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Assessing sociolinguistic vitality

An attitudinal study of Rumca (Romeyka)

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Abstract (English)

This thesis assesses the language vitality of Rumca, an endangered Greek variety spoken in the Black Sea region of Turkey. It seeks to identify the factors favouring language shift by means of a comprehensive sociolinguistic study. A language vitality model including eleven internal and external factors has been developed specially for the case of Rumca. As the first study of its kind, vitality of Rumca was assessed by means of an attitudinal study based on the sociolinguistic nature of most of the factors. It is argued that: (i) language vitality differs according to the speech community, (ii) the language of data elicitation affects attitudinal judgements, (iii) language vitality corresponds to the identity function of the language, and (iv) language vitality is influenced by official language policies. The attitudinal study is based on a questionnaire in Turkish which was administered orally during two field trips in 2014. The questionnaire was presented to 22 Rumca speakers who migrated to Istanbul in the 1980s. Comparative data were collected in the village "Canlısu" in Trabzon province and compared to data collected nearby by Sitaridou (2013). The analysis was carried out both qualitatively and quantitatively whereby quantitative analysis controlled for the variables gender, age, education, and speech community. The results show that the vitality of Rumca is poorer than assumed by previous assessments (Moseley 2007, 2010; Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014) due to economic mobility and language policies. Within the study, specific factors, namely Turkish language policy and the identity function of the language were found to be most decisive for the vitality of Rumca in interaction with language attitudes and language competence. Moreover, comparison of speech communities showed that contact with mainstream society and traditional ways of life also have an effect.

Zusammenfassung (deutsch)

Die Studie untersucht die Sprachvitalität von Rumca, einer bedrohten griechischen Varietät, die in der Schwarzmeerregion der Türkei gesprochen wird. Die Arbeit ermittelt auf Basis einer umfassenden soziolinguistischen Studie die Faktoren, die die Sprachbedrohung verursachen. Dazu wurde, speziell für die Situation von Rumca, ein Modell zur Vitalitätsmessung entwickelt, welches elf sprachinterne sowie -externe Faktoren berücksichtigt. Angesichts der soziolinguistischen Natur der Vitalitätsfaktoren misst die Arbeit - als erste ihrer Art - die Sprachvitalität von Rumca mittels einer Einstellungsstudie, die auf folgenden Vorannahmen basiert: (i) die Sprache der Datenerhebung beeinflusst die elizierten Einstellungen, (ii) die Sprachvitalität variiert je nach Sprachgemeinschaft, (iii) sie korrespondiert mit der Identitätsfunktion der Sprache sowie (iv) wird durch die öffentliche Sprachpolitik beeinflusst. Diese Einstellungsstudie basiert auf einem Fragebogen in Türkisch, mit dessen Hilfe während zwei Feldaufenthalten 2014 mündlich Daten von 22 Romeyka-Sprechern, die 1980 nach Istanbul migrierten, erhoben wurden. Daten einer Kontrollgruppe wurden in dem Dorf ‚Canlısu' in der Provinz Trabzon erhoben und mit denen von Sitaridou (2013) aus derselben Region verglichen. Sowohl qualitative als auch quantitative Analysen berücksichtigen die Variablen

Geschlecht, Alter, Ausbildung und Sprachgemeinschaft. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Vitalität von Romeyka aufgrund von ökonomischer Mobilität und Migration sowie der türkischen Sprachpolitik deutlich schlechter ist, als durch vorherige Einschätzungen angenommen (Moseley 2007, 2010; Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014). Sprachpolitik und Identitätsfunktion der Sprache wurden, im Zusammenspiel mit Spracheinstellungen und Sprachkompetenz der Sprecher, als die einflussreichsten Vitalitätsfaktoren ermittelt. Der Vergleich der Sprachgemeinschaften zeigt weiterhin, dass auch der Kontakt zur türkischen Mehrheitsgesellschaft sowie traditionelle Lebensweisen einen Einfluss auf die Sprachvitalität haben.

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0 Acknowledgements

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1 Introduction

Language vitality and language endangerment give an impression of the circumstances under which languages live beyond their linguistic and typological features. Language vitality is concerned with the social environment in which language functions and so its assessment is necessarily understood here as a sociolinguistical investigation. This thesis aims to provide a comprehensive vitality assessment of Rumca (Romeyka), an endangered language, by means of an analysis of the sociolinguistic factors shaping the language's situation. The research questions of the thesis are: (i) What is the language vitality of Rumca? and (ii) What are the factors specific to the Rumca linguistic situation that affect vitality?

Language vitality assessment is deemed necessary as it provides a basis for language documentation: First, it allows us to examine the factors endangering a particular language, which give evidence on how to proceed e.g. with revitalization or documentation, and to reveal the time remaining for documentation. Language vitality measurement was well-investigated by prior research, in terms of a quantitative classification of endangered languages (for earlier vitality measurements see Fishman 1991, Grimes 2000, Brenzinger et al. 2003, Russell 2001, Edwards 1992, Landweer 2000). As most of the earlier frameworks aimed for a comparative vitality classification of the world's endangered languages, they provided a quantitative means of measurement for a restricted number of factors (out of which mostly language transmission was considered the most influential factor, e.g. Fishman 1991). A comprehensive vitality assessment, however, cannot be carried out on the basis of one single factor. In line with Brenzinger et al. (2003), vitality factors are understood here as a network of interrelated sociolinguistic factors constituting language vitality in interaction. Furthermore, the factors affecting language vitality vary according to the particular setting of a language. Thus, language vitality measurement is understood here as a matter of qualitative assessment of relevant sociolinguistic factors rather than a framework for quantitative vitality classification. As a consequence, the present study aims to assess vitality by considering the following assumptions. The factors influencing language vitality...

(i) … are mainly sociolinguistic in nature,

(ii) … need to be assessed qualitatively in order to arrive at a comprehensive picture,

(iii) … constitute language vitality in interaction with each other,

(iv) … differ according to the unique situation of a particular language.

Second, language vitality assessment of Rumca (other terms (Muslim) Pontic Greek, Romeyka)[1] is the first of its kind especially in attempting comprehensive sociolinguistical investigation (Özkan 2013, but cf. previous work by Bortone 2009, Sitaridou 2013). After initial descriptions of Pontic Greek and, in part, Rumca (Romeyka) grammar in the 19th c. CE by Parcharidis (1880, 1888) and Deffner (1878), Rumca (Romeyka) was rediscovered almost a hundred years later by Mackridge (1987, 1995, 1996), who carried out field work on Ophitic spoken in Sarachos (tr. Uzungöl) in the 1980s (but consider also Dawkins 1931, 1937). In 2006, Sitaridou started to investigate the infinitive in Romeyka following a meeting with Mackridge in Oxford (see Sitaridou 2007). Currently, she runs a Romeyka documentation project at British Academy (#SRG-102639).[2] Further research on Rumca (Romeyka) was carried out by Bortone (2009) and Özkan (2013). The language has been classified as endangered by various sources (Moseley 2007, 2010; Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014). These classifications, however, are vague and defective. A major problem is the highly diasporic nature of Rumca (Romeyka). Thus, it is questionable whether we can generalise about the vitality of the language given its highly diasporic nature. The present study will focus on a vitality assessment of a Rumca community living in Istanbul since the 1980s. We use Milroy & Milroy's (1985) "Social Network Theory" in order to explain differences in language vitality in different speech communities. The theory argues that the strength of community networks affects language change.

Rumca is worth documenting as is exhibits striking typological features, preserved archaic features, and represents a long (contact) history in the area (Sitaridou 2013, 2014a, 2014b, and references therein). Its sociolinguistic situation is particularly interesting due to the interference of Turkish language policies which, as will be argued, affects language attitudes and the identity of speakers (Bortone 2009, Özkan 2013, Sitaridou 2013). The concept of identity is understood here in line with LePage & Tabouret-Keller's (1985) "Acts of Identity" within which it is argued that speakers create various identities by means of their linguistic repertoire. Identity is considered an important factor for language maintenance in accordance with Giles, Bourhis & Taylor's (1977) "Ethnolinguistic vitality" which claims that a language is maintained as a symbol of distinct ethnic group belonging. Given the sociolinguistic nature of most vitality factors, the present study assesses language vitality by means of an attitudinal survey. Attitudes are understood here to affect language behaviour (cf. Korth 2005). Therefore, they are indicative for language maintenance and are suitable for uncovering the

[1] On glossonymic remarks see Chapter 2.1.
[2] See also the website of the Project *www.romeyka.org* and the references there [accessed on 08/10/2015].

relations between vitality factors. As a comprehensive vitality assessment of Rumca by means of an attitudinal survey, this study is the first of its kind and has been anticipated by research (Özkan 2013).

Within this thesis it will be argued that:

I. Vitality assessment of the Istanbulite community does not necessarily apply to other speech communities equally (cf. Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015). The language vitality of Istanbulite Rumca is expected to be worse than the language vitality in the villages (cf. Sitaridou 2013).
II. Language vitality is related to the identity function of the language (cf. Tabouret-Keller 1997, Lewis & Simons 2010). As a consequence, the name speakers give to their language is related to language vitality.
III. Turkish language policies affect language vitality by influencing language attitudes and identity.
IV. Language use yields positive attitudes towards this language. Consequently, the fact that Turkish is the language of data collection affects attitudinal judgements (cf. Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015).

First, background information on Rumca (Romeyka) is provided: its genealogical classification, a brief overview over its striking grammatical features, the contact situation, and the speech community. The development of the vitality framework starts with a summary of earlier language vitality assessment efforts on the basis of which a list of eleven vitality factors, suitable in particular to the situation of Rumca, has been developed. This set of factors will be examined using the Istanbulite Rumca community in the study in Chapter 4, starting with an outline of the methodology of the study, data collection, and the informant sample. Thereafter, the results of the study will be presented by means of qualitative analysis together with selected quantitative analyses, in which several vitality factors are summarized in five sub-chapters. Chapter 5 discusses Turkish language policies as an important influencing factor. Finally, the sociolinguistic vitality of Istanbulite Rumca will be summarized, together with the identification of the most crucial vitality factors.

2 Background: Romeyka

2.1 Remarks on glossonomy

A few glossonymic and terminological remarks are in order. “Rumca” is how its speakers refer to their variety when they speak in Turkish. It consists of the Greek root “Rum” and the *-ca* suffix marking languages in Turkish. The stem “Rum/Rom” refers to the Roman Empire indicating affiliation to Roman descend and is adopted in Turkish too. As Özkan (2013) states, the use of the term “Rumca” may be confusing as the term is used in Turkey also for the Greek variety spoken in Istanbul by Orthodox Christians, the variety of descendants of Muslim Cretans who migrated to Turkey in the 19th/20th centuries, Cypriote Greek, and other Asia Minor varieties such as Cappadocian which is no longer spoken in Turkey but was rediscovered by Mark Janse in Greece in 2005 (Özkan 2013). The term “Yunan” which means “Greek” is not used for any Greek minority of Turkey as it refers solely to inhabitants of Greece. “Yunanca” is the Turkish term for Greek in Greece. Additionally, “Romeyka” is the term used for the language under consideration in recent research (Sitaridou and her British Academy Project). It is the name speakers use to refer to their language when actually speaking it. However, “Romeyka” is not an ideal term, either, as it was commonly used in colloquial Greek up to the 20th century in order to refer to vernacular Modern Greek in Asia Minor (Sitaridou 2014b). Therefore, Pontic speakers in Greece today as well as the speakers of Greek varieties spoken in Istanbul and around the Black Sea call themselves “romeic”. However, as Sitaridou[3] argues, the term “Romeyka” is suitable as it fulfils the academic practice of representing a term speakers use themselves as well as it differentiates by spelling between the different Greek varieties spoken outside Greece.

This thesis will use the term “Rumca” when referring to the language under study in the Istanbulite speech community because this seems to be used even when speakers speak Romeyka and they refer to their language. So the language under study is “Rumca”, following the denotation speakers themselves use for their language. However, when referring to the variety in linguistic terms, the name “Romeyka” will be used in line with current research. Furthermore, it will be argued in this thesis that the name speakers give to their language gives testimony to differences in language vitality (see also Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015).

It is, however, important to mention that prior investigators of the language also used other labels such as “Pontic Greek” or “Muslim Pontic Greek” (Mackridge 1987, Drettas 1997, Brendemoen 2006, Özkan 2013). These labels denote the genealogical descent of the

[3] http://www.romeyka.org/the-romeyka-project/rediscovering-romeyka [accessed on 07/09/2015].

language but are, in line with Sitaridou, not consistent with the way the speakers refer to themselves and their language; for this always the term "Romeyka" has been used. Moreover, spelling and pronunciation variations of the term "Romeyka" occur like "Rumayka" (Bortone 2009) or "Ro(u)ma(e)ika".[4] In this thesis, following Sitaridou's (2013) terminology the term "Romeyka" is used when referring to the Greek speaking enclaves in Pontus today. For diatopic varieties, "Romeyka" is used followed by the location of the dialect e.g. Romeyka of Of (cf. "Ophitic", Mackridge 1987), Romeyka of Sürmene, Romeyka of Tonya with further specifications if needed for instance Romeyka of Of (Çaykara) as spoken in the village of "Anasta"[5].

2.2 Classification and historical development

Romeyka is a variety[6] of Pontic Greek (henceforth PG) which in turn is a branch of Asia Minor Greek (see Figure 1). A regional koine Greek spoken in Asia Minor and adjacent islands led to distinctive developments of Asia Minor Greek around 400 CE (Dawkins 1931, Sitaridou 2014b). Romeyka is derived from Proto-Pontic of Hellenistic times and medieval Pontic around the 14th-16th c. CE (Sitaridou 2014b). Sitaridou (2014b) claims that Romeyka was already a conservative medieval variety with archaic Hellenistic features when it became detached from other Greek varieties, probably in the 11th c. CE (Dawkins 1931), which explains the maintenance of medieval features in Romeyka which have been lost in other Greek varieties. Features of Romeyka that differ from PG have been either characterized as archaisms or attributed to Turkish influence (Brendemoen 2006) though the latter is questionable (see e.g. the discussion about the Romeyka infinitive in Sitaridou 2014b). After Islamisation in the 16th/17th c. CE, the Muslim variety is assumed to have become isolated from Christian Pontic Greek and other Greek vernaculars (Sitaridou 2014b). It is, however, arguable whether a distinct Muslim variety existed prior to the expulsion of Christian Pontic speakers from Pontus in 1923 (but cf. Sitaridou 2014b).

[4] For spelling complications in Greek see *www.romeyka.org*.
[5] The village in the Çaykara district where Sitaridou carried out research is for reasons of anonymity referred to as "Anasta".
[6] Note that there have been some remarks in literature about whether to call Pontic a Greek variety or a distinct language. Some scholars consider Pontic a separate language on the criterion of distinct structures and mutual intelligibility which is not fully given between Romeyka and Standard Modern Greek. For a more detailed discussion on the "language-or-dialect issue" see Bortone (2009).

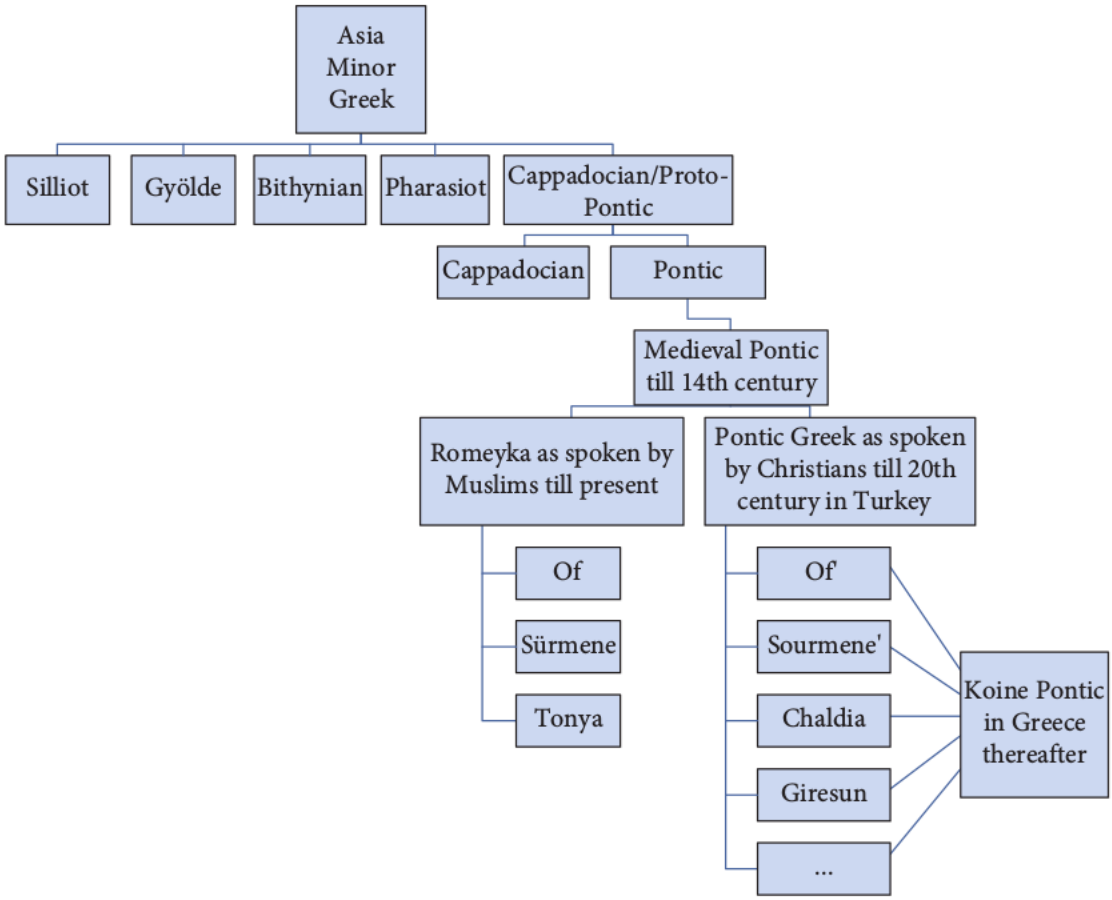

Figure 1: Genealogical tree of Romeyka (Sitaridou 2013:101, based on Dawkins 1916:204)

Greek has been spoken in Asia Minor since antiquity. It is doubtful whether the Ionic Greek of the first colonizers replaced the area's native languages Hittite and Luvian or whether these languages were already endangered by contact with, for example, Kartvelian languages (Sitaridou 2014). Pontus was firstly inhabited by Greeks in around 7th c. BCE (Sitaridou 2014). Christianisation of the region took place around the 4th c. CE and facilitated the expansion of Greek (Sitaridou 2014). In this time, large numbers of early Turkish settlers converted to Christianity and learned Greek as it was then the majority language (Brendemoen 2006). Due to the unclear contact situation in early times, another theory favoured by many Turkish scholars claims that Muslim Pontic Greeks are in fact Turks that acquired the Greek language and culture (Umur 1951) as opposed to converted Greeks (Andrews 1989).[7] Pontus remained stable between the 4th and 10th c. CE in the margins of the Byzantine Empire (Sitaridou 2014). Turks entered the Black Sea region in the middle of the

[7] Greek scholars may at the same time consider Pontic Greeks as Crypto-Christians who adopted the Muslim faith only officially in order to remain in Turkey for property reasons (Brendemoen 2002, on Crypto-Christians see Fotiadis 1985).

14th century. Turkisation happened after the Fall of Trebizond in 1461 (Brendemoen 2002, Sitaridou 2014) when the area was integrated into the Ottoman Empire. Until Islamisation, Turks settled secluded in uninhabited mountainous areas (Brendemoen 2002). Islamisation took place in the 15th-18th centuries[8] when great parts of the Greek Orthodox population became Muslim for economic and practical reasons (Brendemoen 2006). Mackridge (1987) reports that by 1613, Muslim households in the valley of Of were in the minority and the linguistic situation was rather fluid, with some Turkish settlers becoming Greek-speaking since Greek was then the majority language. According to Sitaridou (2013), however, contact between the two religious groups remained marginal (but cf. Brendemoen 2002, 2006 for Greek-Turkish language interaction). At the end of the Ottoman period, resentments against Christian minorities increased. The Treaty of Lausanne, passed in 1923 after the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922, regularised a population exchange between Turkey and Greece: several hundreds of thousands of Christian Pontic Greeks had to leave Turkey and were resettled in Northern Greece. Aside from other migration processes in the 19th century, this population exchange reflected the biggest exodus of the Greek-speaking community in Pontus, leaving few Muslim Greek speakers remaining by the Black Sea and the adsorption of the bigger Christian community in Greece. Outside Turkey, varieties of Pontic Greek (and possibly of Romeyka) are spoken in Greece (300,000)[9], Georgia (60,000)[10], Armenia (2,500)[10], the Russian Federation (40,000)[10], and in diaspora mainly in Germany and the US.

2.3 Diatopic variation

Due to the isolated location of Romeyka in the Pontic mountains, there is a large amount of micro-variation in terms of phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic features (Mackridge 1987, Özkan 2013, Sitaridou 2014b). Internal variation in Rumca mainly encompasses three sub-dialects (Figure 2): Romeyka of Of (Çaykara), Romeyka of Sürmene, and Romeyka of Tonya (Sitaridou 2013). Other scholars differentiated only between two dialect groups, Romeyka of Çaykara (Ophitic) and Tonya (see Mackridge 1987, Özkan 2013, Brendemoen 2002). Some of the particular features of Romeyka are only found in certain varieties (Mackridge 1987; Bortone 2009; Özkan 2013; Sitaridou 2014a, 2014b). The sub-

[8] Sitaridou (2014b) reports Islamisation of the cities of Of, Sürmene, and Rize in the 16th/17th c. CE.
[9] Number according to Drettas (1999).
[10] Numbers from Moseley (2007), who notes that some Greek dialects spoken in Georgia and Armenia may have been derived from Cappadadocian and assimilated towards Pontic Greek. For research on Pontic Greek in Georgia see the VW Project "The impact of current transformational processes on language and ethnic identity: Urum and Pontic Greeks in Georgia".

variety Romeyka of Çaykara is argued by Mackridge (1987) to retained more conservative features than other varieties (e.g. ancient forms of the definite article).

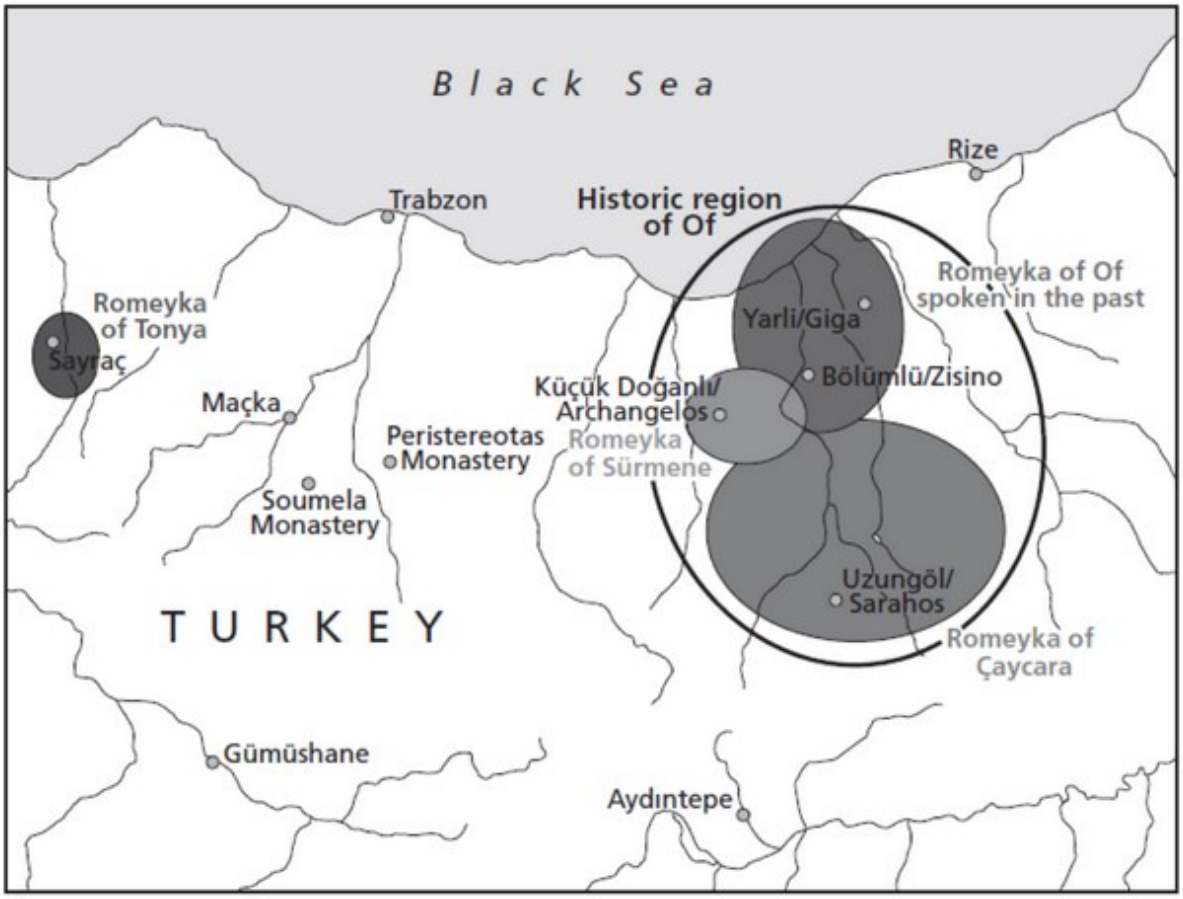

Figure 2: Three sub-dialects of Romeyka (from Sitaridou 2013:99)

2.4 Contact languages and linguistic landscape of Pontus

It is not clear whether Pontic Greek has been in contact with Indo-European adstrate languages such as Hittite and Persian, which were spoken in Anatolia in ancient times (Brendemoen 2002). Until the arrival of the Turks, indigenous Caucasian tribes settled in the area of Trabzon which probably influenced PG (Brendmoen 2002). Turkish (i.e. Old Anatolian Turkish) entered the area of Trabzon at the beginning of the 13th c. CE and probably became the majority language during the Islamisation waves (Brendemoen 2002). Since then Pontic has been in contact with Ottoman which was highly influenced by Persian and Arabic. Brendemoen (2002) highlights especially the great influence PG had on the Turkish vernacular of Trabzon. In the 15th c. CE, Albanians from the Peloponnese were deported to Trabzon, with Bosnians and Muslim Bulgarians also having resided in the Region. The numbers of these groups may have been marginal, apart of exerting influence

(Brendemoen 2002). Other contact languages of the region include Armenian; Hemshin, a variety of Armenian spoken by Muslims; and Laz, a Kartvelian language related to Georgian. Laz is suspected of having exerted a substrate influence on PG (Sitaridou 2013) and Laz and other Black Sea people share an old common culture which is present in the use of the term *Laz* as synonym for Black Sea people, dialect, and culture (Brendemoen 2002; Bortone 2009; Drettas 1997, 1999). Sitaridou (2013) states that in recent years, besides Turkish, Kurdish, Georgian, and Russian are spoken in the region when guest workers come to help with the harvest during the summer months. In recent years, Arabic tourists have come to the Pontic Alps in summer.

