,

"Multilingual Identity Construction of Sub-Saharan African Migrants in Istanbul" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığınız SBB-EAK 2019/75 sayılı başvuru komisyonumuz tarafından 11 Aralık 2019 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Prof. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı

Doç. Dr. Mehmet Yiğit Gürdal

Doç. Dr. Ebru Kaya

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi İnci Ayhan

APPENDIX F

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Multilingual Identity Construction of Sub-Saharan African Migrants in Istanbul
Researcher: Özge Deniz
Thesis advisor: Assist. Prof. Işıl Erduyan
B.U. Department of Foreign Language Education, Istanbul
Contact Information: ozge.memisler@boun.edu.tr / 0212 359 4612 6946

Dear Participant,

This study is part of a thesis project investigating multilingual Sub-Saharan African adults living in İstanbul. Specifically, the study explores how multilingual Sub-Saharan African adults in İstanbul use the languages they speak in their social lives.

I have reached you through our mutual contacts. If you agree to participate in this study, I will meet with you at times and places that you and I choose together. As I want to understand what you tell me better, I will take notes from time to time. I will also join you in other social places that you allow me to come with you. Based on your permission, and at days and times that you let me, I will turn on my audio-recorder when we are in a conversation. This is for me to understand the details in your language use better and listen to some parts again later. These recordings or the notes that I take will only be analyzed by our research team, that is my advisor and me, but will not be shared with any third parties. You can listen to the recordings and take a look at my notes whenever you want.

All this information I obtain from you will later be used for analysis in my study. The data collected from you in this study might be used in presentations and publications that derive out of this study. You and other people around you that will be involved in recordings will be presented in different names in this study. Your real name or any other information that identifies you will not be used in this study. No personal information about you will be disclosed or shared with third parties.

This study will span January 2020-November 2020. Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw from the study at any given time.

In the case of your withdrawal, I will delete the audio-recordings and will not use them for any other purpose.

If you have any concerns or questions, please contact me at any time during and after the study. You can reach me through this email: ozge.memisler@boun.edu.tr or via my advisor Dr. Işıl Erduyan (office phone: 0212 359 4612 6946).

Alternatively, to inquire your rights in this project, you can always contact Boğaziçi University Ethics Committee for Master and PhD Theses in Social Sciences and Humanities (SOBETİK) via: sbe-ethics@boun.edu.tr

Please indicate your confirmation for participation in the research by signing below:

I appreciate your support.

Kind Regards,
Özge Deniz

Authorization

Please mark:

☐ I have read and understood the research described above.

☐ I understand that I voluntarily participate in this study and I know that I can withdraw from the study at any time.

☐ I understand that my speech will be audio-recorded at times that I confirm in the course of this study.

My signature below indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX G

CONSENT FORM FOR ACCOMPANYING FRIEND

IN SOCIAL SPACES

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Multilingual Identity Construction of Sub-Saharan African Migrants in Istanbul
Researcher: Özge Deniz
Thesis advisor: Assist. Prof. Işıl Erduyan
B.U. Department of Foreign Language Education, Istanbul
Contact Information: ozge.memisler@boun.edu.tr / 0212 359 4612 6946

Dear Participant,

This study is part of a thesis project investigating multilingual Sub-Saharan African adults living in İstanbul. Specifically, the study explores how multilingual Sub-Saharan African adults in İstanbul use the languages they speak in their social lives.

I have reached you through _____. If you agree to participate in this study, I will join your meetings with _____ at times and places that you and I choose together. As I want to understand how you talk to _____ better and what you tell me better, I will take notes from time to time. I will also join you and _____ in other social places that you allow me to come with you. Based on your permission, and at days and times that you let me, I will turn on my audio- recorder when we are in a conversation. This is for me to understand the details in your language use better and listen to some parts again later. These recordings or the notes that I take will only be analyzed by our research team, that is my advisor and me, but will not be shared with any third parties. You can listen to the recordings and take a look at my notes whenever you want.

All this information I obtain from you will later be used for analysis in my study. The data collected from you in this study might be used in presentations and publications that derive out of this study. You and other people around you that will be involved in recordings will be presented in different names in this study. Your real name or any other information that identifies you will not be used in this study. No personal information about you will be disclosed or shared with third parties.

This study will span January 2020-November 2020. Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw from the study at any given time. In the case of your withdrawal, we will delete the audio-recordings and will not use them for any other purpose.

If you have any concerns or questions, please contact me at any time during and after the study. You can reach me through this email: ozge.memisler@boun.edu.tr or via my advisor Dr. Işıl Erduyan (office phone: 0212 359 4612 6946).

Alternatively, to inquire your rights in this project, you can always contact Boğaziçi University Ethics Committee for Master and PhD Theses in Social Sciences and Humanities (SOBETİK) via: sbe-ethics@boun.edu.tr

Please indicate your confirmation for participation in the research by signing below:

I appreciate your support.

Kind Regards,
Özge Deniz

Authorization

Please mark:

☐ I have read and understood the research described above.

☐ I understand that I voluntarily participate in this study and I know that I can withdraw from the study at any time.

☐ I understand that my speech will be audio-recorded at times that I confirm in the course of this study.

My signature below indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

REFERENCES

Abel, G. J., & Sander, N. (2014). Quantifying global international migration flows. *Science, 343*(6178), 1520-1522.

Adepoju, A. (2000). Issues and recent trends in international migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Social Science Journal, 52,* 383-394.

Adepoju, A. (2006). Internal and international migration within Africa. In P. Kok, D. Gelderblom, J. O. Oucho & J. van Zyl (Eds.), *Migration in South and southern Africa: Dynamics and determinants* (pp. 26-45). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Altherr Flores, J. A., Hou, D., & Diao, W. (2020). *Lingua francas* beyond English: Multilingual repertoires among immigrants in a southwestern US border town. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 17*(2), 107-133.

Amin, A. (2002). Spatialities of globalization. *Environment and Planning A, 34,* 385-399.

Androutsopoulos, J., & Juffermans, K. (Eds.). (2014). Digital language practices in superdiversity [Special issue]. *Discourse, Context and Media, 4-5.*

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis / London: University of Minnesota Press.

Arnaut, K., Blommaert, J., Rampton, B., & Spotti, M. (2016). *Language and superdiversity*. New York: Routledge.

Aronin, L. (2016). Multi-competence and Dominant Language Constellation. In V. Cook & L. Wei (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic multi-competence* (pp. 142-163). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aronin, L., & Singleton, D. (2008). Multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 5*(1), 1-16.

Backhaus, P. (2007). *Linguistic landscapes: A comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Berger, R. A. (1993). From text to (field)work and back again: Theorizing a post(modern)-ethnography. *Anthropological Quarterly, 66*(4), 174-186.

Bernard, H. R. (2006). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (4th ed.). Oxford: AltaMira Press.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture.* London: Routledge.

Blackledge, A. (2001). The wrong sort of capital? Bangladeshi women and their children's schooling in Birmingham, U. K. *The International Journal of Bilingualism, 5*(3), 345-369.

Blackledge, A. (2005). *Discourse and power in a multilingual world*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2010). *Multilingualism: A critical perspective*. London: Continuum.

Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2019). *Voices of a city market: An ethnography*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Block, D. (2000). Problematizing interview data: Voices in the mind's machine?. *TESOL Quarterly, 34*(4), 757-763.

Block, D. (2003). *The social turn in second language acquisition.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Block, D. (2006). *Multilingual identities in a global city: London stories*. New York: Palgrave.

Blommaert, J. (2001). Investigating narrative inequality: African asylum seekers' stories in Belgium. *Discourse & Society, 12*(4), 413-449.

Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2013). *Ethnography, superdiversity and linguistic landscapes: Chronicles of complexity.* Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Blommaert, J. (2015). Chronotopes, scales, and complexity in the study of language in society. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 44*, 105-116.

Blommaert, J. (2017). Commentary: Mobility, contexts, and the chronotope. *Language in Society, 46*(1), 95-99.

Blommaert, J. (2020). Are chronotopes helpful? In S. Kroon and J. Swanenberg (Eds.), *Chronotopic identity work: Sociolinguistic analyses of cultural and linguistic phenomena in time and space* (pp. 16-24). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2013). Superdiverse repertoires and the individual. In I. de Saint-Georges & J. J. Weber (Eds.), *Multilingualism and multimodality: Current challenges for educational studies* (pp. 11-32). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Blommaert, J., & De Fina, A. (2017). Chronotopic identities: On the timespace organization of who we are. In A. De Fina, J. Wegner & D. İkizoğlu (Eds.), *Diversity and super-diversity* (pp. 1-14). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Blommaert, J., & Jie, D. (2010). *Ethnographic fieldwork: A beginner's guide*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B. (2011). Language and superdiversity. *Diversities, 13*(2), 1-21.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information, 16,* 645-668.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Brewer, K. T., & Yükseker, D. (2009). A survey on African migrants and asylum seekers in İstanbul. In A. İçduygu & K. Kirişçi (Eds.), *Land of diverse migrations: Challenges of emigration and immigration in Turkey* (pp. 637-723). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press.