2.5 Speech community

2.5.1 Number of speakers

The Rumca-speaking community in the Black Sea Area consists of approximately 5,000 speakers, the majority of whom are Muslim (Mackridge 1987, Andrews 1989). The last number available reports 4,535 speakers and stems from the 1965 census held in the province of Trabzon, which differentiated lastly according to mother tongue (see *Genel Nüfus Sayımı 1965*). Özkan (2013) considers this number to be vague since Rumca speakers might have stated Turkish as their mother tongue and because it does not record migration (for further critical remarks see Mackridge 1987, Brendemoen 2002). Moreover, in comparison with the number of inhabitants of Romeyka-speaking villages, the number of speakers must have been considerably higher (Özkan 2013). The number of speakers was estimated by respondents of the present study as between 1,000 and 5,000 speakers. They report, however, that the number of Rumca-speaking villages has decreased due to migration (1).[11]

(1) *Trabzon'da bazı köylerinde konuşuluyor. Diğer köylerde de varmış ama unutulmuş. Çaykaran'ın yüz yırmı köyü var. Yüz yırmı köyünden hemen hemen yetmişinde konuşuluyor.* F50

"[Rumca] is spoken in some villages at Trabzon. It was also spoken in the other villages but it has been forgotten. Çaykara has 120 villages. Rumca is more or less spoken in 70 of 120 villages."

Estimating a meaningful number of speakers is difficult because Romeyka speakers identify themselves with both Turkish and Romeyka, as will be argued below. In addition, acknowledging Romeyka identity is a sensitive topic as Turkish policies facilitate negative

[11] For a list of Romeyka speaking villages see Andrews (1989).

attitudes toward minorities. Therefore, Romeyka speakers may strive to deny a distinct ethnic identity. Finally, estimating the number of Romeyka speakers is difficult due to the diasporic nature of Romeyka: speech communities exist in other Turkish cities, such as the Istanbulite community whose vitality will be assessed below, as well as abroad, for example in Germany (Özkan 2013) and probably also in other European countries, former Soviet Union countries, and the US.

2.5.2 Group identity

All Romeyka speakers are of the Muslim faith, which is an essential marker of their identity (Bortone 2009). Furthermore, they have a strong Turkish national identity and do not consider themselves in any way as Greek (Bortone 2009, Özkan 2013). Sitaridou (2013) states, however, that they have a strong sense of cultural identity. Cultural identity is expressed by regional markers such as food (e.g. *karalahana* "green cabbage"), musical instruments (e.g. the *kemence*), dance (i.e. *horon*), and festivals, which take place every summer. Acknowledgement of regional cultural differences is widespread in Turkish society and is defined by the word *memleket* ("homeland") which functions as a distinct marker of cultural identity. The fact that Romeyka speakers deny any distinct ethnic identity leads to them having no political ambitions (Bortone 2009, Mackridge 1987, Sitaridou 2013). Their desired and virtual similarity to the Turkish mainstream leads to them having weak group boundaries and, for instance, loosing marriage patterns which do not favour a distinct group identity.

2.5.3 Location, geography, and traditional lifestyle

Language use and the cultural practices of the community are influenced by its geographical location in the Pontic mountains (Brendemoen 2006). The Pontic Chain runs parallel to the coastline and rivers cut valleys from north to south in which the villages are located. Administrative centres are located at the river mouths into the Black Sea where harbours were for long the only way to reach to the rest of the country (Özkan 2013). The mountain ridge reaches heights of 4,000m which makes passage between the valleys or to Central Anatolia difficult (Brendemoen 2006). Villagers went to the district centres at the shore for the weekly markets. Otherwise, life concentrated on the villages at the mountain sides where traditional work practices coincide with Romeyka language use. The language contains many terms for regional plants, products and traditional working tools which do not have direct Turkish

equivalents. During the summer months, the transhumant villagers drove their animals to the mountain pastures where different communities met (Brendemoen 2006)[12] and which are still an important part of traditional cultural life in the region, for example during the festivals which are held there in the summer.[13] Mobility increased slowly as bridges and roads were only built from the 1960s onwards. The coastal highway to Ankara and Istanbul was completed after the Second World War (Özkan 2013). This geographical situation caused high micro-variation. Moreover, the remoteness of the speech community and religion-induced isolation from Christian villages led to the development of distinct features and the preservation of ancient linguistic structures[14] in Romekya (Sitaridou 2013).

2.5.4 Mobility and migration

Emigration from the Black Sea started before labour migration took place in the 20th century. Christian Pontic Greeks emigrated to Southern Russia and Caucasia in the 18th and 19th centuries and relocated to Greece more recently (Moseley 2007). At the end of the Ottoman period in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when resentments against the Christian minorities in Turkey increased, migration took place to the US, Southern Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Greece where communities still exist (Brendemoen 2002). In the 1950s migration to urban centres in Turkey started mostly for economic reasons (see Özkan 2013). In the 1960s, people from the Black Sea went to Germany and other European countries as guest workers. Most Romeyka speakers who have migrated to bigger cities in Turkey return in summer and stay at least three months (the length of the summer holidays) at the pasture houses for recreation and farming. However, demographic mobility is high and many houses in the villages are vacant: a respondent reported that eight out of ten houses in her home village are at least temporarily vacant. In recent years, the area was developed for touristic purposes, new houses are built on the pastures, and visitors come from all over Turkey and abroad. Furthermore, private houses are being newly built on the pastures and people migrating to Istanbul in the 1980s plan to return to the village after retirement. However, due to weak economic opportunities in the villages, migration is still a threatening factor for traditional ways of life in Pontus (Brendemoen 2002). Bortone (2009) identifies the following macro-sociological factors that have threatened the language: upward social and economic

[12] As Brendemoen (2006) outlines, contact of different speech communities at the pastures may have led to Turkish speakers acquiring Greek as the language of their neighbours.
[13] For a more detailed description of the traditional lifestyle see Özkan (2013).
[14] Note that isolation of the region also caused rather conservative features in the Turkish dialects here when compared to dialects in Central Anatolia (Brendemoen 2006).

mobility, urbanization, and loss of the traditional lifestyle. Similarly, Yağmur (2001) identifies four aspects threatening the linguistic vitality of minority languages in Turkey: (i) domestic migration from rural to urban areas, (ii) education, (iii) influence of mass media, and (iv) Turkish military service, where everyone is obliged to learn Turkish (see also Andrews 1989).

3 Language vitality assessment

Language vitality is indicated by the amount of language use determined by an interplay of factors and warrants language maintenance. Language vitality can be assessed by means of an examination of the factors affecting language use or the lack thereof. The factors affecting language vitality differ only marginally from the factors indicating language endangerment. Therefore, language endangerment and vitality can be equalized whereby language endangerment represents the absence of language maintenance. Brenzinger et al. (2003) define a language as endangered "when its speakers cease to use it, use it in fewer and fewer communicative domains, and cease to pass it on from one generation to the next". Language endangerment can be caused by external forces as natural catastrophes but it more likely occurs after language shift. Therefore, language endangerment can be understood as language shift (Karan 2000). Instead of being a matter of maintenance or death, language vitality can be rather understood as the continuum between stable vitality, the change in process due to language contact, the radical shift in process, and death (Landweer 2000). Languages can be endangered with regard to some factors but be promoted by others at the same time.

Language vitality assessment serves as pre-estimation for language documentation and assesses the sociolinguistic factors influencing language use. It helps define the problems and needs of a particular language and the type of support needed for language maintenance or revitalization. It aims to overcome the threats of language endangerment which are linked to the loss of culture with its own way of acting and patterns of thought. The fact that language is associated with cultural, ethnic or national identity makes language endangerment a matter of endangered self-determination, and personal freedom and minority rights a matter of political or cultural autonomy. Thieberger (1990) examines seven reasons for the maintenance of Australian Aboriginal languages, including the preservation of linguistic resources, language maintenance as part of cultural maintenance, social cohesion, identity, diversity, social justice, and individual well-being (cf. Crystal 2000). Although political autonomy is often a motor to language promotion, social justice and preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity provide the strongest justifications for language maintenance. However, it needs to be taken into account that language shift includes social and economical benefits which lead speakers to abandon their language. Language shift needs to be understood as a long-term consequence of language choice within the speech community (Sallabank 2011), something that can be affected by various forces. Consequently, identification of the processes causing language shift leads to both social justice and to an advanced understanding of the mechanisms of language.

3.1 Brief history of language vitality assessment efforts

Language vitality assessment is a well-investigated topic. The most commonly used frameworks are those of Fishman (1991), the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 2000), and UNESCO (Brenzinger et al. 2003). Language vitality assessment developed from a catalogue of factors, leading to comparative vitality assessment aiming to provide a comprehensive means of measurement that serves all languages equally (Sallabank 2011). The aim of a comparative framework led to the development of vitality indices classifying language vitality by quantitatively assessing the variables.[15] Later, in order to provide an explanation of the gained results, vitality assessment developed towards a more fine-grained methodology: it started to take sociological factors into consideration and apply ethnographic research methods in order to explain changes and their causes (cf. i.a. Giles et al. 1977, Fishman 1991, Edwards 1992, Landweer 2000). Recent research agrees that language vitality typology cannot provide evidence for all languages at the same time: each language needs to be treated separately according to the variables that are most meaningful to it. Below, the most common vitality assessment approaches will be briefly sketched out in order of their appearance, i.e. (i) Giles, Bourhis & Taylor's (1977) "Ethnolinguistic vitality", (ii) Fishman's (1991) GIDS, (iii) the Ethnologue's system (Grimes 2000), (iv) the UNESCO's factors (Brenzinger et al. 2003), and (v) Lewis & Simons' (2010) EGIDS. Two other influential approaches, those of Landweer (2000) and Edwards (1992), are not outlined in detail here but have nonetheless contributed to the development of the vitality factors for Rumca. Landweer (2000) provides a framework for ethnolinguistic vitality measurement, consisting of eight stages on population and group dynamics. Edwards (1992) adds a typology of the external setting of language endangerment (cf. "Ecology of Language", Haugen 1972), taking the impact of factors as demography, sociology, psychology, religion, politics and economics, geography, and history into consideration.

3.1.1 Giles, Bourhis & Taylor's (1977) "Ethnolinguistic vitality"

One of the early methodologies of vitality measurement was the concept of "Ethnolinguistic vitality" by Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977) who described the vitality of ethnic groups based on intergroup relations and language as a marker of ethnolinguistic identity. Ethnolinguistic vitality is defined as "the conditions under which an ethnic group will maintain its language as

[15] Cf. the "Language Endangerment Index" of the *Endangered Languages Catalogue* (2015) or Brenzinger et al.'s (2003) "Language vitality index".

a symbol of a distinctive and collective ethnic identity" (Deumert 2004: 356). The framework is based on three sociostructural variables: status/prestige, demographic strength, and institutional support. On the basis of these factors, ethnolinguistic groups are assigned low, medium or high vitality, whereby low vitality is likely to lead to language assimilation and high vitality may indicate language maintenance. The model was extended in the 1980s to include group members' subjective vitality perceptions, resulting in the "Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire" (Bourhis et al. 1981).

3.1.2 Fishman's (1991) "Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale" (GIDS)

One of the most influential methodologies for measuring the vitality stems from Fishman (1991). The framework applies a social-psychological approach and considers language transmission the most important factor for language survival. It consists of eight stages for assessing language loss or disruption (where 8 is the worst case and 1 fairly safe) focusing on language shift and its reversal (see Table A.1 in Appendix A). The first six levels (1-6) focus on language maintenance by means of official function, domains of use, and literacy whereas only the last two levels (7 & 8) concentrate on lack of transmission. Besides the focus on literacy, criticism has pointed to the emphasis on language maintenance instead of endangerment and the less fine-grained differentiation at the upper end of the scale (see Lewis & Simons 2010, Dwyer 2011).

3.1.3 Ethnologue's evaluative system for language vitality (14th ed., Grimes 2000)

The *Ethnologue*'s vitality evaluation system consists of a five-level scale used in *Ethnologue* since the 14th edition (Grimes 2000). It seeks specifically to provide a typological classification of language endangerment of the world's languages (Obiero 2010). It considers both first- and second-language speakers with a focus on population size and ethnic identity (see Table A.2). The model was improved by Lewis & Simons (2010) in the EGIDS.

3.1.4 UNESCO's Factors for Language Vitality and Endangerment (Brenzinger et al. 2003)

The UNESCO vitality framework has been very influential as it conceptualises the factors indicative of language vitality or loss and highlights the role of speakers and language use over time (Obiero 2010). The UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Section's Ad Hoc

Expert Group on Endangered Languages developed in 2003 lists nine vitality factors which are assumed to be language threatening and characterize the overall sociolinguistic situation of a language (see Figure 3). The factors are divided into three main topics: (i) major evaluative factors of language vitality, (ii) language attitudes and policies, and (iii) urgency for documentation[16]. Though the framework focuses on domains of language use and intergenerational transmission, the authors emphasize the interplay of factors such as military, economic, religious, cultural or educational subjugation and the importance of internal forces such as language attitudes.

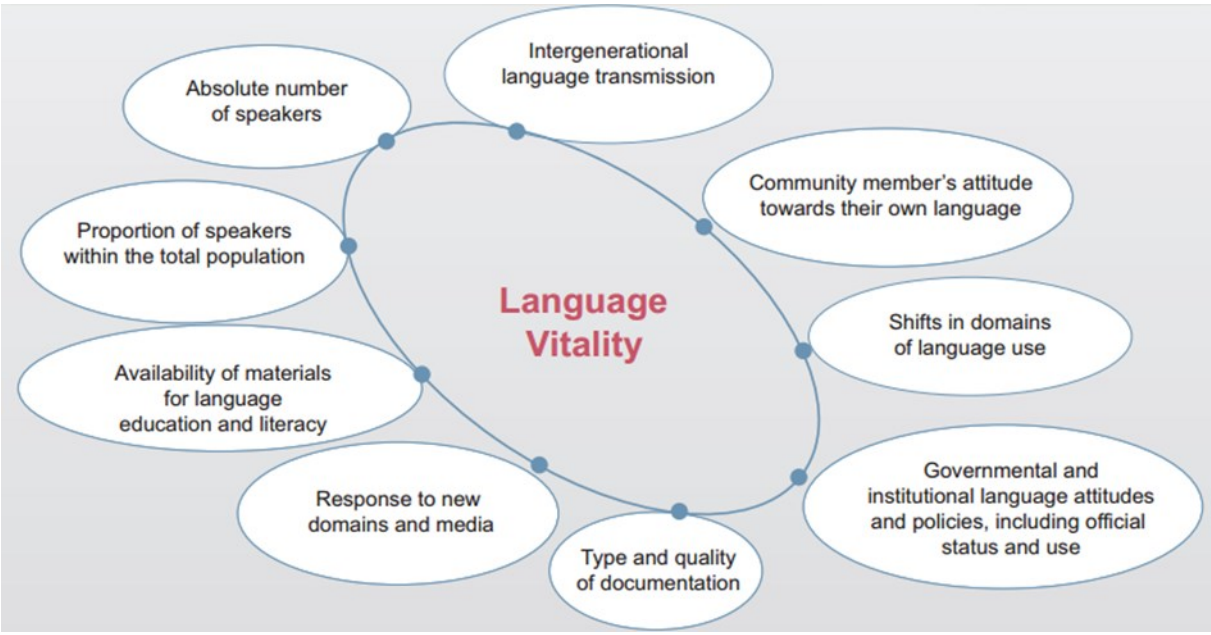

Figure 3: UNESCO's Language vitality and endangerment assessment methodology (Brenzinger et al. 2003)

In addition, the paper provides a "Language Vitality Index" which evaluates the significance of the factors for a particular language and allows for classification. Every vitality factor can be ranked on a 0-5 scale running from language shift (0) to language vitality (5). However, the paper emphasizes the importance of a purpose-related evaluative vitality measurement rather than a simple adding up of the numbers. Furthermore, it suggests that self-assessment of speakers should be considered together with external evaluation of language vitality.

[16] The factor "Urgency for Documentation" does not constitute a vitality index as it does not affect the vitality of a language (Obiero 2010). However, it is useful for assessing progress in language maintenance.

3.1.5 Lewis & Simons' (2010) Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

The EGIDS is based on the GIDS, UNESCO, and *Ethnologue* frameworks as the mostly used ones. It adds a comprehensive component which allows for application of the model to all languages for a global assessment of the vitality of the world's languages. Furthermore, it aims to simplify the assessment by omitting external factors such as number of speakers, language policies, existing documentation, and language attitudes (Dwyer 2011). Like Fishman's (1991) GIDS, it focuses on disruption of language transmission, domains of use, and literacy. The EGIDS displays 13 stages consisting of an extension of the GIDS factors, with a more nuanced description of the levels and an addition of sub-points (see Table A.3). Furthermore, it takes the UNESCO stages into consideration (Lewis & Simons 2010). The numbering of the levels, however, corresponds to Fishman's GIDS. The EGIDS levels are hierarchical in nature, with higher levels entailing the characteristics of lower levels. At the end of the scale, it adds two levels concerning ethnic identity. As the sociolinguistic variable of ethnic identity is considered one of the key functions of language, it is a strong indicator of language vitality. Therefore, Lewis & Simons (2010) developed an additional identity function model which distinguishes between the historical, heritage, home and vehicular functions of a language. They suggest a more detailed vitality assessment than the EGIDS by considering five key issues: the identity function of a language, vehicularity, intergenerational transmission, literacy acquisition status, and societal use profile (Lewis & Simons 2010).[17]

3.2 Earlier vitality classifications of Romeyka

Romeyka has been previously classified as an endangered language, with different levels of endangerment within various frameworks. The main problem of these vitality classifications derives from the lack of differentiation between Romeyka and Pontic Greek. Accordingly, the number of speakers and other vitality factors have been wrongly assessed, resulting in inadequate evaluation. Earlier vitality classifications of Romeyka by the UNESCO framework, Ethnologue, Moseley (2007), and the Endangered Languages Project will be briefly outlined below.

[17] Later on, a further framework corresponding to the EGIDS levels was developed by SIL in the context of the Sustainable Use Model (SUM) with the FAMED conditions aiming to address the conditions impeding language maintenance. The FAMED conditions consist of five interrelated vitality factors: language functions, acquisition, motivation, environment, and differentiation, i.e. the existence of domains where solely the minority language is used [http://www.ethnologue.com/ethnoblog/m-paul-lewis/sustainable-language-use, accessed on 08/10/2015].

According to the UNESCO's *Interactive Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010), Pontic Greek is "definitely endangered". However, Moseley (2010) does not differentiate between Pontic Greek and Muslim Pontic in Turkey. Accordingly, the number of speakers of PG is estimated at 300,000, including those in diaspora. The data stem from Drettas (1997). As the UNESCO vitality classification is based on the factor "Intergenerational Language Transmission", a "definitely endangered" status is defined as "children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home" and is located in the middle of the scale (see Table A.4).

Moseley's (2007) *Encyclopedia of the World's Endangered Languages* assesses the vitality of "Pontic Greek in Turkey" with the grade "seriously/severely endangered with the youngest fluent speakers being among the older generation aged fifty and over, implying a loss of prestige and social value over a generation ago". According to Moseley (2007), Pontic Greek in Greece is regarded as more endangered than in Turkey whereas PG in Russia and Caucasia is considered more robust. This is explained by the fact that Pontic Greek in Greece is considered an outlying dialect of Pontic, fulfilling solely symbolic functions. The Encyclopedia classifies language endangerment by means of a five-grade scale starting with "potentially endangered" and reaching to "extinct" (see Table A.5). The levels include factors like prestige, economic and social status, education, transmission, and age and number of speakers. These are based on the information given in the language entry.

The Endangered Languages Project regards the vitality of Pontic as "threatened" (with 100 percent certainty) based on the information given at the Encyclopedia of the World's Endangered Languages.[18] The project is an online resource to share information and research on endangered languages. It classifies language endangerment according to the "Language Endangerment Index" (LEI) which provides a score for each language together with the level of certainty. The language endangerment scale reaches from 0-5 (safe - critically endangered) for each of the four categories: intergenerational transmission, absolute speaker number, speaker trends, and domains of use (see Table A.6).

The Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014) rates the vitality of Pontic as "vigorous" (6a). Its entries for endangered languages are derived from the *Ethnologue* database, with language status classified according to the EGIDS levels. However, languages

[18] "Pontic." Endangered Languages. 2012. The Linguist List at Eastern Michigan University and The University of Hawaii at Manoa. http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/3265 [accessed on 16/01/2015]. The Endangered Languages Project provides the certainty of its vitality assessment based on the evidence available.

with insufficient available data were assigned the EGIDS default value 6a.[19] Hence, it is unclear whether the status of Pontic Greek results from insufficient data.

In sum, the differences in Rumca vitality classification derive from different vitality frameworks and varying data input. As Sallabank (2011) states, difficulties in language vitality assessment lay mostly in the lack of sufficient language data. Furthermore, the factors of comprehensive vitality assessment approaches do not correspond properly to the particular situation of the language under consideration. In accordance with the latest tendencies in vitality assessment literature and especially based on the UNESCO framework, it is argued here that languages and their sociolinguistic and social factors need to be analysed individually for a detailed assessment of their vitality. The following Chapter introduces eleven vitality factors which fit the situation with Romeyka in Turkey and in particular Rumca in the Istanbulite community.

3.3 Eleven factors for vitality assessment in Rumca

The vitality factors for Rumca stem from the review of the vitality and endangerment factors as proposed by the frameworks presented above. Determining suitable vitality factors began with a list considering all the factors from the frameworks above. This list is a compilation of 15 factors consisting of 60 variables to be considered in order to arrive at a comprehensive picture for each (see Table A.7). Afterwards, the factors were recategorised according to the following two criteria: first, their relevance to the research question, i.e. to assess language vitality; and second, their specific suitability for Rumca in Turkey which includes the particularly strong influence of official language policies and education on identity and the attitudes of Turkish society and diasporic nature of the speech community. Less important factors were left out or absorbed into a main category. For example, the UNESCO factor "amount of documentation" was left out as it was not considered important for the research question and Edwards' (1992) factors "population", "history", and "geography" were summarised under the more appropriate factor "speech community". Finally, the list of vitality factors for Rumca contains the following eleven factors:

(I) Linguistic Competence
(II) Intergenerational Language Transmission
(III) Domains of Language Use
(IV) Bilingualism

[19] http://www.ethnologue.com/language-development [accessed on 20/01/2015]

(V) Literacy
(VI) Language Attitudes
(VII) Identity Function
(VIII) Language Policies
(IX) Language Education
(X) Speech Community
(XI) Number of Speakers

This framework is different from those presented above since it combines factors from different approaches, i.e. ethnolinguistic factors (as presented by Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977, Landweer 2000), social and extralinguistic factors (as proposed by Edwards 1992), and linguistic factors like state of bilingualism[20] and language contact, in order to arrive at a comprehensive description of the particular sociolinguistic situation of Rumca. Rather than giving a comparative vitality classification, this approach aims at providing an *explanation* for the endangerment of Rumca by identifying the most influential factors and exploring the mechanisms of their interrelation.

It will be argued that, assuming the factors are not detached but interrelated, putting together an as yet unidentified number of them allows us to describe the sociolinguistic situation of Rumca. Interrelation and the relevance of single factors from the proposed list above for the vitality of Rumca will be determined by the data presented in the study below.

[20] The factor "bilingualism" should not be interpreted as as a typical indicator of language endangerment. As Edwards (1992) notes, stable bilingualism may indeed express language maintenance.

4 The study: Linguistic vitality of Rumca

4.1 Method

Data for this study were collected using an ethnographic approach to fieldwork during two field trips to Turkey. Data from the Istanbulite community were collected in February 2014 in Bahçelievler, which is a middle-class residential suburb of Istanbul. Data of a comparison group were collected in the village of "Canlısu"[21], Çaykara, Trabzon Province in August 2014. Data were gained by means of a direct approach enhanced by participant observation and informal interviews including a field diary. The direct method allows for the collection of a large amount of data covering a range of sociolinguistically relevant topics with the possibility to discover new relevant factors and to focus more on fine-grained details. The elicitation material could be adapted after a phase of piloting, yet the direct approach brought difficulties. First, it is less suitable when addressing delicate topics or taboos (Garrett 2005). Sitaridou (2013) reports that cultural identity is a delicate matter within the Rumca speaking group. Efforts to homogenize the Turkish population together by the relocation and assimilation of ethnic minorities caused Rumca speakers to fear being perceived as not Turkish (Andrews 1989). Rumca has thus become a sensitive topic (Brendemoen 2002). In this context, indirect means of measurement would have allowed these ethical issues to be addressed more properly and might have eventually elicited covert attitudes (Garrett 2005). Second, the validity of data may be affected by the researcher in terms of power and cultural difference (Garrett 2005). For example, "social desirability bias" may lead to respondents giving replies that make them appear very Turkish (Garrett 2005). This may especially be the case when the researcher is a foreigner or not from the community. Third, questions in direct measurement may be perceived as pointing at a certain direction and thus may lead respondents towards a particular response. Conducting guided interviews in a relatively free way counters this effect, however.

Sitaridou (2013) highlights the importance of long-time involvement in the community being derived from the isolation of the speech community, especially in the villages. Accordingly, data collection in Çaykara turned out to be difficult although the participants were approached through contacts: respondents hesitated to participate in the interviews or to allow sound recording. Male respondents wanted to check the questions prior to the interview. Questions concerning attitudes towards Rumca and desirability of language maintenance were rejected. A female respondent interrupted the interview after being confronted with these

[21] The village was given a fictitious name in order to preserve anonymity.

questions suspecting the researcher to be a Greek spy and threatened to call the police. The difficulties faced when carrying out field work in Çaykara are assumed to derive from the fact that the interviewed persons are very aware of the political sensitivity of the language they speak although Sitaridou (2013) found her informants from the village "Anasta" to be less aware of the origin of their language which confirms the existence of attitudinal differences even between neighbouring speech communities. However, Sitaridou (2013) notes that the Trabzon population seems to compensate for a non-Turkish origin with a very nationalistic stance which may also prove the difficulties outlined above. Furthermore, as claimed before, the language of the interview may have influenced the attitudes. Being interviewed by a foreigner may have caused the respondents to be even more alert. Brendemoen (2002) reports negative attitudes and mistrust towards researchers from both the speech community and Turkish authorities: conflicting political interests between Greece and Turkey may lead the Turkish authorities to suspect scholars carrying out research on Romeyka to be Greek spies.

4.1.1 The attitudinal survey

The linguistic vitality of Rumca was assessed by means of an attitudinal survey. This approach was chosen since attitudes interact with other vitality factors and emerge from this interplay of factors, shaping language behaviour at the same time. Bourhis et al. (1981) emphasise the importance of group members' perceptions of their ethnolinguistic vitality. Similarly, Brenzinger et al. (2003) suggest combining groups' self-assessment and external evaluation. This encourages successful language vitality measurement because attitudinal data allow us to determine the importance of factors as present in the mind of speakers and which affect their language behaviour. Furthermore, attitudinal surveys allow the researcher to elicit hidden attitudes and reveal motivations and interrelations. On the other hand, the respondents' perceptions are not necessarily synonymous with the results of scholarly research. The outcomes of the present study in particular need to be seen in relation to the method of direct attitudinal measurement. For example, the self-assessment of speakers' linguistic competence does not necessarily match with their actual proficiencies. Furthermore, self-assessment of code-switching behaviour does not replace linguistic investigation.

The survey is based on a questionnaire consisting of four sections: (i) Language awareness, (ii) Linguistic competence, (iii) Language use, and (iv) Language attitudes including groups of questions about literacy, bilingualism, and education. Language attitudes addressed

perceptions of both Rumca and Turkish speakers in order to detect differences and conflicts between the perception of the two languages.

The questionnaire consists of 135 questions, both open and closed. The questionnaire design is in line with vitality questionnaires such as the ELDIA EuLaViBar (European Language Vitality Barometer).[22] Some questions elicit speaker categorisations like old/young, villager/townsperson, and educated/uneducated (see Question 3.1/3.2 in Appendix B)[23]. Furthermore, a list of places of possible Rumca use is presented including unofficial and official domains (Question 3.8/3.12 in Appendix B). Attitudes are elicited by means of a "Semantic Differential" where participants are asked to assign selected adjectives to both Rumca and Turkish speakers (Question 4.1.13/4.2.4 in Appendix B). In addition, sentences requiring agreement or disagreement are used in order to gain information about covert attitudes and identities (Question 4.3 in Appendix B). Difficulties occurred with the bipolar evaluative adjectives for language attitudes, since respondents refused to assign bipolar adjectives. This could be interpreted as hesitation to differentiate between Turkish speakers and others due to the delicate question of group belonging. Furthermore, answers to hypothetical questions were difficult to elicit.

The language of the questionnaire is Turkish. It is argued in this thesis that the language of the questionnaire affects attitudinal judgements (cf. Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015). Data collection in Rumca could have stimulated in-group demarcation and may have elicited more positive attitudes towards Rumca. However, Turkish was chosen as the language of data collection given that only elderly respondents are fluent in Rumca. In order to keep the variable language of elicitation constant, all interviews were conducted in Turkish. Interference by the interview language was overcome by asking proficient respondents to answer selected questions both in Turkish and Rumca though this elicited poor results as respondents denied their competence or misinterpreted the task.

[22] The ELDIA Project (European Language Diversity for All) aims to investigate language revitalisation and maintenance for minority languages of the Finno-Ugric language family in Europe. The EuLaViBar Toolkit was developed by Spiliopoulou, Åkermark, Laakso, Sarhimaa, Toivanen, Kühhirt, and Djerf as a tool for measuring language maintenance. http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail_object/o:301101 [accessed on 09/10/2015].

[23] For the sake of comparability, Appendix B contains the vitality questionnaire in both Turkish and English.

4.1.2 Participants and methodology

4.1.2.1 Community and participants

Data were elicited from 22 respondents of the Istanbulite community. Three additional respondents from Çaykara and two from Berlin function as control group in qualitative measurement. The participants were gained pyramidally starting by a family in Istanbul and recruiting more participants through contacting relatives and friends. All respondents belong to the Romeyka of Of dialectal group except one of the respondents in Berlin who stems from the Sürmene dialectal group. Assessment of Rumca vitality will be for the Istanbulite community and thus may not hold for other speech communities equally (Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015). A working hypothesis expects negative attitudes and less vitality for Istanbulite Rumca speakers due to the rural-urban division (cf. Sitaridou 2013). This is in line with Milroy & Milroy's (1985) "Social Network Theory" which claims that linguistic change is more likely to occur in communities with weak network relations which is the case for the Istanbulite community where assimilation towards mainstream and interruption of traditional means of lifestyle are likely. Gender distribution of the overall 27 respondents is as follows: 21 females, 6 males. The unbalanced sampling is due to the male/female segregation in the speech community, whereby people of one gender have hardly access to the opposite sex (cf. Sitaridou 2013). The working hypothesis according to gender assumes less linguistic competence for male respondents (cf. Sitaridou 2013). Other social variables controlled for are age (7-80 years) and education (see Table D.1 in Appendix D for meta-data about participants). The age/gender distribution is shown in Table 1.

Age * Sex Crosstabulation

Count

		Sex		
		Female	Male	Total
Age	5-15	1	0	1
	16-32	9	2	11
	33-49	3	2	5
	50-66	5	2	7
	67-83	3	0	3
Total		21	6	27

Table 1: Age/Gender distribution of participants

The age groups are chosen according to phases of life and correspond mainly to the age categories of Sitaridou (2013). The linguistic competence of respondents is assumed to

decrease with age (cf. missing transmission in Sitaridou 2013, Özkan 2013, Mackridge 1987, Bortone 2009).

4.1.2.2 Procedure

The attitudinal questionnaire was administered orally (word of mouth procedure) by means of formal and informal guided interviews. Question and answer pairs were recorded and transcribed in a suitable annotation software afterwards.[24] The questionnaire was administered orally given that many of the respondents are illiterate and the fact that literacy plays a minor role in the community. Furthermore, word of mouth allows us to keep better track of the respondents' reactions to questions (Henerson, Morris & Fitz-Gibbon 1987). Sound recording was difficult since some respondents hesitated to agree to sound recordings. Furthermore, it was difficult to provide a quiet atmosphere for recording given the difficulty in separating respondents from the group. Possible interference of perceptions from others could not be avoided in every case.

4.1.2.3 Data and variables

The data elicited provided both nominal and ordinal figures (e.g. the gradual scale for self-assessed language competence) which were analysed by means of descriptive statistics. The responses to the questions were analysed as dependent variables whereas the following variables were considered as independent variables: age, sex, education, speech community, language competence, L1, and L2.

4.1.2.4 Analysis

The data were analysed both by means of quantitative and qualitative analysis, the latter including methods of content analysis. Quantitative analysis was applied incidentally for appropriate questions in form of a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient which was computed to assess the relationship between dependent and independent variables. However, it should be noted that the number of respondents as a proportion of the number of questions

[24] The broad phonemic transcription of the interviews reflects differences between the Black Sea Turkish vernacular and the Standard Turkish spelling. However, for the sake of convenience, the Turkish transcription is typed with the basic Latin script without special characters. The transcription of an example interview is provided in Turkish in Appendix C.

may not be sufficient to provide comprehensive statistical results. Furthermore, it is difficult to arrive at a clear picture statistically as many factors interfere and not all of them could be accounted for within this study. Finally, as the dependent variable is based on self-assessment or perception of the respondents and does not necessarily match with actual abilities or facts, qualitative analysis is more suitable for analysing gradual differences in attitudinal data. Analysis of the respondents' words allows deeper insights into the cultural processes at work beneath the evaluative scores attributed to each answer.

4.2 Results

The following sub-chapters provide a discussion of the vitality factors of Rumca based on the data which were collected by means of the questionnaire presented in section 4.1.1. It has to be highlighted that the results presented below derive from an analysis of attitudinal data rather than examination of language data. Thus, the results give evidence of the way the respondents perceive the particular factors and do not necessarily reflect the reality of the speakers' language behaviour. In cases where insufficient attitudinal data were available, the discussion of the factors was enriched by taking previous literature into consideration.

4.2.1 Bilingualism and linguistic competence

Bilingualism is an important factor in language vitality as it indicates the state of language maintenance or shift. In the case of Rumca, bilingualism is transitional, showing a language shift toward the dominant language, Turkish. Within the scope of the present attitudinal study, bilingualism is understood as the expression of a mixed identity by a mixed code, following Korth (2005). Language convergence towards Turkish is understood as an indicator of approval and assimilation toward Turkish mainstream society, whereas interruption in Rumca language transmission will be argued to correspond to a shift in linguistic identity. After having outlined the language behaviour of the Istanbulite community below, its implications for attitudes and identity will be presented in the Chapters 4.2.4 and 4.2.5.

4.2.1.1 Linguistic repertoire of the speakers

Turkish is the mother tongue of all respondents younger than 70 years. Above the age of 70, Rumca is the L1 although these speakers may be under pressure to claim Turkish as their

mother tongue. Turkish is promoted according to mother tongue ideology, which provides it with overt prestige and strengthens group belonging to mainstream society. The 50-year old generation has a higher awareness of political and social pressure than their parents who acquired Rumca as L1. This leads to them influencing their parents with negative attitudes about their mother tongue, Rumca. When interviewing a 78-year old female respondent about her L1, her daughter interfered that Turkish is the mother tongue of the family (2)[25].

(2) F78: *Rumlardan alınan ana dilidur bizum içun*.
"[Rumca] is the mother tongue for us; it was taken from the Rum people.
F57: *Ana dilimiz Türkçedir.*
"Our mother tongue is Turkish."
F78: *Ama anamdan oları duyduk, ola olardan alıştını ola güzel dediler.*
"But we heard [Rumca] from our mothers, we learned it from them, they said it is nice."
F57: *Tamam da, sen onu öğrendin ama sen aslında ana dili Türkçedur. Ana dilin Rumca değil ki sene.*
"Okay, you have learned it but your actual mother tongue is Turkish. Your mother tongue is not Rumca."
F78: *Ana dilinden oni alıştuk, sifti oni biluruk.*
"We learned it as mother tongue, we know only this."
F57: *Eya, nasıl izleruk?*
"Ey, how do we look alike?"
F78: *Yok bilmem, ben öyle anlayrum, bilmem.*
"No, I don't know, I understand it like this, I don't know."

Rumca is acquired as a second language by speakers below the age of 50 whereas speakers who are between 50 and 66 years old may still have acquired Rumca as late L1. Despite this, Rumca may not always be recognised as a second language due to negative attitudes. For example, a lack of literacy and the fact that Rumca is acquired at home rather than at school leads speakers to consider Rumca not a full language.[26] Individuals with university training may instead count English as their second language. Individuals from the age of 35 and younger learn English as a second language at school. Age differences in what speakers consider their L2 are confirmed by descriptive statistics. The L2 was found to correlate significantly with the variable age, p=.036, r=-.420. Table 2 shows the L2s according to the variable age as well as the age of acquisition of the L2.

[25] Gender (F/M) and age of the respondent are henceforth provided in brackets before or after the quote.
[26] For a detailed discussion of negative attitudes toward Rumca see Chapter 4.2.4 Language Attitudes.

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

Q1_2.6.4. Ikinci dilin?			Dependend variable: response				Total
			<5 years	6-8 years	9-12 years	20-28 years	
Turkish	Age	67-83				2	2
	Total					2	2
Rumca	Age	33-49	3	1			4
		50-66	3	2			5
	Total		6	3			9
English	Age	16-32			4	1	5
	Total				4	1	5
no L2	Age	16-32	1		0		1
		50-66	1		1		2
		67-83	1		0		1
	Total		3		1		4

Table 2: Distribution of the age of acquisition of L2 according to age and L2 of the speaker

As confirmed by Sitaridou (2013), the oldest age group acquired Turkish as late L2. The respondents aged 33-66 acquired Rumca as L2. Rumca is by the majority acquired in early childhood and occasionally later in adolescence. Respondents who claimed to have no L2 in fact acquired Rumca as a second language but hesitated to call it their L2 for competence (and identity) reasons. The respondents aged 67-83 claimed to have no L2 because they felt equally competent in Turkish and Rumca. As for the other respondents, they pointed out in their interviews that they perceive their low competence in Rumca as insufficient to call it a second language. Furthermore, as it will be argued below (see Chapter 4.2.5 "Identity Function"), poor language competence is often accompanied by poor identity relations toward Rumca. Example (3) relates negative attitudes for the 50-year old generation to the lack of transmission. As for the reason of interruption of language transmission, the respondent states that she did not teach Rumca to her children due to possible disadvantages at school.

(3) *Istemeyler oni, sevmeyler oni. Bilmeduğu içun istemeyler oni. Biz da yeni yetişmetuk diğerini okulara gittuk içun, eh biz da Türkçe alışturduk olara.* F78

"They don't want to [learn Rumca], they don't like it. They don't like it because they don't know it. We didn't introduce it because they went to school and so we got them accustomed to Turkish."

As a consequence, all respondents of the 16-32 age group have only English as L2 which they learned at high school or university. Most of the younger respondents' command of English is, however, restricted only to a few words as is also the case for their command of Rumca. Thus, the generation of persons who are about 32 years old may be in fact called monolingual.

The break in the acquisition of Rumca as L2 is assumed to be caused by a loss of traditional ways of life due to labour migration to urban centres in the 1980s. Contact and assimilation toward the mainstream Turkish surrounding led to the interruption of Rumca acquisition for the 35-year old generation. Individuals of the youngest generation may, besides English, learn other European standard languages in higher and university education. Arabic has a special role in the community as a language of religion. It is used in conventionalised form for praying and for Quran reading and recitation. For example, females of the older generations who have no or only basic schooling (up to 5 years) may have attended Quran school and learnt to read Arabic script.

4.2.1.2 Linguistic competence in Rumca and language shift

Linguistic competence was found to correlate significantly with the age of the speaker. The younger the respondent, the lower their self-assessed linguistic competence in Rumca, r=.724, p=.000. Accordingly, it was found that the older the respondent, the less confident they feel in Turkish, r=.516, p=.028. Bilingualism of the Rumca speaking community shifted from nearly simultaneous bilingualism in the oldest generation, via additive bilingualism in middle-aged generations towards heritage use of the language by the youngest generations. For the current generation of children, the shift in language has been completed. The following intergenerational model (4) shows the bilingual profile of the respondents as well as progress in language shift.[27]

(4)			
	G1	Rumca	Turkish
		L1	L2
	G2	Rumca	Turkish
		L2	L1
	G3	Rumca	Turkish
		L2 heritage	L1
	G4		Turkish
			L1

The grandparent generation (G1) grew up in the villages and acquired Rumca as L1. The first parent generation (G2) also grew up in the village and have a good command of Rumca,

[27] The intergenerational model has been taken over from Sitaridou (2013) and it has been applied to the Istanbulite data. The four generations (G) comprise the following age-grougps: G1: 67-83 years, G2: 41-66 years, G3: 24-40 years, G4: 13-23 years.

though this depends on the frequency of Rumca use in their village. The second parent generation (G3) were mostly already born in Istanbul or moved there during their early childhood and so they have only heritage command of Rumca, with hardly any production skills. Consequently, the youngest generation (G4) grew up monolingually with knowledge of a few Rumca words which function as heritage identity markers. Linguistic competence per age-group is distributed as follows:[28]

(i) Women above the age of 70[29] qualify as Rumca L1 acquirers with late Turkish-L2 acquired around the age of 20. Language competence includes L1-competence in Rumca and a mastery of Turkish with some interference from Rumca. The parent generation of G1 was reported by Bortone (2009) as nearly monolingual with only some knowledge of Turkish and a strong preference for Rumca.[30] This generation learnt Turkish only when entering school whereby women often got no schooling at all (Bortone 2009).

(ii) Within the 50-year-old age group, Turkish is the L1 with early L2-Rumca. As for the age of acquisition, some women learned Rumca only in adolescence when they were sent to relatives living in villages with a greater Rumca prevalence. Respondents in this age group often report differences in their receptive and productive abilities. Detailed investigation of the circumstances which led to residents acquiring (or not acquiring) Rumca however remain open to further research.

(iii) There seems to be a break in Rumca acquisition after the migration of the parent generation (G2) to Istanbul or Ankara in the 1980s. The years of residence in Istanbul match the ages of those respondents who are no longer competent in Rumca (cf. Table D.1). The 30-year old age group qualifies as Turkish L1-acquirers with little acquisition of Rumca during their childhood. English was learnt as L2 in school as of the age of 13.

(iv) Speakers above the age of 12 may have learnt English as L2 as well as further European standard languages in higher education. They have no command of Rumca apart from some words which function as heritage identity markers.

The description of the linguistic cohorts above shows that a language shift has taken place within four generations. A 76-year old female respondent perceives the language shift to

[28] Sitaridou (2013) states for the competence profile of the village "Anasta" clear gender-related differences. These can unfortunately not be accounted for within this study due to lack of sufficient male data.

[29] Possibly already above the age of 60 which cannot be confirmed by the present data due to the lack of respondents between 60 and 75 years.

[30] Brendemoen (2002) discusses whether bilingualism in Greek and Turkish may have started already in Ottoman times.

Turkish as something that happened suddenly (5). Though she claims to speak both languages, she prefers to speak Rumca.[31] Moreover, (6) shows that she perceives her language competence to be negatively affected by language shift and bilingualism.

(5) *Eskilerimuzdan kalma çocukluğumuzdan beri Rumca'yı konuşuyoruz. Şimdi birduktan sonra Türkçeye dönduk. İkisinda kullanıyoruz ama bence Rumca daha iyi.*

"Since [Rumca] was handed down by our grandfathers, we have spoken it since our childhood. Suddenly, we moved to Turkish. We use both but for me Rumca is better."

(6) *Rumca'yı Türkçe'yi fazla güvenmiyorum. Hepsini beceremiyorum*.

"I don't trust Rumca and Turkish. I fail in both."

The latter sheds light on attitudes accompanying language shift which vary according to language competence as will be argued in Chapter 4.2.4. Furthermore, language competence differs not only with regard to the variable age as shown above but additionally according to variables like gender and speech community, which will be presented below.

4.2.1.3 Gender differences in Rumca competence

Sitaridou (2013) claims that Rumca language competence is gender-sensitive. Gender-related differences in the linguistic repertoire of previous generations have also been addressed by Mackridge (1987). He states that bilingualism of males is already documented at the end of the 19th century whereas females were monolingual in Rumca in this time. However, the present data do not show a significant correlation of language competence and gender. This could be due to the low number of male respondents in the present study (see Table D.1). Despite this, there is a tendency for males to be less competent than females as descriptive statistics in Table D.2 show. The respondents themselves, however, seem to perceive gender differences in terms of frequency of language use (7), language competence, and code-switching (8).

(7) *Erkekler de konuşuyorlar, ama kadınlar daha fazla. Erkekler artık bırakmış. Ama kadınlar hala devam ediyor*. F21

"Men are also speaking but women speak more. Men already ceased to use it. But women still keep on speaking."

[31] The preference in G1 speakers for Rumca and remarks about their repertoire are visible in a respondent's words (E.1) in Appendix E.

(8) *Kadınlar biraz daha belki şiveyi bozul... Karadeniz şivesiyle Rumca'yı karıstırır olabilirler. Erkekler daha çok okula gitti için belki daha az bilir olabilirler. Kadınlar daha çok ev hanımı olduklar için çayırda bağda bahçede çalıştıkları için daha iyi olabileceğin düşünüyorum.* F36

"Women may speak more a broken dialect... They may mix Rumca with the Black Sea dialect. Men may know [Rumca] less as they more likely went to school. I think women may be better because they were more often housewives and worked in the stable and garden."

These gender differences may be still visible in the language use of the eldest generation (G1) which unfortunately cannot be tested with the present data due to lack of male respondents of G1. Possible differences in gender are, however, expected to become blurred within the less competent younger generations. As stated in the second example, the perceived difference is expected to be due to gender-related differences in livestyle.

4.2.1.4 Differences in Rumca competence in terms of locality

Language competence in Rumca varies furthermore according to the locality of the speech community. Sitaridou (2013) reports a higher competence in Rumca for all generations for the speakers in the village of "Anasta" in the Pontic Alps. The results of the present study confirm that the Rumca competence of individuals living throughout the year in Çaykara is much higher than that of their Istanbulite peers (see Table D.3). On the basis of the two comparison groups, it will argued below that location of the speech community not only affects language competence but the whole system of language vitality (see also Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015).

The extent to which Rumca is spoken in a village differs even between neighbouring villages.[32] The village of Ogene (Tr. "Köknar köyü") is considered the place where people have the best command of Rumca. This is determined by the lack of interference from Turkish (*Bizum yarısı Türkçe yarısı Rumca. Tam Rumca değil. O Ogene'nin daha iyi.* F50, "Our Rumca is half Turkish half Rumca. It is not real Rumca. In Ogene it is better."). Furthermore, Rumca is used more frequently in this village. Respondents relate this to the fact that Ogene is inhabited throughout the year. In sum, a higher vitality of Rumca in Ogene can be ascribed to the fact that it is located more remotely and higher than other villages in the Pontic Alps and thus has preserved traditional means of life.

[32] Further research is required in order to investigate the linguistic landscape of Pontus. Some information on the history of Greek speaking villages and settlements is provided by Brendemoen (2006) and Özkan (2013).

4.2.1.5 Code-switching

Code-switching by means of the insertion of Turkish words appears through all generations albeit as a marker for incomplete language acquisition it is only widespread at G2 and below (see Table D.4). The switched Turkish elements are mainly lexical in nature and may be grammatically integrated into the target language (i.a. Sitaridou 2013). However, differentiation between code-switching and lexical borrowing is not easy to undertake due to the long-time contact and mutual interference of both languages (Brendemoen 2006). In (9), the Turkish word *arkadaşım* ("friend") is inserted together with the Turkish possessive suffix *-Im* to the Rumca sentence. Due to this code-switching from Rumca to Turkish, respondents of G2 note their restricted production abilities (*Mesela ilk kelime Rumca söylüyorum. Sonunda bilmediğim bir kelime Türkçe söylüyorum.* F30, "I say for example the first word in Rumca. At the end, I say a word which I don't know in Turkish."). Insertion of Rumca words into Turkish strings like the Rumca word *mana* ("mother") in (10), however, is especially common among G3-respondents and functions as a marker of heritage identity (see Table D.5).[33]

(9) Eγo osimero ebora sin *arkadaşım* (Rumca)
1SG today went.1SG to brother.POSS.1SG
"I went to see my brother today"

(10) *Mana* bana masayı verir misin? (Turkish)
Mother to-me table.ACC could.give Q.PART.2SG
"Mother could you give me the table?"

The actual linguistic behaviour of the respondents does not necessarily match their self-assessment. L1 acquirers of Rumca may claim not to code-switch when speaking Rumca although this is observable in their linguistic behaviour. In fact, such assessments may derive from L1 speakers' positive attitudes towards their mother tongue which aim at keeping the language neatly apart from other languages' influences as shown in (11).

(11) *Yok yok yok. O ayrı dildur. Ayrı devam edeysun. Otekinde ayrı devam edeysun. Arada o karışmayor*. F78
"No no no. It is a different language. You go on separately. You go on separately in the other language. It is not mixed in-between."

[33] This language behaviour is typical for "residual bilingualism", the last of the five stages of the life-span of a bilingual community as postulated by Mackey (2005).

Despite the L1 acquirer in (11) claiming not to mix languages, her grandchildren report that she code-shifts when speaking Turkish (12) which expresses preference for her L1.