Brickell, K., & Datta, A. (2016). Introduction: Translocal geographies. In K. Brickell & A. Datta (Eds.), *Translocal geographies: Spaces, places, connections* (pp. 3-20). New York, NY: Routledge.

Briggs, C. L. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Broeder, P., & Extra, G. (1998). *Language, ethnicity and education: Case studies on immigrant minority groups and immigrant minority languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Brown, J. C., & Purcell, M. (2005). There's nothing inherent about scale: Political ecology, the local trap, and the politics of development in the Brazilian Amazon. *Geoforum, 36,* 607-624.

Bucholtz, M. (2000). The politics of transcription. *Journal of Pragmatics, 32,* 1439-1465.

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2006). Linguistic landscape and minority languages. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 3*(1), 67-80.

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2010). The diversity of multilingualism in education. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 205,* 37-53.

Chik, A., Benson, P., & Moloney, R. (2019). *Multilingual Sydney*. London: Routledge.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Conradson, D., & McKay, D. (2007). Translocal subjectivities: Mobility, connection, emotion. *Mobilities, 2*(2), 167-174.

Copland, F., & Creese, A. (2015). *Linguistic ethnography: Collecting, analysing and presenting data.* London: Sage.

Coşkun, E. (2018). Criminalization and prostitution of migrant women in Turkey: A case study of Ugandan women. *Women's Studies International Forum, 68,* 85-93.

Creese, A. (2010). Linguistic ethnography. In L. Litosseliti (Ed.), *Research methods in linguistics* (pp. 138-154). London / New York: Continuum.

Creese, A., Bhatt, A., Bhojani, N., & Martin, P. (2008). Fieldnotes in team ethnography: Researching complementary schools. *Qualitative Research, 8*(2), 197-215.

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Towards a sociolinguistics of superdiversity. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft, 13*(4), 549–572.

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2020). Stereotypes and chronotopes: The peasant and the cosmopolitan in narratives about migration. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 24*(4), 419-440.

Creese, A., Blackledge, A., & Hu, R. (2018). Translanguaging and translation: The construction of social difference across city spaces. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 21*(7), 841-852.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice, 39*(3), 124-130.

Deakin, H., & Wakefield, K. (2014). Skype interviewing: Reflections of two PhD researchers. *Qualitative Research, 14*(5), 603-616.

De Clerck, H. M. (2013). Sub-Saharan African migrants in Turkey: A case study on Senegalese migrants in İstanbul. *Ankara University SBF Journal, 68*(1), 39-58.

De Fina, A. (2020). Insights and challenges of chronotopic analysis for sociolinguistics. In S. Kroon and J. Swanenberg (Eds.), *Chronotopic identity work: Sociolinguistic analyses of cultural and linguistic phenomena in time and space* (pp. 190-200). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

De Fina, A., & Perrino, S. (2013). 'Transnational identities'. *Applied Linguistics, 34*(5), 509-515.

Deutsch, C. F. (1981). The behavioral scientist: Insider and outsider. *Journal of Social Issues, 37*(2), 172-191.

DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers* (2nd ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Dick, H. P. (2010). Imagined lives and modernist chronotopes in Mexican nonmigrant discourse. *American Ethnologist, 37*(2), 275-290.

Doran, M. (2007). Alternative French, alternative identities. *Contemporary French and Francophone studies, 11*(4), 497-508.

Dovchin, S. (2019). Language crossing and linguistic racism: Mongolian immigrant women in Australia. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 14*(4), 334-351.

Duarte, J., & Gogolin, I. (2013). *Linguistic superdiversity in urban areas: Research approaches.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Duff, P. A. (2015). Transnationalism, multilingualism, and identity. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 35,* 57-80.

Düvell, F. (2020). Shifts in the global migration order and migration transitions in Europe: The cases of Turkey and Russia. *Comparative Migration Studies, 8*(45).