(12) *Türkçe bir şey anlatmaya başıyorlar. Arada, hop, Rumca anlatmaya devam ediyorlar bazen. O zaman ben de Rumca olarak soru soruyorum, ne anlatıyorsun, haydi Türkçe anlat diye*. F25

"They start to say something in Turkish, then suddenly, hop, sometimes they go on explaining in Rumca. Then I also ask in Rumca 'what are you saying, come on, explain it in Turkish.'"

4.2.1.6 Contact-induced changes[34]

Convergence of Turkish and Rumca happened from both sides. Next to influence of the Turkish standard variety, Rumca has been influenced by the Black Sea dialect and vice versa (Brendemoen 2006). The Turkish vernacular has undergone phonological and morphological changes from the Greek substrate which are, as Brendemoen (2006) argues, difficult to distinguish from later influences of the vernacular on Rumca. However, lexical borrowing from Turkish to the target language Rumca occurs frequently though Mackridge (1987) argues that it is not used equally among all speakers and that it is especially frequent among the younger generations who use their L1 Turkish in order to enrich their restricted Romeyka competence. Turkish loanwords become adapted to Rumca rules mostly by inflection with Rumca suffixes (Sitaridou 2013, Bortone 2009, Mackridge 1987). Example (13) shows the adaptation of a Turkish verb stem which is integrated into the target language by adding a Greek suffix.[35] Although most of the borrowing from Turkish to Rumca concerns lexical items, there has been some phonological and morphosyntactic borrowing, too. Phonological variants, for example, have entered the Romeyka phoneme inventory through Turkish loans. In the Romeyka as spoken in Sarácho, only numerals from "one" to "five" are expressed in Greek, with the rest borrowed from Turkish (Mackridge 1987). Grammatical elements borrowed from Turkish include anaphors/pronominals, modals, and particles (Sitaridou 2013). As shown in (14), the Turkish interrogative particle *mI* is inserted into the Romeyka sentence.[36] Furthermore, syntactic calquing affecting complementation may occur (Sitaridou 2013).

[34] As the present study does not examine language data, the following brief overview is taken from literature. The way code-switching is perceived by the respondents will be discussed in Chapter 4.2.4 "Language attitudes".
[35] Example taken from Mackridge (1987:127).
[36] Example taken from Sitaridou (2013:107).

(13) Tr. *ara-* "seek" + *evo* → *araevo* (Turkish)

(14) Esi ekseris *mi* pios tinan ayapai? (ROf)
2SG know.2SG Q.PART who.NOM who.ACC love.3SG
"Do you know who loves whom?"

Sitaridou (2013) claims that different acquisition patterns result in different types of contact-induced change which may differ according to age or gender. For example gender loss in Romeyka occurs only with the younger generation. It remains an interesting question of whether this change may be due to internal changes rather than language contact as argued by Sitaridou (2013).

4.2.2 Intergenerational language transmission

Intergenerational transmission in Rumca is interrupted as the majority of respondents state that their children did not or do not learn Rumca (14 out of 18 respondents)[37]. However, the majority of respondents would like to teach Rumca to their children (22 out of 27). The age distribution of negative answers shows that a dislike of language transmission occurs only with the elder generations (G1, G2) (see Table D.6) This may indicate more negative attitudes toward Rumca in the elderly respondents as confirmed by (15). Disfavour of G2 toward Rumca explains why respondents of G1 state that their children do not speak Rumca despite having acquired it in their childhood.[38]

(15) *Çok küçükken öğrendiler, şimdi bıraktiler, şimdi da diyorlar ki o konuşma Rumca'yı*. F76
"[My children] learned Rumca when they were very small. Now they stopped and they even say, 'Don't speak Rumca!'."

When asked about Rumca lessons at school, 13 out of 20 respondents state that they would approve of school teaching in Rumca (see Table D.7). The interviews, however, show ambivalent feelings as respondents have doubts about receiving schooling in Rumca but rather in Standard Modern Greek. Negative responses occur at all age groups albeit more

[37] In case the overall number of 27 respondent's judgements is not reached, either respondents refused to reply or they have not been asked this question when it (a) did not apply to them or (b) was considered necessary to omit a delicate question in order to ensure continuation of the interview. If findings are based on a smaller quantity of respondents this is indicated in the bracket.
[38] For a further discussion of age group-related negative attitudes toward Rumca see Chapter 4.2.4 "Language Attitudes".

frequently at G2 and G4. Again, negative attitudes of G2 may account for the negative responses of this group. For G4, however, the respondent's words show that young people feel loyalty towards Turkish as the official language and want to maintain diglossia.[39] Such responses show the effect of language policy and education on attitudes which is furthermore confirmed by the fact that the majority of males responded negatively to the schooling question.[40]

Language transmission of Rumca is affected by various factors leading to different acquisition patterns even among siblings. These factors include (i) traditional lifestyle and migration, (ii) language use in the family, (iii) employment and gender-related work, (iv) contact with the village, and (v) attitudes towards bilingualism. These factors will be briefly outlined below.

(i) Use of Rumca is related to its original environment, i.e. life in the villages and work on the pastures. Many Rumca words are related to technical terms and traditional working procedures in the mountain pastures (Sitaridou 2013) which are still in use due to lack of Turkish equivalents. Migration from the villages to bigger cities or abroad resulted more or less in the collapse of the social networks in the village as outlined by a respondent in (16).

(16) *Örneğin, ben çocukken büydüğüm köy. Orda yaklaşık belki on tane ev vardı. On tane evin içinde de aile tabii ki doğluydu ama şimdi sen Zihon'a gitsen iki tane aile bulursan ya da bulamazsın. Dolaysiyle hepsi unutuldu. Göç etti, gitti, öldü*. F36

"For example, the village where I grew up. There were maybe around ten houses. In these ten houses the whole family lived together but if you went to Zihon now you would find two families or less. As a result of this, everything has been forgotten. They migrated, went away, died."

(ii) After migration to urban centres, Rumca ceased to be spoken as the major family language and Turkish took its place. However, respondents of G3 who were born and/or grew up in Istanbul report that they grew up with Rumca being spoken by their grandparents at home (17).[41]

(17) *Küçüklüğümüzden beri babaannemler, dedemler, köydekiler hep konuşur. Onlardan duyduğum kadaryla işte.* F24

"Our grandmothers, grandfathers and the people in the villages, all of them have spoken [Rumca] since we were small. I acquired as much as I heard from them."

[39] See discussion in Chapter 4.2.4 "Language attitudes".
[40] For a discussion of gender-related differences in attitudes and education see Chapter 4.2.4 "Language attitudes".
[41] For further discussion of language use in the home see Chapter. 4.2.3 "Domains of Language Use".

In the villages, language transmission of Rumca remained intact longer (Sitaridou 2013). Example (18) shows that in 1978, Rumca was still acquired as L1 in the villages and that Turkish was learnt as L2 only when entering school.

(18) *Bin dokuz yetmiş sekiz yıllında Trabzon'un Çaykara ilçesine bağlı Taşyedik köyünde ilk okulluğu yaptım. O dönemde öğrencilerimiz okul çağına gelinceye kadar ana dili Rumca idi. Okula geldikten sonra Türkçe öğreniyorlardı. Ben de o yıllardan öğrencilerimden Rumca'yı biraz öğrendim*. F58

"I was a primary school teacher in the Tasyedik village, which belongs to the Çaykara district of Trabzon, in 1978. At this time, Rumca was the mother tongue of our pupils until they reached school age. After coming to school, they learned Turkish. In these years, I also learnt some Rumca from my pupils."

Furthermore as (18) reports, teachers occasionally have learnt Rumca from their pupils, a fact which emphasises the social role Rumca must still have had in these years in the villages.

(iii) Employment and gender-related work affect language transmission in terms of frequency of linguistic input. The traditional working sphere for women is the home whereas men go to work and have increased access to out-groups (see also Sitaridou 2013). Therefore, women (who also often have had less education than men) acquired a higher language proficiency. A respondent's words in (19) highlight the gender differences in Rumca competence. The connection between employment and language transmission for both genders is outlined in (20).

(19) *Evde bizim misafirlar vardi, yasli misafirlar, bak; kızlar devamlı evde olduğu için yaşlı kadınlardan öğreniyordular ama erkekler gündüz dışarı isteydiler. Onun için bile bilmiyorlar*. F50

"We had guests at home, elderly guests, look; as the girls stayed permanently at home, they learnt [Rumca] from the elderly women but the men were outside at work during the day. This is why they cannot know [Rumca].

(20) *Ama on bir yaşından sonra, İstanbul'a geldikten sonra anneannemler de bizimle geldiği için evde hala devam ediyordu. Ben gün içersinde işte olduğum için az duyuyordum*. F36

"But after the age of eleven, after going to Istanbul, Rumca speaking at home carried on because our grandmothers went with us. As I was at work during the day, I heard [Rumca] less. "

(iv) Contact with the Rumca speaking community in the villages is another factor determined by the amount of contact (see 21) and the amount of language use in a particular village

(22). Rumca is used frequently in the villages where members of the Istanbulite community usually spend their summer holidays.[42] In terms of language transmission, late onset of Rumca acquisition in some G2-females results from the fact that girls were occasionally sent from Istanbul to family relatives in the village and got in contact with Rumca there. Marriage is another reason accounting for late Rumca acquisition as women traditionally moved to their husband's village. Acquisition of Rumca, however, depended ultimately on the amount of language use in the particular village (Andrews 1989).

(21) *Benim [Rumcam] daha iyi, çünkü ben on bir yaşındaya kadar o köyde büydüm. Onlar sadece misafir olarak belki yılda iki kere, üç kere geldiler.* F36

"My Rumca is better because I lived in this village until the age of eleven. They [my siblings] came just as visitors maybe two or three times a year."

(22) *Evlenip farklı köyleri gitikleri için Rumca unutmuş olabilirler, bilmiyorlar, yani az biliyorlar. Ama ablam anneannemin köyünde çok geldiği için anneannemin köyünde duyduğu için o daha çok iyi biliyordu.* F36

"Since they went to different villages after marriage, they may have forgotten Rumca, they don't know it, they know less. But as my sister often came to my grandmother's village and heard Rumca there often, she knows it much better.

(23) *Ama habu Sevim evlenduğu yeri o Mitsibil deduğumuz, onlariyle bir tarafta çalışurdiler, bir yolda işlerdiler. Evlendukten sonra o devam ediyor, onlardan duydi, konuştu onlaryla, konuşur onlaryla*. F78

"We call the place were Sevim married to Mitsibil. They worked with them together and they shared the same lifestyle. After having married this went on, she heard [Rumca] from them, spoke with them and [still] speaks with them."

As stated in (22), after marrying into villages with little or no Rumca use, women may even have left behind their language competence. Conversely, marrying into villages with frequent use of Rumca led often to increased acquisition of Rumca (23). However, the data report the case of a 40-year old women from a non-Rumca speaking community who married into a Rumca-speaking family. She did not acquire Rumca although her mother-in-law speaks it frequently. She states that she does not want to learn it although she feels excluded from the family when she cannot understand her mother-in-law.

(v) This case shows that attitudes and motivation affect language transmission and acquisition. Parents ceased to transmit Rumca to their children as they assumed the best chances for their children would come when they became fully competent in Turkish.

[42] School holidays in Turkey last three months which allows for returning to the homeland during the summer months which is commonly practised among members of the Istanbulite community.

Having doubts about bilingualism (*Türkçelerini bozarsın*, "you will break their Turkish")[43], parents preferred to raise their children with Turkish (24).

(24) *Çecuklarım alışmadıler. Alaştırmak da istemedim. Okula gitterler da yeni töremelerde alındıler. Şimdi onlaryla konuşmadık. Köylerinde Türkçe çok vardur. Türkce'ye girdi, karışmadum onlara*. F78

"My children did not learn it. I also did not want them to learn it. They went to school and took over the new practices. So we did not speak with them [in Rumca]. There was a lot Turkish in the villages. They entered Turkish, I did not intervene."

The present parent generation (G3) want their children to learn European standard languages but perceive Rumca instead as bringing few benefits. Nevertheless, parents favour Rumca acquisition by their children albeit with low priority. They state they leave the decision to the motivation of their children who are, though willing, not encouraged enough.

4.2.3 Domains of language use

Rumca language use depends on the age of the speakers and their language competence and is thus distributed throughout the generations as follows: Speakers of G4 and G3 use only few Rumca words and expressions[44] as heritage markers in their Turkish conversation. At these generations, there is no diglossic use of Rumca due to a lack of a distinct function and competence of the speakers. In G2, Rumca is used in communication with parents, occasionally with friends, and with partners when using it as a secret code towards children. Speakers of the oldest generation (G1) use the language among their peers and family. Grandchildren (of G3) report that their grandparents speak with them in Rumca although they cannot understand them and ask for translation. Outside close networks as family and friends, Rumca is only spoken with group members, called *Rumca bilenler* ("people who know Rumca"), and rarely in the presence of others. This shows that language competence functions as a strong marker of group belonging. Furthermore, the present data show evidence that there is a significant relationship between the perceived use of Rumca and language competence, $p=.047$, $r=.428$. The higher the Rumca competence of a respondent the more they reported speaking Rumca as useful and the broader they perceived the use of Rumca. Elderly people

[43] See also Sitaridou (2013).

[44] Single Rumca words are often related to traditional working processes from the villages, working tools or botanical terms which cannot be transcribed to Turkish. Fixed expressions used as heritage marker in G3 and G4 speakers include *afkur* "shut up", *ela* "come", *deftas* "What are you doing?", *lagosaise* "How are you?", *natrome* "we eat".

tend to claim that Rumca is used everywhere where group members meet (even in Istanbul). Young respondents, however, state that Rumca is only used by elderly people in restricted domains. Thus, the way speakers perceive their language is affected by their language competence which may be understood as an indicator of the close relationship a speaker has towards his or her language.

Furthermore, language use in Rumca varies according to the locality. This is in accordance with Milroy & Milroy's (1985) "Social Network Theory" which claims that linguistic change is more likely to appear in a community with weak network links due to mobility or social instability. In the villages, Rumca is spoken more frequently because community networks are still intact and out-group contact is restricted. Rumca may be used in the villages at every place were locals meet. Although Rumca is never used in the official domain, it may be also spoken in the villages among the people in municipalities, at the mosque, at markets, and in shops.

In Istanbul, Rumca is hardly used outside the home though it is spoken at gatherings of in-group members such as weddings or conversations (cf. Özkan 2013). Rumca is spoken when people come together which represents diglossic use of Rumca at G1 and G2 albeit distinct function and domain of Rumca use are restricted to informal conversation at gatherings. All respondents agree that Rumca use is not suitable at public places and gatherings and they are aware of negative reactions by others (*Değişik konuşurken çevresindeki insanlar sana tuhaf bakabilir. Ne diyorlar diye böyle dikkat çekebilirsin*. F57, "When speaking a different language, the people around may look strangely at you. You may attract their attention like 'What are they saying?'."). This shows how Rumca speakers perceive reservations toward minorities in Turkish mainstream society and confirms the group boundary-marking function of language (Korth 2005).

Rumca exists in a diglossic situation with Turkish which is the only official language, has been treated as "Ausbausprache" (Kloss 1967), and has been provided with overt prestige with regard to Turkish nationalism and unitarism.[45] The use of Rumca as well as other minority languages is restricted to the home and informal domains. The diglossic situation is fully recognised by the Rumca speakers (25) and efforts to improve the official recognition of Rumca are clearly rejected (cf. also Özkan 2013, Sitaridou 2013, Bortone 2009).

(25) [*Rumca konuşmak] yasak değil, bir şey yok. Ama resmi yerlerde hep Türkçe. Hani böyle evlerde, sohbetlerde, eskilerden bir şeylerden konuşurken böyle hani*

[45] For a detailed discussion of Turkish language and minority policy see Chapter 5.

> *karıştırabiliyorsun yoksa çok kullanan bir dil değil. Biliyoruz onu o kadar yani*. F48
>
> "Speaking Rumca is not forbidden, there is nothing like this. But all in public places, the language is Turkish. You may admix some Rumca in the homes, at gatherings or when talking with elderly people about certain things, otherwise it isn't a frequently used language. We know it, that's all."

In particular younger respondents perceive Turkish as marker of their national identity which derives from education, as will be outlined in Chapter 5.[46] The diglossic situation is argued to reflect a split linguistic identity (Sitaridou 2013) which consists on the one hand of Rumca as a family and heritage language and on the other hand of Turkish as the official language and a marker of the speakers' national identity. The competition of the two languages is visible in the bilingual repertoire of the speakers and accompanies language shift.

According to language policy, Rumca is neither used in education nor in the media. Solely in social media, members of G3 and G4 use Rumca nick names which express heritage identity and function as group markers. Like in informal spoken register, members of G3 and G4 may use Rumca words in informal written language in the internet. Furthermore, they use Rumca nicknames as marker of their heritage group-belonging in online forums. Finally, cultural and regional identity are expressed in various YouTube films issuing food, nature, dances, language, or music of the Pontic Alps. Media analysis could provide further insights into representation of attitudes in these documents.

Similar to the domains of Rumca use, its functions vary according to competence/age. Elderly people claim to use Rumca with everybody who speaks it and for all purposes. However, they lack interlocutors and domains which may lead to frustration (*hiç bir yerde yaramıyor* F54, "There is no chance to use it"). Younger respondents instead use Rumca in emotional contexts, communication with parents and grandparents, and as a secret code. Members of G4 associate Rumca mostly with their grandparents or talk of old people in the villages. However, they claimed to use their restricted lexical Rumca knowledge "for fun" (*espriyle*) in their conversation with relatives and friends. This implies, however, that there is also a Rumca group identity among young speakers. The emotional value of Rumca arises from its function as home and family language. Members of G2 claim to use it in communication with their parents and when chatting with friends (*Mesela sevdiğimiz arkadaslarla görüştüğümüzde Rumca konuşabiliyoruz.* M58, "For example when we meet with our beloved friends we may speak Rumca."). Furthermore, they expect Rumca use when

[46] See (E.2) in Appendix for a detailed statement of a young male respondent concerning his perception of the role of Turkish in Turkey.

returning to the villages as they associate Rumca with their homeland. Asked for the situations for which Rumca is most appropriate, respondents referred to emotional expressions like 'I love you', exclamations when angry or when arguing or telling jokes. The most practical function of Rumca is its use as cryptolanguage. It is used as a secret code especially toward children but also in public. The latter contrasts the perceived inappropriateness of Rumca use in presence of others. Furthermore, Rumca use reflects a positive perceived group membership as the language is considered helpful when finding a job or receiving discount from a Rumca-speaking shop owner (*Karadenizler birbirlerini buluyor bu dille.* F20, "Black Sea people find each other by means of this language"). As for out-group contacts, respondents claimed to occasionally use Rumca in order to communicate with Greek tourists or when visiting relatives in Cyprus. In this, Rumca use becomes meaningful which is perceived positive by the respondents (*Yunanlarla kısmen anlaşabiliyoruz. Bu da bize mutluluk verir.* M58, "We can communicate with Greeks to some extent. This makes us happy.").

4.2.4 Language attitudes

The following variables were found to affect language attitudes: (i) age, (ii) language competence, (iii) identity function, (iv) gender, (v) speech community, and (vi) language of data collection. Before a discussion of common attitudes towards Rumca, these findings will be briefly presented below.

(i) The attitudes of the younger generation were found to be more positive than those of the elder generations. This is due to the following[47]:

I. The age of respondents was found to correlate significantly with any shame the respondents felt when speaking Rumca, p=.006, r=-.523. The majority of respondents of G1 felt ashamed of speaking Rumca whereas other respondents did not.

II. The age of respondents was found to correlate significantly with respondents' desires to see Rumca in written form, p=.040, r=.413. Most younger respondents want to see Rumca in written form whereas none of the G2 respondents would want to.

III. The age of respondents was found to significantly correlate with the respondents' desire for Rumca to be maintained, p=.027, r=.425. The older the respondents, the less they want Rumca to be maintained.

These results show that G1 and G2 participants have negative attitudes towards Rumca

[47] See the cross tabs for all three findings in Appendix D (Table D.8, D.9, D.10).

whereas the attitudes of G3 and G4 are mostly positive. These findings are not easy to interpret. As mentioned before, negative attitudes in G1 speakers are assumed to have been introduced to them by their children (G2). A possible explanation for negative attitudes of G2 could be the fact that this generation was confronted with very restrictive policies towards minorities when they came to Istanbul in the 1980s.[48] As these policies improved in the context of the EU accession negotiations from 1999 onwards, younger respondents may have been confronted with more open policy. Furthermore, G1 and G2 participants may show a higher involvement with minority issues since their linguistic identity is linked to Rumca because of their competence in the language. For younger generations, identification links with the language are weak.

(ii) The attitudes of respondents were found to correlate with language competence. The greater the language competence, the more respondents sought to speak Rumca, r=.611, p=.003, indicating positive feelings towards Rumca use (see also Özkan 2013). Furthermore, as has been pointed out above, respondents of G1 assume broad Rumca language use whereas young respondents state that Rumca is mainly used when elderly people meet. Moreover, respondents with a good command of Rumca tend to estimate its number of speakers as higher and claim that Rumca is used in various domains. Finally, members of G1 stated that Rumca has a particular value for them as it is the language they acquired first and in which they can express themselves best.

(iii) Attitudes are related to the identity function of a language as attitudes are considered to accompany and construct individual identities (Tabouret-Keller 1997). Respondents with high Rumca competence perceive Rumca as a linguistic expression of their identity which evokes positive attitudes. Given the lack of Rumca competence at G3 and G4, younger respondents lack linguistic identity and focus instead on local, cultural or heritage identities as outlined below.

(iv) Gender was found to have an affect on attitudes, with females exhibiting more positive attitudes than men. This is confirmed by the finding that perceived pride of being a Rumca speaker correlates significantly with the gender variable, p=.006, r=.527. None of the male respondents was proud of speaking Rumca. This finding can be explained by the more Turkish nationalistic attitudes in males who have a better school education than women and more contact to out-group members. The influence of Turkish nationalism in education on males' political attitudes is confirmed with the following: *Gurur Türkçe konuşmaktan duyuyoruz. Başka bir dili konuşmaktan çok gurur duya bir şey yok yani.*

[48] For a detailed presentation of Turkish minority language policy see Chapter 5.

(M43), “We are proud of speaking Turkish. Speaking another language is nothing to be proud of.”.

(v) The location of the speech community was found to affect language attitudes as the attitudes towards Rumca are more positive in the villages than in Istanbul. This is confirmed by Sitaridou (2013) who found positive attitudes towards the language and its maintenance in the village of Anasta. In contrast, attitudes of the Istanbulite community towards Rumca, which will be presented below, are more critical (cf. also Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015). Differences result from increased contact of Rumca speakers to Turkish mainstream attitudes, policy, and education in the urban centres.

(vi) The language of data collection affects the elicited judgements as language use constructs group boundaries and thus yields more positive attitudes towards the interview language (see Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015). Thus, conducting the interviews in Turkish together with the fact that the interviewer was not a member of the community may have yielded more negative attitudes towards Rumca than the same survey conducted in Rumca would have.

4.2.4.1 Positive language attitudes towards Rumca

Language attitudes towards Rumca are presented by the respondents in a continuum of overt and covert attitudes. In general, attitudes towards Turkish are expressed overtly whereas attitudes towards Rumca are expressed covertly. However, attitudes towards Rumca which are in line with mainstream attitudes are expressed freely. Firstly, Rumca is valued as a regional language with a distinct cultural identity that may be expressed overtly by means of symbols such as food, music, or clothing. For example, Rumca folk songs are very popular among the respondents irrespective of age. Often, positive attitudes towards Rumca coincide with an appreciation of a Black Sea or Trabzon local identity. A positive perceived Rumca group belonging is expressed by the fact that respondents perceive Rumca as useful as it may help them to find a job or to get discount in a shop. Secondly, Rumca is perceived positively as a language of ancestors, functioning as a marker of heritage identity. Positive perceptions towards Rumca as a heritage language are first of all related to Rumca as language of elderly family members rather than to an abstract ethnic descent (but cf. Sitaridou 2013). The statement in (26) combines positive attitudes towards Rumca as regional language with its heritage function.

(26) *Mesela burda yaşıyorum, ana dilim Türkçe. Ama Trabzonluyum, bu da yöre ayit çok hoş bir dili var. Eskilerden dilimizi günümüze gelen.. ona tabii öğrenmek isterdim.* F27

"For example, I live here [Istanbul] and my mother tongue is Turkish. But I'm from Trabzon and there they have a really nice regional language. It has been passed down from our elders to people today. Of course, I would like to learn it."

Appreciation of Rumca as a heritage language of the family was only found to be common at G3 and G4. This suggests that heritage identity is the next step downwards on the vitality scale when linguistic identity declines due to interrupted language transmission.[49] Linguistic distance towards Rumca is present in young respondents attributing Rumca adjectives like *sempatik* ("sympathic"), *hoş* ("nice"), and *eğlencili* ("fun"). Furthermore, they claim to appreciate Rumca *hobi olarak* ("as a hobby"). Meanwhile, G1 and G2 respondents, for whom Rumca functions as the home and family language, appreciate the emotional warmth of expressions in Rumca which cannot be replaced by Turkish.

4.2.4.2 Valorisation of plurilingualism & equation of Rumca with other languages

Valorisation of plurilingualism is a common feature in Turkish culture. There is a saying *bir dil bir insan, iki dil iki insan* ("one language one human, two languages two humans") which means that the more languages one speaks, the more identities one has. The saying reflects the understanding that language transports cultural values and cultural knowledge is considered desirable. In this sense, respondents highlighted the existence of Latin roots in many Rumca words as a positive fact which confirms the relevance of Rumca and helps them to understand medical terms. Furthermore, the finding that Rumca speakers were perceived as more intelligent than Turkish speakers due to the fact that they speak two languages reflects positive attitudes towards bilingualism. G2 and G3 respondents in particular perceive Rumca as having cultural value. In G3 respondents, this attitude may replace a lack of other identification links towards Rumca as confirmed in (27). In G2 respondents, however, this attitude seems to override sensitive personal attitudes.

(27) *Hayatımızdan çok bir şey eksilmiş olmaz, ama bir zenginliğin kayıpı adına üzülürüm.* M29

[49] This assumption is in line with language endangerment scales like e.g. EGIDS, where linguistic identity is high in the scale and heritage or history identity are at the bottom.

> "[Loss of Rumca] cannot be such a loss to our lives but I do regret the loss of a wealth."

Finally, the equation of Rumca with other languages is a related attitude which also justifies the existence of Rumca. Interestingly, Rumca is equated here with other languages albeit in terms of literacy and use, it is perceived as incomparable with other languages. The fact that even an out-group woman who married into the community showed this attitude leads to the assumption that the equation pattern functions as a group mechanism for justifying Rumca use.

4.2.4.3 Linguistic awareness & language maintenance

Istanbulite Rumca speakers are highly aware of the origin of Rumca. The majority of respondents (21 out of 27) stated that Rumca stems from the Rum people (*Rumlardan*). Less frequent responses included having no awareness and that Rumca is derived from the respondent's parents and grandparents. However, no age-related effects were found. It is likely that respondents who gave the latter answers are indeed aware of the origin of Rumca but hesitated to mention this due to awareness of the sensitivity of Rumca's Greek origins. This implies that Rumca speakers are aware of the sensitivity of Turkish-Greek relations (Sitaridou 2013, Bortone 2009, Mackridge 1987, Brendemoen 2002) meaning ethnic identity is a sensitive topic.[50] Furthermore, negative attitudes towards Rum language and speakers are promoted in education and spread in mainstream society and so respondents have encountered negative experiences when speaking Rumca in public. Awareness of the political and societal sensitivity of the Rumca topic leads to covert attitudes toward Rumca, especially in terms of its perceived value and maintenance. Quote (28) shows the difficulties in expressing positive attitudes towards Rumca without expressing positive attitudes towards Greeks.

(28) *[Rumlar] bir düşman millet olarak görüyorum. […] Onun mileti o toplumu hiç sevmem. Salt o dil bize kültür olarak geldiği için, dile saygın var. Dile karşım bir saygım var. Yani onların dili olduğu için değil. Bir dil olduğu için severim.* M29

> "I see [the Rum people] as enemy nation. I do not like their nation and this community at all. Only because this language came to us through culture do I feel respect toward it. Not because it is their language. I like it because it is a language."

[50] Özkan (2013:137) defines this sensitivity with regard to identity questions as to the result of "the danger of being perceived as Greeks (Rum) clinging to their language and culture, or even worse as Pontians who seek 'their lost kingdom of Pontus' (which is an obscure accusation voiced by Turkish nationalists)".

Furthermore, Rumca speakers turned out to be very aware of the vitality of Rumca. They hold the following causes responsible for its endangerment (which correspond to the vitality factors as will be argued in Chapter 4.3): (i) cease of transmission, (ii) restriction of domains of language use, (iii) absence of interest in the youngest generation, and (iv) lack of promotion from the official side. Whether respondents expect Rumca to become extinct was found to significantly correlate with the variable age, p=.025, r=.440. The older the respondents, the less they expect Rumca to become extinct: unlike younger speakers, respondents of G2 do not believe in the extinction of Rumca. The results are summarised in Table D.11. The striking deviation at G2 may result from the ambivalent attitudes of this generation towards Rumca.

As presented above, approval of the maintenance of Rumca was found to correlate significantly with the variable age, with the most disapproval for retaining Rumca seen in G1 and G2. However, nearly all respondents support the maintaining of Rumca (22 out of 27) though their reasons may differ according to language competence and identity function: young respondents state that in general all languages are worth maintaining. The fact that they do not differentiate between Rumca and other languages shows that identification links are weak at G3 and G4. At G2, greater language competence implies that identification links towards Rumca use conflict with negative attitudes at the same time. At G1, respondents want Rumca to be maintained due to their high proficiency and the fact that they are used to speaking it (*alışkan*). At the same time, they are pessimistic about the decrease of domains of language use and the language's restricted functions (29).

(29) *Rumca'yı niye özlim ya? Çok konuştuğum değil. Ama yani olabilir. Niye olabilir? Çocukken çok alıştığımız, duydugumuz için duymak isterim. O zamanlar hatırlarsın*.

"Why should I miss Rumca? It is not spoken so much. Well, it might be possible. Why? I would like to hear it as we have learned and heard [Rumca] a lot in our childhood. You remember these times." M43

The majority of respondents want Rumca to be promoted (18 out of 25), with nearly all respondents of G3 and G4 approving promotion but only a minority of G2. Respondents in G2 rejected Rumca maintenance and promotion, claiming it is not necessary given their Turkish identity and their use of Turkish as a mother tongue. Young respondents suggested promoting Rumca by means of language courses, which would require the development of a written language first. However, when asked about their (dis-)approval of Rumca use in the media only half of the respondents stated that they would approve Rumca use in newspapers

because they believe that it would be Greek media as Rumca is not associated with literacy and power. Furthermore, possible promotion of Rumca at G3 would always be in accordance with the Turkish identity of the respondents as evidenced by the response of one male participant who would approve of Rumca promotion, but only when not carried out at the expense of the Turkish state.

4.2.4.4 Negative language attitudes towards Rumca

Negative language attitudes of the respondents towards Rumca include the following perceptions: (i) Rumca is not useful as nobody speaks it, (ii) Rumca is more difficult than Turkish, (iii) it is not as good as Turkish, (iv) it is not as functional as standard languages, (v) Rumca is not a "real" language due to its oral character, and (vi) Rumca is attrited and mixed with Turkish. These attitudes will be briefly outlined below.

(i) The lack of competent speakers and domains of language use of Rumca is believed to diminish the value of Rumca, cause negative attitudes, and lead to frustration, especially in L1-speakers (30).

(30) *Bence şimdi Türkçe daha güzel. Onu eski dili bilen yok. Değeri düşüyor. Sevduğum içun konuşuyorum oni yoksa bu daha iyi*. F76

"Turkish is nicer for me now. There is nobody who knows the old language. Its value diminishes. I speak it because I love it, otherwise Turkish is better."

The fact that the respondent in (30) calls Rumca "the old language" of former times (e*ski zaman dilidur*, F78) shows how progress in language shift towards Turkish is taking place in elderly respondents.

(ii) Incomplete L2-acquisition of Rumca may lead to the perception that Rumca is more difficult than Turkish and therefore inferior. This perception is based especially on parts of the phonetic inventory of Rumca which are different from Turkish (31).

(31) *Eğer Türkçe güzel konuşuluyorsa Rumca'dan daha güzel. Telafüsü de daha güzel. Daha insani yormuyor. Rumca'da mesela s yok, daha peltek kesgin c var. Onlarda daha zorlanıyorsun. Dil daha cok zorlanıyor*. F50

"When Turkish is spoken nicely, it is better than Rumca. Also its articulation is better. It is not so tiring for the speaker. Rumca has for example no /s/, it has a more lisping sharp /c/. You have more difficulties with them. This language is much more difficult."

(iii) Turkish is perceived as better than Rumca in its function as a standard language, which leads to ambivalent attitudes in Rumca L1-speakers: on the one hand they adhere to their

mother tongue, on the other hand they take over the mainstream attitude that Turkish is preferable (32). Furthermore, they agree with the perception that Turkish speakers are more polite (*kibar*) and better educated than Rumca speakers (33).

(32) *Biz Rumca biluruk ama Türkçe daha kıymetli gelir bize*. F78
"We know Rumca but Turkish seems valuable to us."

(33) *Tabii ki [Türkçe konuşanlar daha eğitimli] çünkü okula gidiyorlar çok. Yani Rumca'yı bence yaslılardan, savaş döneminden sonra kalan eskilerden öğrenildi. Yani bir okula gidip öğrenmedi insanlar. Sadece kulaktan dolma şeyler. Ama Türkçe öyle değil.* F36
"Of course [Turkish speakers are more educated] because they went to school a lot. In my opinion, Rumca was learnt after the war period from the elders, from the elderly people who remained after the war period. These people haven't learned [Rumca] by going to school. These things are derived solely from listening. But Turkish isn't like this."

Rumca L2-acquirers use the word *değisik* to characterise Rumca. The use of this adjective, meaning "different" or "strange", indicates that the quality of Rumca is assessed in comparison to Turkish, which naturally results from the bilingual situation.

(iv) Like decrease in domains of language use, the restricted functions of Rumca are perceived negatively. For example, Rumca is perceived as less useful in comparison with European standard languages (34). This perception favours foreign language learning prior to acquisition of Rumca.

(34) *Olsa da olur, olmazsa da olur. Yani İngilizce gibi, Fransizca gibi intelektuel bir dil değil, internasyonal bir dil değil yani.* F50
"If there was [Rumca] okay, if there wasn't [Rumca] it would be okay, too. I mean, it isn't an intellectual language like English or French, it isn't an international language."

(v) Moreover, Rumca may not be perceived a "real" language as it is a solely spoken, regional minority language lacking the functional scope and prestige of standard languages. Lack of literacy is perceived negatively and leads to the assumption that Rumca has no grammar. Therefore, respondents claim that it cannot be written. They feel uncertain of their linguistic competence as they have only heard Rumca from their parents, having not learnt it at school. As a consequence, they hesitate to pass Rumca on to their children as they do not feel themselves competent enough. On the other hand, Rumca and literacy seem to be incompatible in the view of the speakers. This becomes apparent from questions about literacy which were answered with regard to Greek in Greece. For example, the respondents claimed not to be interested in Greek books, media or the use of the Greek alphabet when asked about written sources of Rumca.

(vi) Due to the high frequency of code-switching and lexical borrowing from Turkish, male respondents of G2 and G3 in particular perceive Rumca a mixed and "degenerate" language (*Türkçe'yle bir şekilde dejenere olmuş, kaynaşmış bir dil* M30, "a language which is mixed with Turkish and became somehow degenerate"). This perception may aim to diminish the wealth of Rumca as males in particular strive to portray a positive assimilation picture towards Turkish. Furthermore, negative attitudes in men may derive from weak identification links with Rumca. (35), showing how positive and negative attitudes interact in young men's responses, though identification with Rumca appears to be weak.

(35) *Zayıf bir dil, geliştirememiş dil. Biraz böyle hoş bir dil. Komik geliyor bana*. M29

"It is a weak language, not a developed language. It's somehow a nice language. It seems funny to me."

4.2.4.5 Attitudes towards Turkish

Attitudes towards Turkish are generally overtly expressed and solely positive in nature including (i) the beauty of the Turkish language, its broad grammar, history, and roots, (ii) its function as an official language (*resmi dil*), and (iii) its importance as a mother tongue and indicator of Turkish identity. The latter leads to a preference for Turkish especially in younger respondents (G3, G4) who perceive the value of Turkish in its identity-creating function (36). Therefore, all respondents agree that Turkish has to be spoken by everyone in Turkey in the first instance prior to regional languages. Furthermore, a young male respondent states that efforts at sustaining Rumca should not be at the expense of the Turkish state (37).

(36) [*Türkçe] aslında beni Türk yapan değerlerden biri, evet.* F25
"Actually, Turkish is one of the values which make me a Turk."

(37) *Buna imkan ve para harcaması istemem [...] hani bizim için biraz lüks*. M30
"I don't want to spend money on this, I mean, this is for us a little bit of luxury."

(38) *Bizim Türkçe hocamızdan mesela analatıyordu o dilin zenginliği falan. Dinlerken böyle çok dikkatım çekiyordu, Türkçe daha çok seviyordum böyle*. F13

"Our Turkish teacher explained for example the value of this language and so on. While listening he attracted my attention very much, so I loved Turkish even more."

Example (38) shows how positive attitudes towards Turkish derive from the promotion of Turkish in education. The influence of wider societal attitudes and school education reflect

the importance of the variable speech community for differing attitudes between Istanbul and in the villages (Sitaridou 2013). Furthermore, gender is an important variable as males always tend to have better school educations and are traditionally more concerned with political and societal questions than females. Therefore, young males in particular have a very nationalistic attitude (cf. nationalistic stance of people from Trabzon, Özkan 2013). Finally, a strong Turkish national identity goes hand-in-hand with a person's lack of Rumca competence and weak Rumca linguistic identity, leading to negative or lukewarm attitudes towards Rumca.

4.2.5 Identity function

The identity function of Rumca is affected by age, linguistic competence, and gender of the respondents though significant correlations with the dependent variables were not always found. For example, the majority of respondents perceive Rumca as valuable (21 out of 27) but there was no significant correlation with competence, age, or gender found, suggesting interference of other factors. Only a narrow majority would claim to miss Rumca if it wasn't used (14 out of 26 respondents) although the number was slightly higher when the respondents were asked whether they would regret the extinction of Rumca (17 out of 20 agreed). As mentioned above, a narrow majority of respondents feel proud of being a Rumca speaker whereas the pride of males diverged significantly (see Table D.12). The responses to the task of defining Rumca yield the following results: (i) Rumca is a language like others, (ii) it is the language of my parents and grandparents, (iii) it is the language of the Rum people, and (iv) it is a foreign[51] language different from Turkish. These results contain information on the different identification links towards Rumca which will be briefly summarised below.

Different forms of identity interact in Istanbulite Rumca speakers, such as national and citizenship identity, ethnic identity, cultural identity, and linguistic identity. The ways these identities interact in the speakers are understood as "acts of identity" (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985) whereby individuals create and use their different identities in interaction. Thereby, language expresses identification links and marks group affiliation and boundaries (Tabouret-Keller 1997). Identity function is considered important as a factor for language vitality as it motivates language maintenance. Narrow links exist between attitudes and identity as they effect each other. Given identity is a sensitive question in the Rumca community, the attitudes of the respondents allow us to assess the identity of the speakers. Positive attitudes towards Rumca are assumed to indicate a strong identificational relation.

[51] The translation is ambiguous because the Turkish word *yabancı* can be translated as "foreign" and "strange".

Possible identity functions of languages are, according to EGIDS, vehicular and home-, heritage- or historical identity-related. Following this framework, the identity function of Rumca arguably includes both home as well as heritage identity depending on the age and language competence of the speaker.

Respondents of G1 and G2 have two linguistic identities, Rumca and Turkish, which compete in the sense outlined by Korth (2005) who claims that bilingualism expresses a mixed identity. Similarly, Sitaridou (2013) states, that Rumca speakers have a split linguistic identity (cf. Bortone 2009) which arises from the adherence of speakers to their two languages and is visible both in language competence and linguistic identity. The younger the respondents, the less they express this split identity, as bilingualism is transitional to Turkish monolingualism. Rumca has a home function for respondents with a Rumca linguistic identity because their competence has been acquired by using the language in the family. Respondents of G1 and G2 feel an affection towards Rumca as they associate its use with their family and childhood and may still use it with their parents. Instead, respondents of G3 and G4 have Turkish linguistic identity as well as heritage identity towards Rumca which compete as shown in (39).

(39) a. *Türk olduğum için ana dilimiz Türkçe, her şeyimiz Türkçe*. F50
"Because I am a Turk, our mother tongue is Turkish, everything about us is Turkish."
b. *Rumca da bizim özümüz de olduğu için bilmek isterdim*. F28
"I would like to know Rumca because it is also our origin."

Respondents of G3 and G4 display Rumca heritage identity as they have grown up with the language in their home although they cannot speak it. They perceive Rumca as valuable as the language of their grandparents and relatives in the villages and thus consider it part of their descent (*Ekstra bir şey hissetmiyorum ona karşı ama benim geçimişimde büyüklerimde olduğu için bir sevgim var ona karşi*. F28, "I don't feel anything special toward it but as it reflects my history and my forefathers, I feel affection towards it."). On the other hand, the emotional distance towards the language is higher, leading to attitudes as the equation pattern and general valuing of linguistic diversity. In G3 and G4 respondents, Turkish linguistic identity dominates Rumca heritage identity as shown in (40).

(40) *Eskilerimizden gördüğüm için tabii ki gurur duyuyorum ama Rumca'yı ana dili olarak kesinikle kabul edemem. Hani ama konuşurken hoşuma gidiyor. Gurur duyuyorum da, çünkü annem de o dili konuşuyor, anneannemin annesi,... Yani*

> *onlar hep konuştuğu için sempatik geliyor bana. Ama genelde Türkçe'yi daha çok kullanırım ve daha çok severim*. F21
>
> "As we have experienced Rumca from our elders, of course I am proud but I definitely do not consider it my mother tongue. But when it is spoken I like it. I am also proud because my mother also speaks this language, the mother of my mother,... I mean, because all of them have spoken it, I perceive it as likeable. But in general, I use Turkish more and I love it more."

G2 is the most problematic generation in terms of identificational relations, becoming apparent in this group's negative attitudes towards Rumca which are considered to be caused by the clash of identities in this generation. G2 respondents have Rumca linguistic identity and grew up with Rumca as the home and family language. Yet they were confronted with Turkish national identity when immigrating to urban centres. Their assimilation process here has not been without negative experiences and conflicts.

Turkish national identity can be considered the basic identity which is equally present in all respondents. Though, the younger the respondent, the stronger their Turkish national identity with men in particular expressing it strongly. Sitaridou (2013) states that "the Trabzon population compensates for historical 'non-Turkishness' with a very nationalistic stance" (see also Özkan 2013). Desired assimilation to mainstream society is furthermore visible in the fact that Rumca speakers adhere to a history theory which is presented by some Turkish scholars and seeks to deny the Greek ethnic origin of Rumca speakers and demonstrating their Turkish identity instead (Bilici 2011). According to this theory, the ancestors of the respondents learnt Rumca when the Rum people invaded Pontus and forced the Turkish inhabitants to learn their language.[52] Furthermore, the Turkish national identity of Rumca speakers is emphasised by diminishing other minority groups as especially Kurds (41).

(41) *Doğuda, hani Kürt derler onlara, bizim doğudakiler bizimkilerine göre çok daha basitlar: Türkçe bilmiyorlar, para tanımıyorlar, yol iş bilmiyorlar, tek başına hiç bir yere gidemezler ama bizim kadınlarımız öyle değil.* F50

"In the east, they call them Kurds... our people in the east are much more simple than our people: They don't know Turkish, have no money, don't know how to build roads, they cannot go anywhere on their own; our women are not like this."

Besides Turkish national identity, Rumca speakers have a strong Muslim identity (Bortone 2009, Özkan 2013) functioning as a dissolution of the split between Rumca and Turkish identity by emphasising common religious identity. Furthermore, the Muslim faith is used as

[52] Note that the same interpretation of history is found in the Hemshin, an Armenian ethnic minority of Muslim faith, living in the area of Rize (Simonian 2006).

a strong indicator of Turkishness. Emphasis on Turkish and Muslim identity entails at the same time rejection of any Rumca ethnic identity (Bortone 2009, Özkan 2013) in relation to Greece, which is still considered an enemy country (Sitaridou 2013). Denial of any links to Greece goes so far that some female respondents from G2 even hesitated to mention the word Rum or Greek.[53] On the one hand, respondents are aware of the Greek origin of Rumca and may even recognize shared cultural elements. Due to the lack of a distinct ethnic identity, Rumca speakers have no political identity and do not strive to gain national acknowledgement (Sitaridou 2013, Bortone 2009, Mackridge 1987). Local and heritage identity may be expressed through Black Sea cultural identities, whose expression is less sensitive as cultural diversity is acknowledged in the Turkish mainstream and adherence to the *memleket* ("homeland") is common (42). This includes regional dividing markers of cultural identity such as food, music, clothing, and dialects. Example (43) shows that Rumca is perceived as a marker of Black Sea cultural identity like the typical food of the area.

(42) *Rumca'yı yerli bir kesim bildiği için bana o yüzden yakın geliyor. Memleketten dolayı yakın geliyor, evet.* F30

"Rumca distresses me because it is known by indigenous people. It distresses me as it is related to the homeland."

(43) *Karadenizin fındığı eh baska.. lahanası gibi bir şey olmuş. Yani bizim yöremize ait bir şeymiş gibi olmuş*. F32

"[Rumca] is something like the Black Sea hazelnut or something... like the Black Sea cabbage. It has something particular to our tradition."

4.2.5.1 Case study glossonomy

Naming is an important expression of group identity as it functions as a boundary marker as with language use in general. Tabouret-Keller (1997: 321) stated that "groups […] cannot ignore the boundary-marking function of language, if only by the name of the group". The labels Rumca speakers use to denote their language and especially to refer to themselves as a group informs us about their identity. Besides the name of the group, place names may also function as markers of group boundaries. Although non-Turkish place names were changed into Turkish ones in 1949, many Rumca speakers are not aware of the new Turkish place names as the old Rumca names are commonly used. However, the fact that all respondents call their language by its Turkish name Rumca (and are aware of it being the Turkish name at

[53] The influence of Turkish language policy on these behaviours is shown by the fact that a 20-year old female respondent from Berlin freely uses the term *Yunanca* ("Greek") when speaking about Romeyka.

the same time[54]), and not with the term Romeyka[55], indicates the dominance of the Turkish identity. Furthermore, Rumca speakers do not perceive themselves as a distinct group and therefore have no distinct name for themselves (see quote E.3 in Appendix E). Instead, they mostly refer to themselves as "Rumca speakers" (*Rumca konuşan/bilen*)[56] which indicates the importance of language competence, i.e. linguistic identity, for group belonging. The labels given to Rumca by the respondents were found to correlate significantly with the age variable (p=.033, r=-.436, see Table D.13). G4 respondents stated that there is no name for Rumca-speaking people which indicates their weak identification links towards Rumca. Furthermore, G3 respondents claimed to call Rumca speakers by their kinship term as mother or grandmother. The impersonal term *Rumca bilen* "person who knows Rumca" is mostly used by G2 but also by others. The label Turk is especially used by respondents of G1 and G2 which is in line with earlier findings that elderly respondents have more negative attitudes towards Rumca and aim to emphasise their Turkishness instead. The respondents' words show that respondents of G1 may also call Rumca speakers by their own name or the name of their home village (F78). This indicates that Rumca is a regular part of L1 speakers' identities.

4.3 Discussion: factors affecting the linguistic vitality of Rumca

Within this study, eleven vitality factors were tested which were found to be affected by the following independent variables: (i) age, (ii) language competence, (iii) gender, and (iv) speech community. These independent variables affect language vitality in the following ways:

(i) The older the speaker, the stronger vitality is.
(ii) The higher the linguistic competence of the speaker, the stronger the vitality.
(iii) Females generally hold more positive attitudes than males (cf. Sitaridou 2013).
(iv) In Istanbul vitality is lower than in the villages (cf. Sitaridou 2013).

The effect of these independent variables on language vitality functions via attitudes, which are in turn influenced by vitality factors including language policy and identity function. In sum, three vitality factors, (I) language attitudes, (II) language policy and

[54] See example *Romeyka Rumca bir tabirdir. Türkce degil. Türkcesi Rumca.* M59, "Romeyka is a designation of Rumca. It is not Turkish, the Turkish equivalent is Rumca."
[55] Only four respondents claimed to have heard the term Romeyka before. However, among them was a L1 speaker of Rumca who replied when being asked about the term Romeyka *Öyle konuşuyorlar hemi?* ("They speak like this, don't they?" F78) which indicates that the term is used in Romeyka.
[56] The form *Rumcalar* with the Turkish plural suffix came up once in an interview with an elderly female respondent when referring to Rumca speaking people.

education, and (III) identity function were found to affect the language vitality of Rumca. Factors with an indirect influence include the domains of language use and literacy, which affect language attitudes. Other factors like language transmission, bilingualism and speaker numbers are considered marginal as they merely describe the state of vitality rather than affecting it. In sum, the model of factors presented in Figure 4 was found to be decisive for Rumca vitality: the larger the size of the factor, the higher its influence.