Düz, Z. N. (2019, October 19). 'Number of Turkish embassies in Africa rises from 12 to 42'. *Anadolu Agency.* Retrieved from https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/-number-of-turkish-embassies-in-africa-rises-from-12-to-42/1619429

Eberhard, D. M., Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (Eds.). (2021). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (24th ed.) Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism.* London: Routledge.

Englert, B. (2018). Looking through two lenses: Reflections on transnational and translocal dimensions in Marseille-based popular music relating to the Comoros. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 25*(5), 542-557.

Erduyan, I. (2019). *Multilingual construction of identity: German-Turkish adolescents at school.* Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag.

Erduyan, I. (2020). The scale of modernity in the heritage language classroom. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education.* doi: 10.1080/15348458.2020.1791712

Extra, G., & Gorter, D. (2001). *The other languages of Europe: Demographic, sociolinguistic and educational perspectives.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Extra, G., & Gorter, D. (2008). *Multilingual Europe: Facts and policies*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Extra, G., & Gorter, D. (2011). Urban multilingualism in Europe: Mapping linguistic diversity in multicultural cities. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*, 1173-1184.

Extra, G., & Yağmur, K. (2004). *Urban multilingualism in Europe: Immigrant minority languages at home and school*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Extra, G., & Yağmur, K. (2011). Urban multilingualism in Europe: Mapping linguistic diversity in multicultural cities. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*, 1173-1184.

Extra, G., & Yağmur, K. (2013). Language rich Europe: Key findings and discussion. *European Journal of Language Policy, 5*(1), 116-127.

Fait, N. (2013). African migrations toward Turkey: Beyond the stepping stone. *Ankara University SBF Journal, 68*(1), 21-38.

Feldman, M., Bell, J., & Berger, M. (2003). *Gaining access: A practical and theoretical guide for qualitative researchers.* Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Freitag, U., & Von Oppen, A. (2010). 'Translocality': An approach to connection and transfer in area studies. In U. Freitag & A. Von Oppen (Eds.), *Translocality: The study of globalizing processes from a southern perspective* (pp. 1-21) Leiden / Boston: Brill.

Gandolfo, A. J. (2009). Education-medium and African linguistic rights in the context of globalization. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 7*(3), 321-336.

García, O, & Fishman, J. A. (2001). *The multilingual apple: Languages in New York City*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Garrido, M. R., & Codó, E. (2017). Deskilling and delanguaging African migrants in Barcelona: Pathways of labor market incorporation and the value of 'global' English. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 15*(1), 29-49.

Garton, S., & Copland, F. (2010). 'I like this interview; I get cakes and cats!': The effect prior relationships on interview talk. *Qualitative Research, 10*(5), 533-551.

Geertz, C. (1973). *Selected essays by Clifford Geertz.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1999). *Becoming qualitative researchers.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *ANNALS of the New York Academy of Sciences, 645*(1), 1-24.

Goffman, E. (1964). The neglected situation. *American Anthropologist, 66*(2), 133-136.

Gorter, D. (2013). Linguistic landscapes in a multilingual world. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 33,* 190-212.

Gorter, D., Marten H. F., & Mensel L. V. (2012). *Minority languages in the linguistic landscape.* London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gottowik, V. (2010). Transnational, translocal, transcultural: Some remarks on the relations between Hindu-Balinese and ethnic Chinese in Bali. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, *25*(2), 178-212.

Green, J., Franquiz, M., & Dixon, C. (1997). The myth of the objective transcript: Transcribing as a situated act. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(1), 172-176.

Greiner, C., & Sakdapolrak, P. (2013). Translocality: Concepts, applications and emerging research perspectives. *Geography Compass, 7*(5), 373-384.

Grenfell, M. (2011). Bourdieu, language and linguistics. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Bourdieu, language and linguistics* (pp. 35-63). London / New York: Continuum.

Guarnizo, L., & Smith, M. P. (1998). The locations of transnationalism. In L. Guarnizo & M. P. Smith (Eds.), *Transnationalism from below* (pp. 3-31). New Brunswick: Transactions Publishers.

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, S. (1992). The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held & T. McGrew (Eds.), *Modernity and its futures* (pp. 273-325). Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Hammersley, M. (2010). Reproducing or constructing? Some questions about transcription in social research. *Qualitative Research, 10*(5), 553-569.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Hannerz, U. (1998). Transnational research. In H. R. Bernard (Ed.), *Handbook of methods in cultural anthropology* (pp. 235-256). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Hutchby, I., & Wooffitt, R. (2008). *Conversation analysis* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK / Malden, MA: Polity.