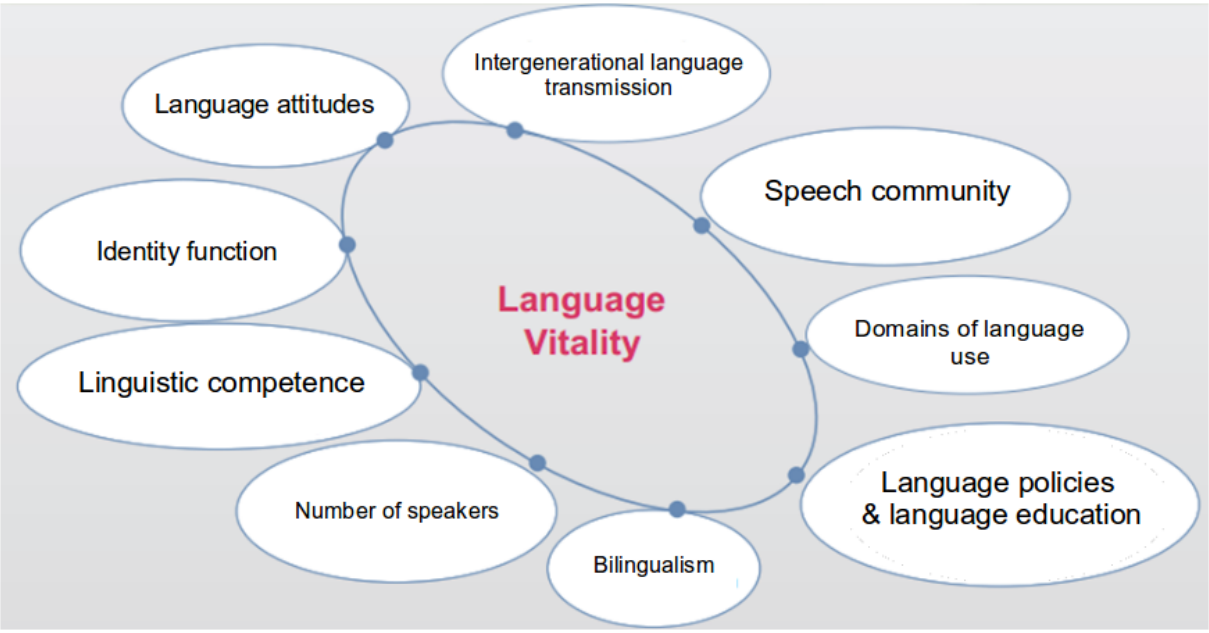

Figure 4: Decisive vitality factors of Rumca (adapted from Brenzinger et al. 2003)

Relevant factors and variables were found to interact as follows: first, language competence which correlates with the age of the speaker appeared to be important for language vitality as it was found to influence identity function and attitudes (see also Özkan 2013) in the following sense: the more competent the speaker, the more positive their attitudes and the stronger their linguistic identity. This finding can however be blurred by the interference of negative attitudes from G2 to G1 (as for example in the case of F76). The negative attitudes of G2 towards Rumca exist despite this generation's high language competence and result from the interference of negative attitudes from Turkish mainstream society after migration to urban centres. The assimilation pressure in the Istanbulite speech community impeded Rumca language transmission at G3. Therefore, secondly, the location of the speech community turned out to be the most decisive factor since in terms of remoteness and traditional ways of life it is related to a) original social structures and work mechanisms in the villages linked to Rumca language use, b) the assimilation toward Turkish mainstream society and adoption of (negative) attitudes from the mainstream, and c) the impact of nationalistic education and

overtly negative attitudes towards minority languages. The latter two are strongly at work in Istanbul, stimulated by assimilation tendencies and contact with language policy mechanisms and education. Thus, language policy is an important factor influencing attitudes towards language and identity in cities. Awareness of the political sensitivity (Sitaridou 2013, Bortone 2009, Mackridge 1987) of Istanbulite Rumca speakers is visible in mechanisms that downplay use of the language like equation of Rumca with other languages, valuing of plurilingualism, prevailing negative attitudes about Rumca use, lack of literacy, and contact-induced changes. Furthermore, it is reflected in mechanisms of identity-related justification since the lack of a distinct group and adherence to a history theory which seeks to deny a distinct ethnic identity. Differences in identity function between the speech communities become apparent in comparison with the findings of Sitaridou (2013). She found the "Anasta" community to have a strong cultural identity although the external conditions are unfavourable to language maintenance, like in Istanbul. Although the speakers seem not to be very aware of the origin of their language, linguistic identity was claimed to be strong in this community as the speakers adhere to their ancestral language and in general express positive attitudes towards its use (Sitaridou 2013). Özkan (2013) found similar results in Beşköy (Romeyka of Sürmene): Speakers can very well identify with their language and acknowledge Rum identity. This is confirmed by the respondent from Berlin who stems from Beşköy (44).

(44) *Hani öyle kişiler tarafından teşvik edilirse eğer, bence yasayabilir bir dil çünkü hala insanlar böyle Eski Yunanca'yı bir şey duyuyorlar, bir böyle özlem haset mi kökenleri hep ordan alıyorlar mesela*. F20

"If Rumca was promoted on the part of the people, it could be a living language because many people feel something towards old Greek like - regardless of nostalgia or enviousness - they take their roots from it."

This confirms the claim that identity varies according to the speech community. However, the language of elicitation could account for these differences, too: The methodology of data collection is ascribed an important role as it has been argued that interviews in Rumca would have elicited different judgements with more positive attitudes due to the increased group boundary marking brought by Rumca language use. In line with the current findings from the Istanbulite Rumca community, however, this would ignore the distinct linguistic identity of young respondents, who are much more assimilated into Turkish mainstream identity.

5 Rumca within Turkish society

The present chapter aims to show how language policy and education affect the language vitality of Rumca by means of manipulating attitudes and identity.[57] Firstly, the main features of Turkish language policy including minority policy from the formation of the Republic in 1923 until today will be outlined. Afterwards, the spread of these policies by means of education and their effects on the vitality of Rumca are described.

After its formation in 1923, the Turkish Republic was built on the French unitary nation-state model (Atikcan 2010). Nation-state ideology built the basis for a standard language ideology which sought to promote Turkish as the national standard language and the sole mother tongue of all Turks. Having a shared language was understood as an identifying marker of the nation after the abolition of religion as a unifying marker after the end of the Ottoman period (McGonagle, Noll & Price 2003). Turkish is still the only official language of Turkey. In order to transfer Turkish into an "Ausbau-Sprache" (Kloss 1967), corpus planning (i.e. purification, standardisation, and enrichment of the Turkish language) as well as status planning were conducted in the early years of the Republic. The Turkish Language Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu*), which is still in operation, was built in 1932 in order to supervise and conduct language planning. Status planning (Haugen 1993) included the spreading of prestige and positive attitudes towards Turkish, also through scholarly support in form of the Sun-Language Theory (*Güneş-Dil Teorisi*) and the Turkish History Hypothesis (*Türk Tarih Tezi*).[58] A history theory which denies the foreign ethnic identity of assimilated minorities and is similar to these pseudo-scientific theories is still common among Rumca speakers (Bilici 2011).

The Turkish national identity concept is based on citizenship identity (cf. Tabouret-Keller 1997) and does not accept ethnic origin whose maintenance was more or less a question of personal choice (Virtanen 2003). This appeared necessary given the multi-ethnic nature of the Ottoman Empire and its millet system (i.e. the classification of the population into religious communities, Bartholomä 2012) which led to riots at the end of the Ottoman Empire and supported its decline. The Turkish national identity concept is called "umbrella concept" or "upper identity" since it includes all citizens of Turkey.[59]

[57] Cf. UNESCO: "National policy [...] has in any case a direct impact on the language attitude of the community itself."

[58] Both theories came up in the 1930s. The "Turkish History Hypothesis" was an attempt to trace the origin of all Ancient civilisation back to the Turks. Similarly, the "Sun-Language Theory" aimed to trace all languages back to a Turkish "Ur-Sprache" in Anatolia (Haig 2003).

[59] The terms stem from the Turkish authorities which provided an official definition of being Turkish in 1999 (Bartholomä 2012).

In relation to Turkish national identity, Turkish minority policy sought to deny and eliminate the existence of minorities and was outlined in the Treaty of Lausanne 1923 (Article 37-45). In the Treaty, minority languages are defined according to religion, guaranteeing minority rights to groups of non-Muslim faiths like Orthodox Greeks, Jews, and Armenians but not Muslim minorities like Kurds, Tatars, Uyghurs, and Circassians.

Minority policy in Turkey from the 1930s onwards sought to assimilate minority groups. Haig (2003) describes this process as accompanied by a systematic "invisibilisation" and "denigration" of minorities. "Denigration" describes the systematic devaluation of minority languages combined with the valorisation of the Turkish standard language. Devaluation of minority languages included attempts to reinterpret them as Turkish dialects (cf. Haig 2003) or the spreading of negative prestige by calling them "languages which remained local and undeveloped" (Virtanen 2003: 24). As a strategy of "invisibilisation", "visible assimilation" aimed to systematically remove symbols of minority groups like for example the re-naming of Kurdish or Greek place names with Turkish ones in 1949 (Haig 2003). As the biggest act of "physical assimilation" (Haig 2003), the Treaty of Lausanne legalised the population exchange with Greece in 1923, in the course of which a large part of the Christian Pontic Greek community of Turkey was resettled in Greece, with the Muslim population of Greece sent to Turkey. This resettlement may be considered the biggest exodus of the Pontic Greek speaking community, inevitably contributing to language endangerment (Sitaridou 2013). Though many Christian Greeks maintained life in a community in Northern Greece, contact with Modern Standard Greek led to the loss of ancient features of Pontic Greek in Greece, which are still preserved in Romeyka (cf. Sitaridou 2014a,b).

After a change of the Turkish constitution in 1982, more restrictions on language issues were made. Karimova & Deverell (2001) consider the year 1983 as the low point in minority language policy, when the "Law Concerning Publications and Broadcasts in Languages Other Than Turkish" (Law No. 2932) was passed, which defined Turkish as the mother tongue of all Turkish citizens and prohibited the use of other languages as a mother tongue (Article 26). Furthermore, publication, broadcasting and education in these languages were prohibited. Following accession negotiations with the European Union in 1999, some amendments were made such as granting permission of private minority-language teaching for adults and private

television broadcasting in Kurdish.[60] However, the ECRM (European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages) has not as yet been signed by Turkey.

A restrictive minority language policy together with the strong promotion of Turkish national ideology led to overtly-expressed negative attitudes toward minorities which are spread by means of education and are reproduced in mainstream society. These lead to minorities having a negative self-image, bringing about their rapid assimilation into mainstream society. The effect of Turkish language policies on the attitudes of Rumca speakers is visible in their negative attitudes of G2 towards Rumca and their emphasis on Turkish identity. Migrating to Istanbul in the 1980s, the Rumca speakers were confronted with an intensification of resentment against minorities through the constitutional amendment of 1982 and the laws prohibiting the use of other languages. Socialised in this political atmosphere, Rumca speakers of G2 were rapidly assimilated, abandoning any distinct group identity and ceasing to transmit Rumca to their children.

[60] Progress in Turkish minority rights was often seen in relation with the concessions in the context of the Kurdish Initiative (Kurdish opening) by the government of Erdoğan in 2009 which were withdrawn recently in 2015.

6 Conclusion

This thesis provided a comprehensive description of the sociolinguistic situation of Rumca by means of an attitudinal study. It did not aim for a comparative vitality classification (see Grimes 2000; Moseley 2007, 2010; Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014). Instead, the present study applied a set of vitality factors, especially developed for Rumca, to the sociolinguistic situation of the language and sketched the interplay of these factors in how they affect language maintenance.

In this thesis it has been argued that:

I. The vitality assessment for the Istanbulite community does not apply for other speech communities equally. Language vitality of Istanbulite Rumca turned out to be worse than vitality in the village of "Anasta" (cf. Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015, Sitaridou 2013). Poor vitality was found to be accompanied by negative attitudes. The differences in vitality result from the findings of II.

II. First, Turkish national and language policies affect the language vitality of Rumca by influencing language attitudes and identity. Second, Istanbulite Rumca speakers are fully aware of the sensitivity of Rumca language use and identity (Sitaridou 2013, Bortone 2009, Mackridge 1987). Third, this awareness becomes visible in the mechanisms of linguistic excuse, i.e. the equating of Rumca with other languages and valuing of plurilingualism. Negative attitudes towards Rumca such as a perceived lack of literacy and contact-induced changes have been taken over from Turkish mainstream and officials. Fourth, negative attitudes towards Rumca were found to be gender-related: Males exhibit more negative attitudes due to increased out-group contact, political affinity, and education (Sitaridou 2013). Fifth, Turkish dominance is fully acknowledged within the speech community, indicating a near completion in language shift towards Turkish (in line with Korth 2005).

III. Language vitality corresponds to the identity function of the language. First, the identity function of Rumca varies according to the age of the speakers. L1 and L2 aquirers of Rumca use it as home language whereas the young generations (G3 and G4) know it only as a heritage language of the family. The existence of a split identity between Turkish and Rumca, also in terms of language use, has been confirmed (cf. Sitaridou 2013, Bortone 2009). Second, linguistic identity was found to affect language attitudes: L1 acquirers of Rumca perceive its use, number of speakers, and competence as higher than younger respondents with no Rumca linguistic identity did. Third, a desired assimilation towards Turkish identity encourages mechanisms of identity-related excuse: adherence to a history

theory strengthening Turkish ethnic identity, denial of any distinct ethnic identity, and a strong gender-sensitive Turkish nationalistic stance (Sitaridou 2014, Özkan 2013). Fourth, naming practices express weak identification links towards Rumca, namely the lack of a group name and denotion of the language by its Turkish name.

IV. Language competence yields positive attitudes towards the language. First, the higher the linguistic competence, the more positive the attitudes of the speaker. Respondents of G2 represent an exception due to the interference of negative attitudes by policy and the mainstream. Second, the higher the linguistic competence, the better the language vitality due to interference of Rumca linguistic identity. Third, the fact that having Turkish as the language of data collection favours negative attitudes towards Rumca (Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015) shows that language use affects attitudes.

Consequently, the language vitality of Rumca is much worse than suggested by previous measurements because (i) linguistic competence and transmission are poor. Language vitality was found to be the poorer in younger respondents, incidating an interruption of intergenerational language transmission. (ii) Language shift towards Turkish is nearly complete in the younger generations (Sitaridou 2013). (iii) Through change of traditional lifestyles, hardly any domains of language use and distinct functions of Rumca remain. (iv) The lack of a distinct group identity and poor identification links towards Rumca especially in younger generations. (v) Turkish national ideology aims to achieve the adsorption of ethnic minorities and promotes solely Turkish, spreading negative attitudes towards minorities. (vi) Linguistic and cultural assimilation toward Turkish mainstream go hand-in-hand with negative attitudes towards Rumca. The poor vitality situation of Istanbulite Rumca derives from the sum of factors impeding language maintenance. These factors are divided into factors *influencing* language choice such as language policies, attitudes, and identity, and factors *describing* changes in the situation of the language such as number of speakers, linguistic competence, language transmission, domains of use, and bilingualism. The latter factors derive only from language choices which are made on the basis of two primary factors, i.e. language policies and identity, which are narrowly linked. As for the most influential vitality factors, different causes have been suggested: economic change and urbanization may be considered very important factors as they lead to fragmentation of the traditional speech communities (Moseley 2007, Bortone 2009, Yağmur 2001, Özkan 2013, Brendemoen 2002). Besides those factors related to migration and geographical mobility, Bortone (2009) considers Turkish military service and the lack of minority language education and media very influential factors. This is in line with the view given here. The

factors describing the linguistic situation are only results of an ongoing process caused by two reasons: first, economic mobility and urbanisation together with the change in traditional lifestyle and second, Turkish national and minority policies. Both factors cause assimilation towards the dominant society and thus, provoke changes in individual and group identities. The latter, however, is reflected in language attitudes whose investigation allows the understanding of the underlying processes. The attitudes cause changes in linguistic behaviour with respect to language choice, resulting in interruption of language transmission, lack of competence, domains, and meaningful functions of language use. Consequently, language policy and identity function are considered to be the most influential factors for language vitality.

Sitaridou (2013) meanwhile believes that, apart from macro-sociological factors, language transmission and attrition through contact with Turkish are the most influential factors endangering Romeyka. The investigation of the role of language internal changes in Romeyka language endangerment poses a requirement which could not be met within the present study. As frequently claimed, language shift may be accompanied by structural changes in the minority language (i.a. Sallabank 2011, Tsunoda 2005). In the case of Rumca, Sitaridou mentioned in a private conversation that Rumca speakers may have developed a mixed acrolect, which would in part explain why they consider Rumca a mixed variety. In order to investigate internal changes as a factor for vitality, further research on bilingualism and contact-induced changes such as borrowing in the different varieties of Romeyka is required.

After having pointed out the necessity for further vitality investigations into Rumca, the question remains whether language documentation should lead to revitalisation attempts like those provided by Fishman (1991). However, language revitalisation is always an intervention whose benefits needs to be properly assessed (Sitaridou & Schreiber 2015). Furthermore, as pointed out in the present study, different speech communities require appropriate approaches. Thus, documentation of Romeyka is an initial step in maintaining linguistic diversity and raising awareness and prestige, precursors to a change in the approach of Turkish official policies. Ultimately, however, it needs to be remembered that changes in language maintenance are expressions of language choice, and language belongs to the speakers.

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Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

	GIDS
LEVEL	Description
8	Need of reassembling the language from isolated older speakers and teaching it to demographically unconcentrated adults
7	Most users are socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active, but they are beyond child-bearing age
6	Informal intergenerational oracy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
5	Literacy in home, school and community, but without extra-communal support
4	Lower education in the language that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
3	Use of the language in the lower work sphere (outside of the language community) by speakers of both the minority and the dominant language
2	Use of the language in lower/local governmental services and mass media
1	Use of the language in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts

Table A.1: The GIDS levels adapted from Fishman (1991)

The Ethnologue's evaluative system for language vitality

Category	**Description**
Living	Significant population of first-language speakers
Second Language Only	Used as second-language only. No first-language users, but may include emerging users
Nearly Extinct	Fewer than 50 speakers or a very small and decreasing fraction of an ethnic population
Dormant	No known remaining speakers, but a population links its ethnic identity to the language
Extinct	No remaining speakers and no population links its ethnic identity to the language

Table A.2: The Ethnologue's vitality system (Grimes 2000)

Lewis & Simons' (2010) Expanded Gradual Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (adapted from Fishman 1991)*			
LEVEL	**LABEL**	**DESCRIPTION**	**UNESCO**
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

Table A.3: Lewis & Simons' (2010) Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

UNESCO degrees of endangerment (Moseley 2010)

	Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
	safe	language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted >> not included in the Atlas
	vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
	definitely endangered	children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
	severely endangered	language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
	critically endangered	the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
	extinct	there are no speakers left >> included in the Atlas if presumably extinct since the 1950s

Table A.4: UNESCO degrees of endangerment (Moseley 2010)

Degrees of endangerment according to Moseley's (2007) ***Encyclopedia of the World's Endangered Languages***

- *potentially endangered*, which usually implies lack of prestige in the home country, economic deprivation, pressure from larger languages in the public sphere and social fragmentation in the private, to the extent that the language is not being systematically passed on in the education system;
- *endangered*, where the youngest fluent speakers tend to be young adults, and there is a disjunction in passing on the language to children, especially in the school but even in the home environment;
- *seriously/severely endangered*, with the youngest fluent speakers being among the older generation aged fifty and over, implying a loss of prestige and social value over a generation ago;
- *moribund*, with only a tiny proportion of the ethnic group speaking the language, mostly the very aged;
- *extinct*, where no speakers remain. This last category, in terms of this encyclopedia, means that a language whose existence is remembered by living people in the community merits inclusion, because there is at least the faint or theoretical possibility of revival.

Table A.5: Degrees of endangerment according to Moseley (2007)

Appendix A – Language vitality frameworks

The Catalogue of Endangered Languages

Level of Endangerment	5 Critically Endangered	4 Severely Endangered	3 Endangered	2 Threatened	1 Vulnerable	0 Safe
Intergenerational Transmission	There are only a few elderly speakers	Many of the grandparent generation speak the language, but younger people generally do not.	Some adults in the community are speakers, but the language is not spoken by children.	Most adults in the community are speakers, but children generally are not	Most adults and some children are speakers.	All members of the community, including children, speak the language.
Absolute Number of Speakers	1-9 speakers	10-99 speakers	100-999 speakers	1000-9999 speakers	10,000-99,999 speakers	>100,000 speakers
Speaker Number Trends	A small percentage of the community speaks the language, and speaker numbers are decreasing very rapidly.	Less than half of the community speaks the language, and speaker numbers are decreasing at an accelerated pace.	Only about half of community members speak the language. Speaker numbers are decreasing steadily, but not at an accelerated pace.	A majority of community members speak the language. Speaker numbers are gradually decreasing.	Most members of the community or ethnic group speak the language. Speaker numbers may be decreasing, but very slowly.	Almost all community members or members of the ethnic group speak the language,and speaker numbers are stable or increasing.
Domains of use of the language	Used only in a few very specific domains, such as in ceremonies, songs, prayer, proverbs, or certain limited domestic activities.	Used mainly just in the home and/ or with family, and may not be the primary language even in these domains for many community members.	Used mainly just in the home and/ or with family, but remains the primary language of these domains for many community members.	Used in some non-official domains along with other languages, and remains the primary language used in the home for many community members.	Used in most domains except for official ones such as government, mass media, education etc.	Used in most domains, including official ones such as government, mass media, education, etc.

Table A.6: Language Endangerment Scale from the Cataloge of Endangered Languages

Num	VarNum	Factor	Sub-factor	Definition	Variable	Framework	Other Frameworks
1	1	Number of speakers		Proportion of speakers of the language to those of other languages in the community	Proportion of speakers of the language to those of other languages in the community	Edwards (1992)	UNESCO
	2				Proportion of L1-speakers of the language to those of other languages in the community	adapted from Ethnologue	
2	3	Proficiency		Linguistic capabilities of individual speakers in Romeyka	Linguistic capabilities of individual speakers in Romeyka	Edwards (1992)	
3	4	Transmission		Whether the language is transmitted to the youngest generation	Means of transmission (whether children learn the language at home or at schools)	Ethnologue	
	5				Existence of native speakers	Edwards (1992)	
	6				Intergenerational language transmission	UNESCO	Edwards (1992), GIDS, EGIDS
	7				Youngest proficient generation	EGIDS	
	8				Age range of the speakers	Ethnologue	
4	9	Domains		Trends in existing language domains	Trends in existing language domains (i.e. patterns of language use, communication mobility)	UNESCO	Edwards (1992), Ethnologue, Landweer (2000)
	10				Response to new domains and media	UNESCO	
	11				Level of official use	EGIDS	GIDS, EGIDS
	12				Use of the language in religion	Edwards (1992)	
	13				Distinctive nieches	SIL (FAMED)	Ethnologue
	14		Media	Whether and how the language is used in the media	Use of the language in the media	Edwards (1992)	
	15				Representation of the group in the media	Edwards (1992)	
5	16	Multilingualism		Language contact and contact-induced changes	Amount of language contact	Edwards (1992)	
	17				The use of second languages & kind of bilingualism (stable vs. Transitional)	Ethnologue	Edwards (1992)
	18				Use of the language by others as a (second) language	Ethnologue	
	19				Autonomy of the language, e.g. degree of linguistic distance between languages in the communtiy	Edwards (1992)	
	20				Structural consequences of contact; simplification & reduction processes		
	21				Frequency and type of code-switching	Landweer (2000)	

Num	VarNum	Factor	Sub-factor	Definition	Variable	Framework	Other Frameworks
6	22	Attitudes	Inside community	(Language) attitudes within the community	Community members attitudes toward their own language & self-esteem	UNESCO	Edwards (1992)
	23				Efforts for language purism		
	24		Outside community	Attitudes toward the language & community	Prestige or status of the language	Edwards (1992)	Landweer (2000)
	25				Other groups attitude toward this group	Edwards (1992)	Edwards (1992)
7	26	Identity	Identity function	Identity function of the language: heritage, historical, home, vehicular	Identity function of the language: heritage, historical, home, vehicular	EGIDS	
	27		Ethnic identity	Existence of ethnic identity related the language	Proportion of those who connect their ethnic identity with the language to those who do not	adapted from Ethnologue	
8	28	Internal variation		Existence and nature of internal variation	Internal varieties of the language (e.g dialects)	Edwards (1992)	
9	29	Literacy		Existence and nature of literacy	Existence and nature of a written language	Edwards (1992)	GIDS, EGIDS, Edwards (1992)
	30				Materials for language education and literacy	UNESCO	
	31				Standardization of the language, i.e. its unification and codification	Edwards (1992)	
10	32	Education		Existence of school support for or in the language	Is the language used as a medium of instruction or taught as a subject?	Edwards (1992)	
	33				Is there lower or higher education in the language?	GIDS	
	34				Literacy in the language is being transmitted through public education	EGIDS	
11	35	Documentation		Whether there is language documentation done	Amount and quality of documentation	UNESCO	
12	36	Policy	Official recognition	Governmental and institutional language attitude and policies including official status	Recognition of speaker's rights and ethnic identity	Edwards (1992)	
	37				Degree and extent of official recognition of the language	Edwards (1992)	EGIDS
	38		Institutional support	Institutional support for the use of the language in various domains	Institutional support given to the ethnic language (i.e. education, church, government, media)	Giles et al. (1977)	Edwards (1992)
	39				Organizations for the promotion of the community's interests	Edwards (1992)	

Num	VarNum	Factor	Sub-factor	Definition	Variable	Framework	Other Frameworks
13	40	Population		Population and group dynamics	Distribution of speakers within their own social networks	Landweer (2000)	Ethnologue
	41				Age of speakers	Edwards (1992)	
	42				Sex of speakers	Edwards (1992)	
	43				Demographic concentration	GIDS	Edwards (1992)
	44				Homogeneity of speakers, i.e. monoethnic vs. polyethnic nature of the community	Edwards (1992)	
	45				Marriage patterns	Edwards (1992)	
	46				Degree of interaction with other ethnic groups	Edwards (1992)	
	47				Cultural (dis)similarity between the groups	Edwards (1992)	
	48				Way of life, e.g. traditional lifestyle	Edwards (1992)	
	49				Upbringing of the children, e.g. in the family or village	Edwards (1992)	
	50				Social outlook regarding and within the speech community	Landweer (2000)	
	51		Status	Social status of the speakers	Social stratification in the ethnic group (e.g. speaker's class and their occupation)	Edwards (1992)	Edwards (1992)
	52		Migration	Patterns of migration	Residency and migration patterns of speakers (in- or out-migration)	Ethnologue	Edwards (1992)
	53		Religion	Religion and its role within the group	Religion of speakers and importance of religion for the group	Edwards (1992)	
	54				Type and strength of association between language and religion	Edwards (1992)	
	55		Economic opportunities	Access to a stable and acceptable economic base	Access to a stable and acceptable economic base	Landweer (2000)	Edwards (1992), Ethnologue
14	56	Geography		Nature of the speech community's location	Geographical extent of the language	Edwards (1992)	
	57				Existence and role of a national territory	Edwards (1992)	
	58				Isolation of the community and distance from urban centres	Edwards (1992)	Edwards (1992)
	59				Relative position on the urban-rural continuum	Landweer (2000)	
15	60	History		History of the group, the language, and current location	History of the group, the language, and the current location of the speech community	Edwards (1992)	Edwards (1992)

Appendix B – Attitudinal questionnaire

Questionnaire: language attitude / measuring the vitality of Rumca

Part I Awareness

1.1 Do you **know** Rumca?

1.2 What do you **call** the language?

a. when you speak **it** b. when you speak **Turkish**

1.3 What do you call the **speakers** who speak Rumca?

1.4 Do you know where it **origin**ates from?

a. Is it Turkish? b. Is it Laz? c. Is it something else?

1.5. There are Rumca speaking Christians in Istanbul. Is your language the same as theirs?

Part II Competence

R 2.1 How well do you speak Rumca? (active & receptive)

1. I understand evth. and can **say evth.** I want in a conversation
2. I understand evth. and can **say most** of what I want in a conversation
3. I understand most, but just can **say little**
4. I understand sth., but can **say a few** words/ phrases
5. I understand little, but **cannot** say anyth.
6. I don't understand Rumca but sometimes I use some **Rumca words** in Turkish
7. I never use Rumca, I **cannot** understand it

2.2 Which language(s) are/ were spoken **in your family**?

a. father (How old is he?) b. mother (How old is she?)
c. siblings d. grandmother (Does she speak Turkish?)

2.3 Does your **siblings** speak Rumca better (**0** or worse) than you? How does it differ?

2.4 Who do you think speaks Rumca better

O man O woman

a. Which **people** do you think speak Rumca best?
b. In which **village** do you think they speak Rumca best?

2.5 Writing

0 2.5.1 Can you write Rumca?
0 2.5.2 If **yes**, in which alphabet do you write Rumca?
0 2.5.3 If **not**, would you like to be able to write it?
0 2.5.4 If so, in which alphabet would you like to write Rumca?
2.5.5. Are there books in Rumca?

2.6 Multilingualism

2.6.1 In how many **languages** are you fluent? (And in which?)
0 2.6.2 Which language do you know better: Rumca or Turkish?
2.6.3 What do you consider to be your **mother tongue**?
2.6.4 What is your **second language**?
2.6.5 At which **age** did you learn your second language?

Part III Use

3.1 According to you, **where** is Rumca spoken?

O village O town

3.2 **Who** speaks Rumca?

a. O young people O old people
b. O men O woman
c. O educated O uneducated people

3.3 What do you think, **how many people** speak Rumca?

3.4 Is Rumca in all villages spoken in **the same** manner?

3.5 **Where** do people speak the **same** Rumca as you (your family) do?

3.6 In every day live, **how many languages** do you (Which?)
a. hear b. speak c. read d. write

3.7 Mixing
0 3.7.1 Do you mix **Rumca** with Turkish?
R a. Can you give an example how you mix Rumca with Turkish?

3.7.2 Do you mix **Turkish** with Rumca?
R a. Can you give an example how you mix Turkish with Rumca?

3.8 In which **situations** do you use Rumca? (In which situations is Rumca used?)

a. at **home** b. with the **neighbours** c. in **public**

O school	O municipality
O work	O doctor
O shops (Which?)	O mosque
O market	O other

0 R 3.9 With whom do you communicate in Rumca? (How old are they?)
a. your family
O husband/ wife O siblings O parents O children
b. neighbors
c. friends
d. villagers
e. doctor
f. strangers

0 3.10 Was your ability of speaking Rumca of any **use to you** recently?

3.11 Teaching
3.11.1 Do your **children learn** Rumca?
0 3.11.2 Would **you** like to **teach** Rumca to your children?
3.11.3 Would you like **someone else** to teach them Rumca? (school teaching)

3.12 **Where** would you like Rumca **to be used**?
a. at home / in your family
b. in public sphere

O school	O municipality
O work	O doctor
O town	O mosque
O market	O other

R 3.13 Imagine Rumca becomes **extinct**, in which situations would you miss it?

Part IV Attitudes

4.1 Rumca

R 4.1.1 Do you think Rumca is a **beautiful** language?

R 4.1.2 **What** do you **like** of Rumca?
- a. What **don't** you like?

R 4.1.3 Are there things that could be **best expressed** in **Rumca**?
- a. What could be better expressed in **Turkish**?

R 4.1.4 Are there **situations** Rumca is most **suitable** for?
- a. For which situations it is **not**?

Θ 4.1.5 If you don't speak Rumca, would you **like to learn it**?

R 4.1.6 Do you think Rumca is **valuable**?
- a. What do you think is the **value** of Rumca?

R 4.1.7 According to you, is Rumca worth to be **maintained**?

R 4.1.8 Would you like Rumca to be **promoted**? If yes **in which way**?

4.1.9 Would you like to see Rumca in **written form**?
- a. If there was a **newspaper** in Rumca, would you read it?
- b. If there was a **radio** broadcast in Rumca, would you listen to it?
- c. If there was a **television** broadcast in Rumca, would you watch it?

4.1.10 Are you **proud** of (speaking) Rumca?

4.1.11 Do you feel **ashamed** of (speaking) Rumca?

4.1.12 Do you think Rumca will become **extinct**?

4.1.13 Do you agree?
People who speak Rumca seem to me

a. **friendlier** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
b. more **reliable** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
c. more **polite** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
d. more **educated** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
e. more **intelligent** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
f. more **down-to-earth** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
g. more **native** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
h. **poorer** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
i. more **honest** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
j. more **relaxed** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N
k. more **old fashioned** than Turkish speakers?	O Y	O N

4.2 Turkish

0 4.2.1 Do you think Turkish is a **beautiful** language?

0 4.2.2 **What** do you **like** of Turkish?
a. What **don't** you like?

0 4.2.3 Are there situations **Turkish** is **most suitable** for?
a. For which situations it is **not**?

4.2.4 People who speak Turkish seem to me

a. **friendlier** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
b. more **reliable** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
c. more **polite** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
d. more **educated** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
e. more **intelligent** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
f. more **down-to-earth** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
g. more **native** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
h. **richer** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
i. more **honest** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N
j. more **relaxed** than Rumca speakers?	O Y	O N

0 4.3 Where do you agree? Where don't you agree?

a. I **like** to speak **Rumca**.	O Agree	O Don't agree
b. I feel **more comfortable** when speaking **Rumca**.	O Agree	O Don't agree
c. I feel **more comfortable** when speaking **Turkish**.	O Agree	O Don't agree
d. I feel more **confident** when I speak **Turkish**.	O Agree	O Don't agree
e. I feel **at home** in **Rumca**.	O Agree	O Don't agree
f. I feel **less competent** (unsure) in **Rumca**.	O Agree	O Don't agree

Informant information

Age: Sex:
Job: Years of school education:
Residence: since_____ Place of birth:
Where did you grow up:

Number:

Legend: **0** question only for competent speakers
θ only for non-speakers
R to answer both in Turkish and Rumca

Appendix B – Attitudinal questionnaire

Röportaj: Karadeniz'in dilleri

Üniversitem için yüksek lisans tezi yazmam lazım. Profesörüm Rumca üzerine calışmam istiyor. O yüzden bir anket yaptım. ***Bu anketteki soruları Rumca bilen otuz kişiye sormam lazım****. Bana yardım edebilir misin?*

Rumca konuşmaya gerek yok. Anket 30 dakika sürüyor. Sorular hem Rumca hakkında hem Türkçe hakkında. Çok kısa cevaplar yeterli.
Anketi daha kolay tamamlamak için ***ses kaydetmek*** *kolaylık sağlayacak. Ankette ismini vermene gerek yok. Ses kaydı sadece benim için. Başka kimse duymayacak. (Ses kaydı yapmam senin için)* ***Olur mu?***

Part I Awareness

1.1 Rumca nedir, biliyor musun?

1.2 Bu dile ne **isim** veriyorsun? (Başka bir ad yok mu?)
a. **Türkçe'de** b. **Rumca'da** **(**Rumca konuştuğun zaman)
(Rumca'ya Rumca dilinde ne deniyor?)

1.3 Rumca **konuşanları** ne isim veriyorsun?

1.4 Bu dili **nereden** geliyor, biliyor musun?
a. Türkçe mi? b. Lazca mı? c. Ya da başka bir şey mi?

1.5 İstanbul'da Rumca konuştuğunu söyleyen **müslüman olmaya** insanlar var.
Seninle **aynı** Rumca konuşuyorlar mı? (Fark nedir?)

Part II Competence

2.1 Rumca'yı ne kadar iyi konuşuyorsun?
(Şimdi söyleyeceklerimden) senin için hangisi doğru?

1. **Her şey** anlıyorum ve **her şey** söyleyebiliyorum.
2. **Her şey** anlıyorum ve **çoğu** söyleyebiliyorum.
3. **Çoğu** anlıyorum ama **az** konuşabiliyorum.
4. **Biraz** anlıyorum ve sadece **birkaç kelime** söyleyebiliyorum.
5. **Biraz** anlıyorum ve **hiç** konuşamıyorum.
6. Rumca **anlamıyorum** ama bazen Türkçe'de **Rumca sözcükler** kullanıyorum.
7. Rumca'yı **hiç** kullanmıyorum, **hiç anlamıyorum**.

2.2 **Ailende** hangi **dil**(ler) konuşuluyor?
a. baban (Kaç yaşında?) b. annen (Kaç yaşında?)
c. kardeşlerin d. büyükannen (Türkçe konuşuyor mu?)

2.3 **Kardeşinin** Rumcası senden **daha** mı **iyi** (**0** yoksa daha mı kötü)? Aradaki fark nedir?

2.4 Sence **kimler** Rumca'yı en iyi konuşuyor?
a. **Kim** Rumca'yı daha iyi konuşuyor?
O erkek O kadın
b. **Hangi köy**de Rumca en iyi konuşuluyor?

2.5 Writing

0 2.5.1 Rumca yazabiliyor musun?

0 2.5.2 Eğer yaza**mı**yorsan, yazabilmek **ister** miydiniz?

0 2.5.3 Rumca'yı **hangi alfabeyle** yazıyorsun?

0 2.5.4 **Hangi alfabeyle** yazmak **isterdin**iz?

2.5.5 **Rumca kitap**lar var mı, biliyor musun? (Hangileri?)

Appendix B – Attitudinal questionnaire

2.6 Multilingualism

2.6.1 **Kaç tane dil** biliyorsun? (Ve hangilerini?)

0 2.6.2 Hangi dili **daha iyi** biliyorsun: Rumca ya da Türkçe?

2.6.3 Sana göre **anadilin** nedir?

2.6.4 **İkinci** dilin nedir?

2.6.5 İkinci dilini **kaç yaşında** öğrendin?

Part III Use

3.1 Sana göre Rumca **nerede** konuşuluyor?

a. O köyde (Hangilerde?) O şehirde (Hangilerde?)
b. Başka yerlerde mi? (Hangi ülkelerde?)

3.2 **Kim** Rumca konuşuyor?

a.	O genç insanlar	O yaşlı insanlar
b.	O erkekler	O kadınlar
c.	O eğitimli insanlar	O eğitimsiz insanlar

3.3 Sence **kaç** kişi Rumca konuşuyor?

3.4 Rumca **her köyde aynı** şekilde mi konuşuluyor? Farkler nedir?

3.5 (**θ** Ailenin)**/ 0** Senin konuştuğun Rumca'nın **aynısı nerede konuşuluyor**?

3.6 Günlük yaşamda **kaç dil** (Hangi?)

a. **duyuyorsun** b. **konuşuyorsun** c. **okuyorsun** d. **yazıyorsun**

3.7 Mixing

0 3.7.1 **Rumca** konuşurken **Türkçe** kelimeler **katıyor** musun?

R a. Bir **örnek** verebilir misin?

3.7.2 **Türkçe** konuşurken **Rumca** kelimeler **katıyor** musun?

a. Bir **örnek** verebilir misin?

3.8 Hangi **durum**larda Rumca kullanılıyor? (Ne zaman?)

a. evde b. komşularla c. başka yerlerde:

Şimdi bazen yerler söyleyeceğim. Bunların hangisinde Rumca konuşuluyor?

O okul	O iş	O belediye	O doktor
O dükkan (hangi?)	O çarşı	O Cami	O diğer

0 3.9 **Kiminle** Rumca konuşuyorsun? (Kaç yaşındalar?)

a. ailenle O kocanla/karınla O kardeşlerinle O anne-babanla O çocuklarınla
b. komşularınla
c. arkadaşlarınla
d. köylülerle
e. doktorla
f. yabancılarla

0 R 3.10 Rumca konuşmak son zamanlarda **işine yaradı** mı?

0 *Türkçe'de verdiğin cevabı Rumca'da verebilir misin? Aynı şeyi Rumca söyle.*

3.11 Teaching

3.11.1 Çocukların Rumca **öğreniyorlar** mı?

0 3.11.2 Çocuklarına Rumca **öğretmek istiyor** musun?

3.11.3 Çocuklarına **başka biri**nin Rumca **öğret**mesini istiyor musun? (okulda)

3.12 Rumca'yı **nerede kullanmak** isterdin?

a. evde / ailende
b. başka yerlerde:

Şimdi bazen yerler söyleyeceğim. Bunlarda insanlar Rumca konuşsun istiyor musun?

O okul	O iş	O belediye	O doktor
O şehir	O çarşı	O Cami	O diğer

R 3.13 Düşün Rumca **yok**. (Rumca olmazsa...)

a. **Ne zaman** özlersin? (Hangi durumlarda?)
b. **Ne**sini özlersin?

0 *Türkçe'de verdiğin cevabı Rumca'da verebilir misin? Aynı şeyi Rumca söyle.*

Part IV Attitudes

4.1 **Rumca**

R 4.1.1 Sence **Rumca güzel** bir dil mi?

Şimdi Türkçe ile Rumca arasındaki farklar hakkinda konuşacağız.

0 *Cevapları hem Türkçe'de hem Rumca'da verebilir misin?*

R 4.1.2 **Rumca**'nın **ne**sini **seviyorsun**? (Tam olarak nesini seviyorsun?)

a. Nesini sev**mi**yorsun? *Aynı şeyi Rumca söyle.*

R 4.1.3 **En iyi** Rumca'da söylenecek **şeyler** var mı?

a. **Türkçe'de** daha iyi söylenecek neler var?

R 4.1.4 **Ne zaman** Rumca konuşmak **daha iyi**? (Rumca'ya daha uygun **durumlar** var mı?)

a. Ne zaman uygun **değil**? (Hangi durumlarda?)

0 *Türkçe'de verdiğin cevabı Rumca'da verebilir misin?*

Θ 4.1.5 Rumca **öğrenmek ist**iyor musun?

Aynı şeyi Rumca söyle.

R 4.1.6 Rumca **değerli** mi? ***0*** *Türkçe'de verdiğin cevabı Rumca'da verebilir misin?*

a. Sence Rumca'nın **değeri** nedir?

R 4.1.7 Sence Rumca'yı **korumak lazım** mı?

R 4.1.8 Rumca'nın **teşvik edilmesi**ni istiyor musun? **Ne şekilde**?

4.1.9 Rumca'yı **yazılı** olarak görmek istiyor musun?

a. Rumca bir **gazete** olsa okumak ister miydin?
b. Rumca **radyo** yayını olsa dinler miydin?
c. Rumca **televizyon** yayını olsa izler miydin?

4.1.10 Rumca konuşmaktan **gurur duyuyor** musun?

4.1.11 Rumca konuşmaktan **utanıyor** musun?

4.1.12 Sence Rumca **kaybolacak** mı?
a. **Yazık** olur mu? (Ne şekilde?)

4.1.13 *Şimdi söyleyeceklerimden hangisi doğru? (Herkes başkadır, ama bazen genelleyebilirsin.)*

Rumca konuşanlar bana

a. **cana yakın** geliyor.	O E	O H
b. **güvenilir** geliyor.	O E	O H
c. **kibar** geliyor.	O E	O H
d. **sakin** geliyor.	O E	O H
e. **zeki** geliyor.	O E	O H
f. **aklı başında** geliyor.	O E	O H
g. **yerli** geliyor.	O E	O H
h. **fakir** geliyor.	O E	O H
i. **dürüst** geliyor.	O E	O H
j. **eğitimli** geliyor.	O E	O H
k. **eski kafalı** geliyor.	O E	O H

4.2 **Turkish**

4.2.1 Sence **Türkçe güzel** bir dil mi?

4.2.2 **Türkçe**'nin **ne**sini **seviyorsun**? (Tam olarak nesini seviyorsun?)
a. Nesini sev**mi**yorsun?

4.2.3 **Ne zaman Türkçe** konuşmak **daha iyi**? (Türkçe'ye daha uygun **durumlar** var mı?)
a. Ne zaman uygun **değil**? (Hangi durumlarda?)

4.2.4 Düşün **Türkçe yok**. (Türkçe olmazsa...)
a. Ne zaman **özlersin**? (Tam olarak nesini özlersin? Bir örnek verebilir misin?)

4.2.5 **Türkçe** senin için **değerli** mi?
a. Senin için Türkçe'nin **değeri** nedir? (Tam olarak Türkçe'nin değeri nedir?)

4.2.6 *Şimdi söyleyeceklerimden hangisi doğru? (Herkes başkadır, ama bazen genelleyebilirsin.)*

Türkçe konuşanlar bana

a. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **cana yakın** geliyor.	O E	O H
b. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **güvenilir** geliyor.	O E	O H
c. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **kibar** geliyor.	O E	O H
d. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **eğitimli** geliyor.	O E	O H
e. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **zeki** geliyor.	O E	O H
f. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **aklı başında** geliyor.	O E	O H
g. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **yerli** geliyor.	O E	O H
h. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **zengin** geliyor.	O E	O H
i. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **dürüst** geliyor.	O E	O H
j. Rumca konuşanlardan daha **sakin** geliyor.	O E	O H

0 4.3 *Son olarak, sana göre şimdi söyleyeceklerimden hangisi doğru?*

a. **Rumca** konuşmayı **seviyorum**.	O E	O H	(**θ** duymayı)
b. **Rumca** konuşurken **daha rahat** hissediyorum.	O E	O H	
c. **Türkçe** konuşurken **daha rahat** hissediyorum.	O E	O H	
d. **T**ürkçe konuşurken kendime daha fazla **güven**iyorum	O E	O H	(güvenilir)
e. **Rumca** konuşurken kendimi **evimde** hissediyorum.	O E	O H	(**θ** duyurken)
f. **Rumca**m'dan **emin** değilim.	O E	O H	
g. **R**umca konuşurken kendime **tecrübeli** hissediyorum.	O E	O H	

Kişisel bilgileri

Kaç yaşındasın? Cinsiyet:
Ne iş yapıyorsun? Kaç sene okula gittin?
Nerede yaşıyorsun? Ne zamandan beri_____ Nerede doğdun?
Nerede büyüdün?

*Teşekkür ederim! Bana çok yardımcı oldun. Bana yardım edecek **başka birini biliyor musun**?*

Legend:	**0** question only for competent speakers	sadece iyi konuşanlar için
	θ only for non-speakers	sadece Rumca konuşamayanlar için
	R to answer both in Turkish and Rumca	hem Türkçe hem Rumca cevaplamak için

Informant Kapat onu, dügümesiyle televisiyon Ayse!
Interviewer Tamam.
Interviewer Simdi.. Rumca nedir biliyor musun?
Informant Rumca bir yabanci... Rumca..eh..... bir dildir biliyorum.
Interviewer Bu dile ne isim veriyorsun?
Informant Rumca diyoruz onu.
Interviewer Ve Rumca konustugun zaman?
Informant Rumca konustugum zaman konusuyorum, nasil?
Interviewer Yani Rumca konustugun zaman, dili hangi adi veriyorsun? Rumca ya da Romeyka...
Informant Eheh, Rumca Rumca Rumca.
Informant Adi Rumca.
Interviewer Rumca konusanlari ne isim veriyorsun?
Informant Rumca bilen komsular deriz.
Interviewer Bu dili nerden geliyor biliyor musun?
Informant Biliyorum. Rumlar... eh ... savas zamaninda Trabzon'a yerlestiler.
Informant Orada, yerlestikleri icin bizim büyükler de onlardan onlarin dili Rumca olan onlarin dilini ögrendiler.
Informant Onlardan bizim büyüklerimiz, bizde onlardan ögrendik.
Interviewer Cok ilginc!
Interviewer Rumca'yi ne kadar iyi konusuyorsun?
Interviewer Senin icin bunlardan hangisi dogru?
Interviewer Her sey anliyorum ve cogu söyleyebiliyorum.
Informant Her seyi anliyorum ve cogunu söyleyebiliyorum.
Interviewer Ailende hangi diller konusuluyor?
Informant Türkce.
Interviewer Ve biraz Rumca mi?
Informant Rumca nadir.
Informant Nadir yani, pek nadir, konusulmiyor yani. Rumca konusulmiyor.
Interviewer Baban hani diller konusuyor?
Informant Türkce da.
Interviewer Annen?
Informant Türkce konusuyor.
Interviewer Ve bazen biraz Rumca, degil mi?
Informant Bazen biraz Rumca konusuyor. Özel günler. Özel...
Interviewer Niye özel günlerde?
Informant Özel günlerde degil, özel durumlarda.
Interviewer Haa, tamam.
Informant Cocuklarin bir sey anlamalar icin kendi aramizda bazen seyleri gizli konusabiliriz, Rumca olarak.
Interviewer Kardeslerin?
Informant Bilirler.
Interviewer Rumca konusuyorlar mi?
Informant Hayir. Türkce konusuyorlar.
Interviewer Büyükannen hangi dil konustu?
Informant Rumca konustu.
Interviewer Ve Türkce konusuyordu mu?
Informant Türkce de biliyordu.

Interviewer Kadesinin Rumcasi senden daha mi iyi yoksa...?
Informant Degil.
Interviewer Sence kimler Rumca'yi en iyi konusuyor?
Informant Rumca ailemde en iyi bilen annem.
Interviewer Ve kim Rumca'yi daha iyi konusuyor erkekler mi kadinlar mi?
Informant Kadin.
Interviewer Hangi köyde Rumca'yi en iyi konusuluyor?
Informant Uzungöl.
Interviewer Ve Rumca yazabiliyor musun?
Informant Yazamam.
Interviewer Ve hangi alfabeyle yazardin?
Informant Normal Türkce, Türkceyle, Türkce alfabesiyle yazilir.
Interviewer Türkce alfabesiyle?
Interviewer Kac tane dil biliyorsun?
Informant Iki dil bilirim, bir Rumca biliyor Türkce bir.
Interviewer Ve hangi dil daha iyi biliyorsun?
Informant Türkce'yi.
Interviewer Anadilin?
Informant Türkce.
Interviewer Ikinci dilin Rumca o zaman.
Informant Rumca.
Interviewer Rumca kac yasinda ögrendin?
Informant Bes yasinda.
Interviewer Sana göre Rumca nerede konusuluyor?
Informant Rumca nerde konusuluyor? Karadeniz tarafinda, Rusya'da, Kipris.t..eh..tü..Rumlarinda konusuluyor. Bir cok yerde konusuluyor Rumca.
Interviewer Ve daha köyde mi ya da daha sehirde mi?
Informant Genelikle köylerde konusuluyor.
Interviewer Baska ülkelerde.. Rusya'da ve Yunanistan'da dedin..
Informant Hehe.
Interviewer Haa. Kim Rumca konusuyor?
Informant Onlarin halki konusur.
Interviewer Genc insanlar mi ya da yasli insanlar?
Informant Genelde yasli insanlar konusuyor, ben öyle biliyorum, ama Rumlarin ana dili Ruscadir, onu sen de tarihten biliyorsun.
Interviewer Ve daha erkekler mi konusuyorlar ya da daha kadinlar?
Informant Onu bilemiyorum.
Interviewer Tamam. Daha egitimli insanlar ya da egitimsiz insanlar?
Informant Bence egitimsizzz.. insanlar.. cünkü her sey ilerlerde Türkce daha cok yayginlasti. Ha, onu bir da ana dili olan.. olarak kullanlar var. Oda var yani. Onu bilemem.
Interviewer Sence kac kisi Rumca konusuyor?
Informant Bilemem.
Informant Cok kullanan var. Rumca'yi cok kullanan konusan var.
Interviewer Bin mi?
Informant Sayi olarak bilemem yani.
Interviewer Rumca her köyde ayni sekilde mi konusuluyor?
Informant Degil.