İçduygu, A., & Aksel, D. B. (2013). Turkish migration policies: A critical historical retrospective. *Perceptions, 18*(3), 167-190.

İçduygu, A., & Biehl, K. (2013). The changing trajectory of migration to Turkey. In M. Balbo, A. İçduygu & J. Perez (Eds.), *Countries of migrants, cities of migrants: Italy, Spain, Turkey* (pp. 91-126). Istanbul: Isis Press.

İnal, D., Bayyurt, Y., Özturhan, M., & Bektaş, S. (2020). Multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of Istanbul. *World Englishes,* 1-10.

Jenkins, R. (1992). *Pierre Bourdieu.* London: Routledge.

Johnson, J. M. (1975). *Doing field research.* New York: Free Press.

Johnston, I., & Tupper, J. (2009). The chronotope of school: Students negotiating identities in the social and cultural time/space of an urban high school. In J. Nahachewsky & I. Johnston (Eds.), *Beyond 'presentism': Re-imagining the historical, personal, and social places of curriculum* (pp. 11-22). Rotterdam / Boston: Sense Publishers.

Jørgensen, J. N., Karrebaek, M. S., Madsen, L. M., & Møller, J. S. (2011). Polylanguaging in superdiversity. *Diversities, 13*(2), 23-37.

Karadağ, S. (2021). *Ghosts of İstanbul: Afghans at the margins of precarity.* Association for Migration Research (GAR). https://www.gocarastirmalari dernegi.org/attachments/article/193/GHOSTS%20OF%20ISTANBUL%20N. pdf

Karimzad, F. (2016). Life here beyond now: Chronotopes of the ideal life among Iranian transnationals. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 20*(5), 607-630.

Karimzad, F. (2020). Metapragmatics of normalcy: Mobility, context, and language choice. *Language & Communication, 70,* 107-118.

Karimzad, F., & Catedral, L. (2018). 'No, we don't mix languages': Ideological power and the chronotopic organization of ethnolinguistic identities. *Language in Society, 47*(1), 89-113.

Karimzad, F., & Catedral, L. (2021). *Chronotopes and migration: Language, social imagination, and behavior.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Katz, J. (2001). From how to why: On luminous description and causal inference in ethnography (Part 1). *Ethnography, 2*(4), 443-473.

Katz, J. (2002). From how to why: On luminous description and causal inference in ethnography (Part 2). *Ethnography, 3*(1), 63-90.

King, L., & Carson, L. (2016). *The multilingual city: Vitality, conflict and change.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Koven, M. (2013). Antiracist, modern selves and racist, unmodern others: Chronotopes of modernity in Luso-descendants' race talk. *Language & Communication, 33*(4), 544-558.

Kowal, S., & O'Connell, D. C. (2013). Transcription as a crucial step of data analysis. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 64-78). London: Sage.

Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 16*(1), 23-49.

Lareau, A. (1989). *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education.* London: The Falmer Press.

Léglise, I., & Migge, B. (2021). Language and identity construction on the French Guiana-Suriname border. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 18*(1), 90-104.

Leimgruber, J. R. E. (2020). Global multilingualism, local bilingualism, official monolingualism: The linguistic landscape of Montreal's St. Catherine Street. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism,* 23(6), 708-723.

Lempert, M., & Perrino, S. (2007). Entextualization and the ends of temporality. *Language & Communication, 27*(3), 205-211.

Lyons, A., & Tagg, C. (2019). The discursive construction of mobile chronotopes in mobile-phone messaging. *Language in Society, 48*(5), 657-683.

Mahler, S. J., & Pessar, P. R. (2006). Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies. *International Migration Review, 40*(1), 27-63.

Makoni, B. (2019). Strategic language crossing as self-styling: The case of black African immigrants in South Africa. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 14*(4), 301-318.

Maybin, J., & Tusting, K. (2011). Linguistic ethnography. In J. Simpson (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 515-528). London: Routledge.

Mc Laughlin, F. (2009). *The languages of urban Africa*. London: Continuum.