Interviewer Farkler nedir?
Informant Kelimeler otutmalar icin mesela.. degisik oluyor. Yöresel siveden dolayi.. degisik olabiliyor. Yani ve köyde öbür köyün arasindaki Rumca degisebiliyor.
Interviewer Ve senin konustugunun Rumca'nin aynisi nerede konusuluyor?
Informant Zihon'da konusuluyor. Annemin köyünde konusuluyor.
Interviewer Günlük yasamda kac dil duyuyorsun?
Informant Türkce biliyor.. duyuyorum, fazla bir dil bilmiyorum yani konu..duymuyorum.
Interviewer ...konusuyorsun?
Informant Konusuyorum.
Interviewer Ve kac tane dil okuyorsun?
Informant Okumuyorum.
Interviewer Yaziyorsun?
Informant Yazmiyorum.
Interviewer Rumca konusurken Türkce kelimeler katiyor musun?
Informant Katmam.
Informant Ya Türkce konusuyorum veya Rumca konusurum, istedigim zaman. Net..
Interviewer Anladim. Ve Türkce konusurken Rumca kelimeler katiyor musun?
Informant Katmiyor.
Interviewer Hangi durumlarda Rumca kullaniliyor?
Interviewer Yani ne zaman..
Informant Ne zaman kullanilir?
Informant Canin istedigi zaman konusabilirsin serbestsin yani onu bir sadincesi yok.
Informant Istedigin zamanda istedigin kisiyle konusabilirsin, bilen kisiyle, karsinda bilen biri varsa onunla konusabilirsin.
Interviewer Daha evde mi konusuyorlar mi ya da komsularla?
Informant Eh.. komsularimiz yok, bilmiyor.
Interviewer Ve baska yerlerde?
Informant Dügünlerde... dügünlerde. Böyle toplumlarda bilen birisiyle karslastigim zaman konusuyorum.
Interviewer Tamam. Ben simdi bazen yerler söyleyecem. Bunlarin hangisinde Rumca'yi konusuluyor? Okulda?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Iste?
Informant Hayir hayir.
Interviewer Belediyede?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Doktorda?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Dükkanlarda?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Carsida?
Informant Hayir
Interviewer Camide?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Ve sen kiminle Rumca konusuyorsun?
Informant Bilen birisiyle kars... eh. bilen birisiyle görüstügüm zaman onunla konusuyorum.
Interviewer Ailende mesela.. kocanla?
Informant Ailemdekilerle konusurum.

Interviewer Kocanla mi?
Informant Konusurum.
Interviewer Kardeslerinle?
Informant Konusur.
Interviewer Ve annebabanla Rumca konusuyor musun?
Informant Annemle konusuyorum.
Interviewer Ve cocuklarinle?
Informant Onlar bilmez.
Interviewer Ve komsularinle.
Informant Bilmezler.
Interviewer Arkadaslarinla?
Informant Arkadaslarimda konusur.
Interviewer Ve köylülerle?
Informant Köylülerle da... eh... bilen birisi varsa konusurum. Hepsi bilmez yani.
Interviewer Yabancilarla?
Informant Yok... Konusmaz.
Other Yabancilarda bulinur öyle konusanlariyle gene: iki cad gelurseler onlar cevap verurseler anlarsun yabanci olduguni, o sunun karsilugini verebilursun.
Interviewer Tamam. Rumca konusmak son zamanlarda isine yarardi mi?
Informant Hayir. Oni bir sevk olarak, bir dil olarak, degisik bir dil olarak kullaniyoruz oni yani.
Interviewer Cocuklarin Rumca ögreniyorlar mi?
Informant Birkac kelime bilirler, seviyorlar ama.. bakmadiler yani ögrenmediler.
Interviewer Cocuklarina Rumca ögretmek istiyor musun?
Informant Isterim. Bilsin de bir dildir yani bilsin de.
Interviewer Onlarin baska birinin Rumca ögretmesini istiyor musun?
Informant Isterim. Ögrensin.
Interviewer Okulda mesela?
Informant Yani bir dil her zaman kültür kültürdür, bilmelerini isterim. Degisik bir dil bilsinler yani.
Interviewer Ve Rumca'yi nerede kullanmak isterdin?
Informant Rumca'yi nerde kullanmak isterdim? Eh... hoslaniyorum seviyorum Rumca konusmayi, arkadaslarimle beraber gelince ben konusmak isterim.
Interviewer Ben simdi tekrar bazen yerler söyleyecem. Bunlarin hangisinde Rumca konusmak isterdin? Mesela okulda?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Iste?
Informant Hayir. Evde.. evden disari hayir.
Interviewer Haa. Belediyede? Camide?
Informant Hayir hayir.
Interviewer Dükkanlarda? Carsida degil mi?
Informant Sohbetlerde dügünlerde severim.
Interviewer Tamam anladim. Simdi düsün Rumca yok. Ne zaman özlersin?
Informant Olmasini isterim. Olsun, bir dildir. Bizim cocuklarmiz da ögrensin. O da bir dildir, bilsinler, kültürdür, ögrensinler, isterim.
Interviewer Ve nesini özlersin?
Informant Nesini özlerim? Konusmasini özlerim yani. Kayibolmasi istemem.
Interviewer Bu Türkce'de verdigin cevabi Rumca'da verebilir misin?

Informant Verebilirim.
Interviewer Söyleyebilir misin? Düsün Rumca yok, ne zaman özlersin.
Informant Bola erabogo ayniside.
Interviewer Cok güzel. Cok güzel bir dil bence. Tesekkür ederim.
Interviewer Sence Rumca güzel bir dil mi?
Informant Güzel dildir oda. Olsun.
Interviewer Bu Rumca'da nasil diyorsun?
Informant Rumca Rumca söylenir, adi o.
Informant Rumca'da ayni cevap.
Interviewer Rumcanin nesini seviyorsun?
Informant Konusmasini seviyorum.
Interviewer Nesini sevmiyorsun?
Informant Sevmedigim tarafi yok.
Interviewer Tamam. En iyi Rumca'da söylenecek seyler var mi?
Informant En iyi Rumca'da söylenecek seyler.... Yok.
Interviewer Türkce'de daha iyi söylenecek seyler var mi?
Informant Var. Tabii.
Informant Türkce'de daha cok söyliyoruz onu. Her seyi daha cok söylüyoruz. Rumca'nin bazen kelimeler Türkce'ye cevirilmiyor, konusurken, yazarken. Eh... Ama o ayri bir yazidir. Ben ondan.. Rumca'yi yazmadim. Ama Türkce olarak Rumca kelimeler yazamiz zaman zorlaniyoruz yani kelimeler degisik onu.
Interviewer Anladim, cok ilginc. Ne zaman Rumca konusmak daha iyi? Hani hangi durumlarda?
Informant Dedim ya, sam bir arkadasimin etrafinde baskalara olursa gizlice ona konusabilirsen o dilden. Hani onlar bilmesen bir sir olarak hani konusabilirsen.
Interviewer Ve ne zaman uygun degil?
Informant Iste camilerde, toplumlarda, hastanelerde, okullarda bu uygun degil.
Interviewer Ha, niye?
Informant Niye degil? Eh.. sen onu degisik konusurken cevresindeki insanlar sana tuhaf bakabilir, ne diyorlar diye böyle dikkat cekebilirsin. O acildan ben uygun bulmiyorum onu. Oturyerlerde konusmayi.
Interviewer Haa, anladim.
Informant Cünkü anadilim Türkce oldugu icin, Türkce konsmayi tercih ederim.
Interviewer Anladim. Türkce'de verdigin cevabi Rumca'da verebilir misin?
Informant Bu anlamadim sorunu. Bir daha sorar misin onu?
Interviewer Ne zaman Rumca konusmak daha iyi?
Informant Iste söyledim ya az önce..
Interviewer Türkce'de cevap verdin ama Türkce'de verdigin cevabi Rumca'da tekrarlayabilir misin?
Informant Yeni öyle.. sakli bir arkadasimle gizli konusmakta kullanabilirim.
Interviewer Ayni cevap Rumca'da verebilir misin?
Informant Veremem. Konusurum.....
Interviewer Tamam. Baska. Sence Rumca degerli mi?
Other Ne sordu saga?
Informant Degerli. O da bir dil bilirsin.
Interviewer Ve sence Rumca'nin degeri nedir?
Informant Degeri? Söyle bir sey... Yani bir yabanci dil olarak görüyorum onu, olsun, konusuyorsun.

Interviewer Sence Rumca'yi korumak lazim mi?
Informant Korumak lazim bence.
Interviewer Rumca'nin tesvik edilmesini istiyor musun?
Informant Isterim.
Interviewer Ne sekilde?
Informant Olsun. Hani yayilsin herkes bilsin, o da bir dil.
Interviewer Rumca'yi yazili olarak görmek istiyor musun?
Informant Yazili olarak görmek istemem.
Interviewer Mesela Rumca bir gazete olsa okumak ister miydin?
Informant Severim. Denemek isterim. Ben okumayi cok sevdim icin severim.
Interviewer Güzel.
Informant Hani bir Rumca gazete olsa, benim bildigim Rumcadan olsa, isterim ben onu okumak. Baksam ne.., yani okuyabilirimde.
Interviewer Ve Rumca bir radyo yayini olsa dinler miydin?
Informant Dinlerim. Rumca türküler var, dinliyorum. Bizim Karadeniz sanatcilari Rumca türküler söylüyor...seyler söyle.. ben dinliyorum, hosuma gidiyor.
Interviewer O zaman Rumca bir televizyon yayini olsa izler miydin?
Informant Izlerdim.
Interviewer Rumca konusmaktdan gurur duyuyor musun?
Informant Gurur duymuyorum. Normal bir dil olarak.
Interviewer Ama Rumca konusmaktan utaniyor musun?
Informant Yook. Utanmiyor.
Interviewer Sence Rumca kaybolacak mi?
Informant Belki de olur cünkü gencler pek merak etmiyor gencler bilmiyor. Yaslilar biliyor.
Interviewer Ama yazik olur mu?
Informant Yazik olur tabii. Bilirsin.
Interviewer Simdi söyleyeceklerimden hangisi dogru sence? Rumca konusanlar bana Türkce konusanlardan daha cana yakin geliyor?
Informant Fark etmiyor. Fark etmiyor.
Interviewer Rumca konusanlar bana Türkce konusanlardan daha güvenilir geliyor?
Informant Gelmiyor. Fark etmiyor. Insan insan. Mesela ben sevdigim bir insan var bu iyi olmayi biliyorum, iyi bir insan oldugunu biliyorum. Rumca da konusabilir, Türkce de. Ben onu dili beraber ?yaguvayamam yani.
Interviewer Ama yani genelde belki bir fikrin var..
Informant Ah. yok. Bir sey yok yani.
Interviewer Rumca konusanlar Türkce konusanlardan daha kibar geliyor?
Informant Degil.
Interviewer Ve Rumca konusanlar Türkce konusanlardan daha zakin geliyor?
Informant Gelmiyor. Aynidir.
Interviewer Rumca konusanlar Türkce konusanlardan daha zeki geliyor mu?
Informant Degil.
Interviewer Rumca konusanlar Türkce konusanlardan daha akli basinda geliyor mu?
Informant Degil.
Interviewer Rumca konusanlar Türkce konusanlardan daha yerli geliyor mu?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Rumca konusanlar Türkce konusanlardan daha fakir geliyor?
Informant Hayir hayir.
Interviewer Rumca konusanlar daha dürüst geliyor mu?

Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Daha egitimli?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Daha eski kafali?
Informant Hayir. O da.. o da bir insan.
Interviewer Anladim. Sence Türkce güzel bir dil mi?
Informant Cok güzel bir dil.
Interviewer Türkce'nin nesini seviyorsun?
Informant Her yöreni seviyorum kendimize anlatiyoruz, cok güzel bir dil yani.
Interviewer Nesini sevmiyorsun?
Informant Sevmedigim tarafi yok.
Interviewer Ne zaman Türkce konusmak daha iyi?
Informant Her zaman. her zaman, her yerde.
Interviewer Tamam. Ve ne zaman uygun degil?
Informant Uygun olmadigi tarafi yok. Her zaman var.
Interviewer Tamam. Simdi bunlardan hangisi dogru. Türkce konusanlar. Rumca konusanlardan daha cana yakin geliyor mu?
Informant Gelmiyor, hayir.
Interviewer Türkce konusanlar. Rumca konusanlardan daha güvenilir geliyor mu?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Daha kibar geliyor?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Daha egitimli?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Zeki?
Informant Hayir.
Interviewer Akli basinda? Yerli?
Informant Hayir *gülüyor* Hepsi hayir cünkü..
Interviewer Cünkü kisiye degisir...
Informant Tabii tabii bilemezsin onu. Söyleyemezsin yani. Olmaz.
Interviewer Simdi son olarak, sana göre bunlardan hangisi dogru?
Interviewer Rumca konusmayi seviyorum.
Informant Seviyorum.
Interviewer Rumca konusurken daha rahat hissediyorum.
Informant Rahat hissetmiyorum, hobi olarak seviyorum.
Interviewer Türkce konusurken daha rahat hissediyorum.
Informant Evet.
Interviewer Türkce konusurken kendime daha fazla güveniyorum.
Informant Evet.
Interviewer Ve Rumca konusurken kendime evimde hissediyorum.
Informant Evet.
Interviewer Rumcamdan emin degilim.
Informant Degilim.
Interviewer Simdi sadece kisisel bilgiler kaldi. Ismin vermene gerek yok. Kac yasindasin?
Informant Elli yedi.
Interviewer Ne is yapiyorsun?
Informant Ev hanimiyim.
Interviewer Nerede yasiyorsun?

Informant Istanbul'da.
Interviewer Ne zamandan beri?
Informant Otuz senedir. Otuz yildir.
Interviewer Ve nerede büydün?
Informant Trabzon, Caykara'da büydüm.
Interviewer Nerede dogdun?
Informant He..... Camlibel köyünde dogdum. Harhes diyorlar. Camlebel köy yeni adi.
Interviewer Ve kac sene okula gittin?
Informant Bes sene ilk okul mesunu.
Interviewer O kadar. Cok güzel oldu, cok tesekkür ederim!

Nr. / Speaker Code	Participant Code	Community	Sex	Age	Education (in years)	Occupation	Place of birth	Place of growth	Residence	Residence since when	Rumca competence	Commentary
1	V1_M58_IST	IST	M	58	11	retired (public official)	Caykara, Camlibel köy	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	35 years	3	residence in Istanbul 5 month a year
2	V2_F76_IST	CAY	F	76	0	house wife	Caykara, Akdogan köyü	Trabzon Caykara	Trabzon	18 years	1	
3	V3_F52_IST	IST	F	52	5	house wife	Caykara, Camlibel köy	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	8 years	4	residence in Istanbul 5 month a year
4	V4_F57_IST	IST	F	57	5	house wife	Caykara, Camlibel köy	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	30 years	2	
5	V5_F78_IST	IST	F	78	0	house wife	Caykara, Ucdirek mahallesi	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	25 years	1	
6	V6_F48_IST	IST	F	48	5	house wife	Caykara	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	27 years	1	
7	V7_F28_IST	IST	F	28	12	account stuff	Caykara	Istanbul	Istanbul	26 years	4	
8	V8_M30_IST	IST	M	30	18	Civil engineer	Caykara	Istanbul	Istanbul	25 years	7	
9	V9_F50_IST	IST	F	50	5	house wife	Caykara	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	30 years	3	
10	V10_F54_IST	IST	F	54	5	house wife	Caykara	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	35 years	3	
11	V11_M43_IST	IST	M	43	14	Civil engineer	Caykara	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	28 years	3	
12	V12_M58_IST	IST	M	58	15	Civil engineer	Caykara	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	35 years	3	
13	V13_F25_IST	IST	F	25	17	architect	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	25 years	4	
14	V14_F21_IST	IST	F	21	15	unemployed	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	21 years	6	education in Ankara and Trabzon
15	V15_F78?_IST	IST	F	78?	0	house wife	Caykara	Trabzon Caykara	Istanbul	60 years	1	
16	V16_F24_IST	IST	F	24	12	house wife	Caykara	Istanbul	Istanbul	24 years	4	
17	V17_F22_IST	IST	F	22	12	house wife	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	22 years	4	
18	V18_F50_IST	IST	F	50	12	house wife	Istanbul?	Istanbul	Istanbul	50 years	2	
19	V19_M29_IST	IST	M	29	18	insurer	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	29 years	5	education in Trabzon for two years
20	V20_F36_BER	BER	F	36	13	nursery teacher	Caykara, Ataköy	Trabzon Caykara	Berlin	25 years	2	in Caykara until age of 11, residence in Berlin since 2 years
21	VC2_F27_CAY	IST	F	27	15	mother, economist	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	27 years	6	
22	VC3_F32_CAY	IST	F	32	5	house wife	Ankara	Ankara	Istanbul	18 years	6	residence in Ankara until age of 14
23	VC4_FF13_CAY	IST	F	13	>8	student	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	13 years	7	
24	VC1_F30_CAY	CAY	F	30	15	secretary	Caykara	Caykara	Trabzon	30 years	3	first part of the interview lost
25	V25_M49_CAY	CAY	M	49	16	imam	Caykara	Caykara	Caykara	49 years	2	no sound recording
26	V26_F20_BER	BER	F	20	>16	Student	Berlin	Berlin	Berlin	20 years	4	Of Besköy origin
27	Extra_F40_IST	IST	F	40	5	house wife	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	40 years	7	married into Rumca speaking family

Age * Q1_2.1. Rumca Competence Crosstabulation

Count

Sex			Q1_2.1. Rumca Competence							Total
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Female	Age	5-15	0	0	0	0		0	1	1
		16-32	0	0	1	5		3	0	9
		33-49	1	1	0	0		0	1	3
		50-66	0	2	2	1		0	0	5
		67-83	3	0	0	0		0	0	3
	Total		4	3	3	6		3	2	21
Male	Age	16-32		0	0		1		1	2
		33-49		1	1		0		0	2
		50-66		0	2		0		0	2
	Total			1	3		1		1	6

Table D.2: Gender/competence distribution

Explanation: Gradual difference in language competence starting from 1 (L1 competence) to 7 (no competence). For the full definition of the numbers see Question 2.1 in Appendix B.

Age * Rumca_competence Crosstabulation

Count

Community			Rumca_competence							Total
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Istanbul	Age	5-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		16-32	0	0	0	4	1	3	1	9
		33-49	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
		50-66	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	7
		67-83	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Total		3	2	5	5	1	3	3	22
Caykara	Age	16-32	0	0	1					1
		33-49	0	1	0					1
		67-83	1	0	0					1
	Total		1	1	1					3
Berlin	Age	16-32		0		1				1
		33-49		1		0				1
	Total			1		1				2

Table D.3: Language competence according to speech community

Explanation: Gradual difference in language competence starting from 1 (L1 competence) to 7 (no competence). For the full definition of the numbers see Question 2.1 in Appendix B.

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response		
		1	2	Total
Age	16-32	4	0	4
	33-49	3	0	3
	50-66	5	1	6
	67-83	2	1	3
Total		14	2	16

Table D.4: Age distribution of code-switching Rumca-Turkish

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values: 1 → yes, 2 → no

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response		
		1	2	Total
Age	5-15	1	0	1
	16-32	6	3	9
	33-49	1	4	5
	50-66	3	2	5
	67-83	1	1	2
Total		12	10	22

Table D.5: Age distribution of code-switching Turkish-Rumca

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values: 1 → yes, 2 → no

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response		
		1	2	Total
Age	5-15	1	0	1
	16-32	10	1	11
	33-49	4	0	4
	50-66	5	2	7
	67-83	2	1	3
Total		22	4	26

Table D.6: Approval of language transmission according to age

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values: 1 → yes, 2 → no

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

			Dependend variable: response			
Sex			1	2	3	Total
Female	Age	16-32	6	1	0	7
		33-49	2	0	0	2
		50-66	3	1	1	5
		67-83	1	1	0	2
	Total		12	3	1	16
Male	Age	16-32	1	1		2
		33-49	0	1		1
		50-66	0	1		1
	Total		1	3		4

Table D.7: Approval of school teaching in Rumca

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values:
1 → yes, 2 → no, 3 → no preference

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response		Total
		1	2	
Age	5-15	0	1	1
	16-32	0	11	11
	33-49	0	5	5
	50-66	0	6	6
	67-83	2	1	3
Total		2	24	26

Table D.8: Shame of speaking Rumca according to age

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values: 1 → yes, 2 → no

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response			Total
		1	2	3	
Age	5-15	1	0	0	1
	16-32	9	1	1	11
	33-49	4	1	0	5
	50-66	0	6	0	6
	67-83	1	1	0	2
Total		15	9	1	25

Table D.9: Desire to see Rumca in written form according to age

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values:
1 → yes, 2 → no, 3 → no preference

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response		
		1	2	Total
Age	5-15	1	0	1
	16-32	10	1	11
	33-49	5	0	5
	50-66	5	2	7
	67-83	1	2	3
Total		22	5	27

Table D.10: Desire to maintain Rumca according to age

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values: 1 → yes, 2 → no

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response			
		1	2	3	Total
Age	5-15	1	0	0	1
	16-32	9	1	0	10
	33-49	4	1	0	5
	50-66	5	2	0	7
	67-83	1	1	1	3
Total		20	5	1	26

Table D.11: Expected extinction of Rumca according to age

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values:
1 → yes, 2 → no, 3 → no preference

Sex * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response		
		1	2	Total
Sex	Female	14	7	21
	Male	0	5	5
Total		14	12	26

Table D.12: Perceived pride towards Rumca according to gender

Explanation: The dependend variable are assigned the following values: 1 → yes, 2 → no

Age * Dependend variable: response Crosstabulation

Count

		Dependend variable: response				
		Türk	Rumca bilen	Kinship	No label	Total
Age	5-15	0	0	0	1	1
	16-32	1	2	6	1	10
	33-49	0	2	1	1	4
	50-66	1	4	1	0	6
	67-83	1	1	1	0	3
Total		3	9	9	3	24

Table D.13: The labels given to Rumca in accordance with age

Appendix E - Respondent's words

E.1 Linguistic Repertoire and language preference of G1 respondents

Bazı kelimeleri Türkçe çok güzel ifade edemiyorum. Benim Türkçem anlamıyorlar. [Ilginc. Niye?] Anlıyorlar da ben lehçeli konuşmadığım için Türkçe'yi... Bizim mesela 'gidiyorum' benim lehçemde ama köyün lehçesinde 'gideyrum'. Ha, ve onlar köyün lehçesi anlıyorlar ama İstanbul'un 'gidiyorum' dediğim zaman pek yaslılar anlamıyor.. ve 'eşi pağo' dedim daha kolay anlarlar. F50

“There are some words I cannot express nicely. They don't understand my Turkish. [Interesting. Why?] They understand it but as I don't speak in the Turkish dialect... For example 'gidiyorum' is in my dialect but in the village dialect it is 'gideyrum'. Ha, and they understand the village dialect but when I say the 'gidiyorum' of Istanbul elderly people don't understand.. and when I say '*eşi pağo'* they understand it even better.”

E.2 Acceptance of Turkish standard language ideology

Türkçe konuşmak daha iyidir çünkü hani farklı bir dili kullanan bir Türk ise bu kullanma sebebi olması gerekiyor. Biraz milliyetciyim. Yani insanlar burda Türkiye'de yaşıyor Türk. Ama yabancı uyumluyken Türk olmuşsa o ayrı da. Türk ama kendine farklı şekilde ifade ediyor, farklı bir dil kullanıyor, o bana sempatik gelmiyor. […] Bu Türkiye'de çok eh karışık bir milletiz, her milletten insan var. O bizim zenginliğimiz, onların ama hepsi Türkçe öğreniyor, Türkçe konuşuyor. Doğusunda var: Arapça konuşuyor, başka dil konuşuyor, Zaza dili var, Gürcüce var, Lazca var, bir süre Ermenisi var, bir süre insanlar herkes kendi dili bilsin ama benimle sosyal hayatta Türkiye'de herkes Türkçe konuşması gerekiyor. […] Yani ana dili Türkçedir, herkes Türkçe konuşsun ama farklı bir dil konuşuyorsam bunun sebebi çok önemli. […] Türkçe'yi bozulacak şeyler yapılarda kullanılıyor. Mesela İngiliszce'yi Türkçe kelimelerin arasında serpiştirerek cümleler kuruyor. İntelektüeller cıkıp televizyonda bir şeyleri biliyorum ifadesini sokabilmek için yabancı kelimeler konuşuyor, Türkçe'yi bozmaya çalışıyorlar, bu da benim yaralıyor. O yüzden karşı cıkıyorum. Farklı bir etnikten bir insana karşı oturup sohbet edilir.. onu karşı değilim, ama Türkçe'yi bozmaya yönelik olduğu zaman ona karşıyım. M29

“Speaking Turkish is better because, well, a Turk speaking another language needs a good reason for this. I am a little bit of a nationalist. I mean, the people that live here in Turkey, they are Turks. But when an integrated foreigner becomes Turkish that is something different. When a Turk expresses him/herself in another way, or uses another language that is not appealing to me. […] We have a very diverse population in Turkey, there are people from every folk. That is our richness, but all of them learn Turkish and speak Turkish. This is like in the East: They speak Arabic, they speak another language, there is the Zaza language, Georgian, Laz, there are several Armenians, all these people should have their own languages but in Turkey, in society, with me, it is necessary that everybody speaks Turkish. I mean, Turkish is the mother tongue, everybody should speak Turkish but when I speak another language the reason for it is very important. There are things, forms used, which could damage Turkish. For example, they form sentences by squeezing English between Turkish words. Intellectuals use foreign words on the television in order to appear smart; they try to damage Turkish and this offends me. Therefore, I'm against this. I'm not against it when a person from another ethnos sits opposite to me and chats. But I'm against it when it might cause damage to Turkish.”

E.3 Lack of a distinct group identity

Rumca konuşanları herhangi bir isimi verilimiyor. Sadece şöyle, eh.. Trabzon'da belli köylerde yaşayanlar dedelerinden nenelerinden bu dili kullanıyorlar eh.. sosyal olarak kendi içlerinde bu dili paylaşıyorlar. Herhangi Rum demiyoruz yani biz onlara, Türkler onlar. Bize sadece dil olarak ekstra bir şey kalmış onlardan.

“There is no name given to the Rumca speakers. Only... it is like this, the people living in Trabzon in certain villages use this language from their grandfathers and grandmothers. They share this language for social purposes among themselves. We don't call them something like Rum, they are Turks. [Rumca] is for us only a language as in something additional left from them.“ M29