Mills, J. (2004). Mothers and mother tongue: Perspectives on self-construction by mothers of Pakistani heritage. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 161-191). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management. (2021). Retrieved from https://en.goc.gov.tr/residence-permits

Morson, G. S., & Emerson, C. (1990). *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a prosaics.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Mugabi, I. (2018, August 19). 'Opinion: Uganda's Yoweri Museveni, from liberator to dictator'. *Deutsche Welle.* Retrieved from https://www.dw.com/en/opinion-ugandas-yoweri-museveni-from-liberator-to-dictator/a-45130141

Mullings, B. (1999). Insider or outsider, both or neither: Some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum, 30,* 337-350.

Musgrave, S., & Hajek, J. (2013). Minority language speakers as migrants: Some preliminary observations on the Sudanese community in Melbourne. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 10*(4), 394-410.

Narayan, K. (1993). How native is a "native" anthropologist?. *American Anthropologist, 95*(3), 671-686.

Nawyn, S. J. (2016). New directions for research on migration in the Global South. *International Journal of Sociology, 46*(3), 163-168.

Ndhlovu, F. (2013). Language nesting, superdiversity and African diasporas in regional Australia. *Australian Journal of Linguistics, 33*(4), 426-448.

Negrón, R. (2012). Audio recording everyday talk. *Field Methods, 24*(3), 292-309.

Noble, G. (2013). 'It is home but it is not home': Habitus, field and the migrant. *Journal of Sociology, 49*(2-3), 341-356.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change.* Harlow: Longman.

Norton-Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(1), 9-31.

Nyombi, C., & Kaddu, R. (2015). Ethnic conflict in Uganda's political history. Available at: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2645055

Oakes, T., & Schein, L. (2006). *Translocal China, linkages, identities, and the reimagining of space*. London: Routledge.

Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as theory. In E. Ochs & B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *Developmental pragmatics* (pp. 43-72). New York: Academic Press.

O'Reilly, K. (2009). *Key concepts in ethnography.* London: Sage.

Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 7*(3), 240-254.

Özkan, M., & Akgün, B. (2010). Turkey's opening to Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 48*(4), 525-546.

Paquette, J. (2013). Storytelling, organizations, and the coherent self: The chronotope of childhood in professional life histories. *Culture and Organization, 19*(2), 146-161.

Pariona, A. (2019, July 18). 'Largest ethnic groups in Uganda'. *WorldAtlas.* Retrieved from https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/largest-ethnic-groups-in-uganda.html

Park, G. (2009). "I listened to Korean society. I always heard that women should be this way…": The negotiation and construction of gendered identities in claiming a dominant language and race in the United States. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 8*(2-3), 174-190.

Park, J. S. Y. (2011). The promise of English: Linguistic capital and the neoliberal worker in the South Korean job market. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 14*(4), 443-455.

Park, J. S. Y. (2017). Transnationalism as interdiscursivity: Korean managers of multinational corporations talking about mobility. *Language in Society, 46*(1), 23-38.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Prah, K. K. (2010). Multilingualism in urban Africa: Bane or blessing. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 5*(2), 169-182.

Preece, S. (2008). Multilingual gendered identities: Female undergraduate students in London talk about heritage languages. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 7*(1), 41-60.

Preece, S. (2016). *The Routledge handbook of language and identity.* London: Routledge.

Procházka, O. (2019). Chronotopic representations as an effect of individuation: The case of the European migrant crisis. *Language in Society, 49*(5), 717-743.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. New York / London: Longman.

Rampton, B. (2007). Neo-Hymesian linguistic ethnography in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 11*(5), 584-607.

Reeves, C. L. (2010). A difficult negotiation: Fieldwork relations with gatekeepers. *Qualitative Research, 10*(3), 315-331.

Reh, M. (2004). Multilingual writing: A reader-oriented typology – with examples from Lina municipality (Uganda). *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 170,* 1-41.

Reyes, V. (2020). Ethnographic toolkit: Strategic positionality and researchers' visible and invisible tools in field research. *Ethnography, 21*(2), 220-240.

Rosa, J. (2016). Racializing language, regimenting Latinas/os: Chronotope, social tense, and American raciolinguistic futures. *Language & Communication, 46,* 106-117.

Sabaté-Dalmau, M. (2018). 'I speak small': Unequal Englishes and transnational identities among Ghanaian migrants. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 15*(4), 365-382.

Sanei, T. (2021). Normativity, power, and agency: On the chronotopic organization of orthographic conventions on social media. *Language in Society*, 1-28.

Sanjek, R. (1990). A vocabulary for fieldnotes. In R. Sanjek (Ed.), *Fieldnotes: The makings of anthropology* (pp. 92-121). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Saussure, F. (2011). *Course in general linguistics* (W. Baskin, Trans.). New York: Columbia University Press. (Original work published 1916).

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (2003). *Discourses in place: Language in the material world.* London: Routledge.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Shohamy, E., Ben-Rafael, E., & Barni, M. (2010). *Linguistic landscape in the city.* Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Siemund, P., & Leimgruber, J. R. E. (2020). *Multilingual global cities: Singapore, Hong Kong, Dubai*. London: Routledge.

Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Simmel, G. (1971). In D. N. Levine (Ed.), *Georg Simmel on individuality and social forms: Selected writings* (pp. 143-150). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sinatora, F. L. (2019). Chronotopes, entextualization and Syrian political activism on Facebook. *Multilingua, 38*(4), 427-458.

Smith, M. (2015). Multilingual practices of Senegalese immigrants in Rome: Construction of identities and negotiation of boundaries. *Italian Culture, 33*(2), 126-146.

Ssempuuma, J. (2011). The emergence of an indigenous language as lingua franca: The case of Luganda in Uganda. In E. A. Anchimbe & S. A. Mforteh (Eds.), *Postcolonial linguistic voices: Identity choices and representations* (pp. 119-142). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Ssentanda, M. E. (2016). Tensions between English medium and mother tongue education in rural Ugandan primary schools. In C. Meierkord, B. Isingoma & S. Namyalo (Eds.), *Ugandan English: Its sociolinguistics, structure and uses in a globalizing post-protectorate* (pp. 95-117). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

State House of Uganda (n.d.). *Past presidents of Uganda.* https://www.statehouse.go.ug/past-presidents/president-sir-edward-luwangula-walugembe-muteesa-ii

Suter, B. (2013). Perceptions, contestations and negotiations on race, ethnicity and gender: The case of Sub-Saharan African migrants in İstanbul. *Ankara University SBF Journal, 68*(1), 59-81.

Szabla, M. (2019). The moral economy of chronotopic identities: A case study in a Polish community in Antwerp. In S. Kroon & J. Swanenberg (Eds.), *Chronotopic identity work: Sociolinguistic analyses of cultural and linguistic phenomena in time and space* (pp. 174-189). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Şaul, M. (2014). A different "kargo": Sub-Saharan migrants in Istanbul and African commerce. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development, 43*(1/2/3), 143-203.

Şaul, M. (2017). The migrant in a plotted adventure: Self-realization and moral obligation in African stories from Istanbul. *Journal of Modern African Studies, 55*(1), 129-153.

Şişli Belediyesi (n.d.). *Şişli tarihçesi.* https://www.sisli.bel.tr/icerik/sisli-tarihcesi

Toğral-Koca, B. (2016). Syrian refugees in Turkey: From "guests" to enemies"?. *New Perspectives on Turkey, 54*, 55-75.

Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu - TÜİK (2018). İlçe tabiiyet ülkesine göre yabancı uyruklu nüfus 31.12.2018 tarihli adrese dayalı nüfus kayıt sistemi sonuçları.

Verne, J. (2012). *Living translocality: Space, culture and economy in contemporary Swahili trade.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(6), 1024-1054.

Vertovec, S. (2009). *Transnationalism*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Vertovec, S. (2010). Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities, contexts and conditions of diversity. *International Social Science Journal, 199*, 83-95.

Vigouroux, C. B. (2015). Genre, heteroglossic performances, and new identity: Stand-up comedy in modern French society. *Language in Society, 44*(2), 243-272.

Wang, P. (2020). 'The words has been immigrate': Chronotopes in context-shaping narrative co-construction about Taiwanese loanwords with Taiwanese Americans. *Language in Society,* 1-22.

Weichselbraun, A. (2014). 'People here speak five languages!": The reindexicalization of minority language practice among Carinthian Slovenes in Vienna, Austria. *Language in Society, 43*(4), 421-444.

White, A. (2011). The mobility of Polish families in the West of England: Translocalism and attitudes to return. *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny, 1*, 11-32.

Whyte, W. F. (1993). *Street corner society: The social structure of an Italian slum.* Chicago: University of Chicago of Press.

Wimmer, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: Nation-state building, migration, and the social sciences. *Global Networks, 2*(4), 301-334.