

OSMANLI ARAŖTIRMALARI
V

NeŖir Heyeti — Editorial Board

HALİL İNALCIK — NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ

HEATH W. LOWRY

THE JOURNAL OF OTTOMAN STUDIES
V

İstanbul - 1986

OBSERVATIONS ON LANGUAGE USAGE
AMONG
BILINGUAL COMMUNITIES IN ISTANBUL

Richard A. Murphy

INTRODUCTION

This article is based upon a study conducted in Istanbul, Turkey from September 1977 to July 1981, with the main bulk of the data collected in 1978 and 1979. Only the highlights are presented here. The final report on the project contains all of the statistics which were analyzed, using the Univac 1106 data processing system at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul and a program drawn from *Statistical package for the Social Sciences*.

The purpose of the study was to examine variation in language usage within five ethnic groups in the greater Istanbul area, each of which operates with at least one language in addition to Turkish. The groups examined and their principal languages are: I. Süryani: Turkish-Arabic, II. Armenians: Turkish-Armenian; III. Sephardi Jews: Turkish-Spanish/French; IV. Greeks: Turkish-Greek; V. Italians: Turkish-Italian.

The principal data gathering instrument was a carefully constructed, pre-tested, eleven page questionnaire consisting of four parts. The first two parts establish the personal, educational, and language background of each respondent, eliciting such information as relative proficiency in languages spoken by the respondent and the people he associates with. The last two parts present fifty-three conversational situations drawn from certain spheres of interest and activity which were found to be significant for the groups involved. The first ten conversations, comprising part three,

take place in the privacy of the home, with the respondent discussing a personal, family matter with close relatives, ranging from his child to his grandparents. Part four consists of forty-three conversations not necessarily restricted to the home and family. These situations are generally defined in the following terms: speakers (spouse vs. friend), location (home vs. theater vs. bus or shared taxi), and topic (ranging widely from personal to those which are media oriented). In all fifty-three situations the respondent is asked which language (s) he would use and the relative dominance, if any of one language over the other.

The questionnaires were distributed personally by twenty-one assistants, most of whom were members of one of the five groups. Given the nature of the project, it was impossible to obtain a random sample in the normal definition of the term. But the wide distribution throughout various sections of Istanbul assures that the sample is fairly representative of the populations considered. In all, 1,214 questionnaires were distributed, 736 of which were returned. A total of 675 were incorporated into the analysis. Group by group, the following numbers were processed: 65 Suryani, 213 Armenian, 179 Sephardim, 148 Greek, and 63 Italian.

THE GROUPS SAMPLED

There are no official statistics available as to population of the groups examined in the study, since the Republic of Turkey makes no distinction in its census reports among Turkish citizens. The population figures given below, therefore, must be considered estimates provided by the sources as cited. The official Turkish census report of 1980 lists the over-all population of Istanbul proper as 2,853,539, and, according to the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C., the current estimate for greater Istanbul is 5,500,000.

GROUP I.

This group consists of speakers whose principal languages, in addition to Turkish, are Arabic and modern Syriac. Their name in Turkish is *Süryani Kadim* (lit. Ancient Syrian), which is basically a

religious designation. Writers, especially in the West, often refer to them as Jacobites or Jacobite Syrians, after the sixth century missionary, Jacob Baradeus. The Süryani, however, reject this designation, but allow Syrian Orthodox as an acceptable English equivalent of *Süryani Kadim*¹.

Up until very recently the Süryani population of Turkey was almost exclusively distributed among the cities of Mardin, Diyarbakır, and Elazığ in the southeastern part of the country. Their chief monastery, Daar ul-Safran, situated about ten kilometers east of Mardin, is still in use after more than thirteen hundred years, although the main seat of the patriarchate is now in Damascus. Recently, there has been a great movement of the population from the Anatolian settlements into Istanbul.

The present Süryani population of Turkey is estimated at between forty and forty-five thousand. Of these, approximately seventeen thousand five hundred currently reside in Istanbul. As recently as fifteen years ago, there were only one thousand five hundred Süryani in the greater Istanbul area, and twenty year ago there were no more than twenty to thirty families.

The Süryani population of Istanbul consists mainly of merchants and tradesmen, a great many of whom are in the jewelry and tailoring business in and around the Grand Bazaar. The children generally attend school through the lycée², but it is estimated that not more than one hundred Süryani are currently enrolled in a university.

Süryani children attend Turkish primary schools exclusively. At the middle school and lycée levels they have the option of attending Turkish or foreign language schools, as do all Turkish citizens. There are no schools in Istanbul which use Arabic or modern Syriac as the medium of instruction.

1 The information in this section, including population figures, was provided by the representative of the Süryani Patriarch in Istanbul, Archbishop Samuel Alkdemir.

2 In Turkey primary school runs from grade one through five; middle school from grade six through nine; lycée or high school from grade ten through twelve.

Although Arabic language newspapers are readily available in the city, there is no local Süryani newspaper. It is estimated, moreover, that only about five percent of those who speak Arabic or modern Syriac can read it. A number of Arabic language radio stations from neighboring countries can be received clearly in Istanbul.

The Süryani population is, at the moment, in a state of mobility and transition. Arabic is widely used, along with Turkish, as a native language throughout the community. Very few speakers of modern Syriac were included in the study. They originally came from villages in the region of Midyat, just northeast of Mardin.

GROUP II

This group is made up of those speakers whose major non-Turkish language is Armenian. The emphasis here is on actual speakers of Armenian, because although the current Armenian population of Istanbul is about sixty thousand, it is estimated that no more than thirty thousand actively speak the language. The reason for this is the slow but steady movement of Armenians from the Anatolian region of Turkey into Istanbul, especially from the areas around Kayseri, Siirt, and Sivas. These people are, for the most part, monolingual speakers of Turkish. Current estimates of the Armenian population of Anatolia range from fifteen to twenty thousand, with large concentrations in the Mardin-Diyarbakir region³.

The Armenian community of Istanbul has roots that go back centuries. It was established as a viable, active entity following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Traditional scholarship holds that in 1461 Fatih Sultan Mehmet (The Conqueror) invited Archbishop Joachim of Bursa to come to Istanbul, where he invested him with the title of Patriarch. As a result, Armenians were not only attracted to the city, but were granted special status

³ Unofficial estimates of the population as well as figures on the schools were provided informally by the Armenian patriarchate in Istanbul.

through the *Millet* system of the Ottoman Empire⁴, as the Greeks and Romaniote Jews had been granted before them. And the patriarch became responsible for the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the entire Armenian population.

The members of the Armenian community are professionally active, chiefly as small businessmen, merchants, and craftsmen. There are thirty schools in the city where Armenian is the principal language of instruction. Two Armenian language newspapers are published in Istanbul as well as a weekly magazine. No Armenian language radio stations are received in the greater metropolitan area with the exception of the nightly one hour Armenian language broadcasts from Radio Erivan. A hospital is run by the community as are homes for the aged. Many Armenian schools have alumni associations, which contribute to the active social life of the population.

As noted above, only one half of the population speaks Armenian in addition to Turkish. There is some indication, however, that the monolingual immigrants into the city are acquiring some degree of fluency in Armenian or, at least, encouraging its use as a second language among their children.

GROUP III

The Sephardim, those Jews who trace their origins back to medieval Spain and Portugal, make up the third group sampled. Linguistically this group differs from the others in that the members generally speak Spanish and-or French in addition to Turkish. The Spanish they speak is a Castillian dialect of the Middle Ages, which, at least in its written form, is generally known as *Ladino*. The spoken language, understandably, has been heavily influenced by the dominant languages of the areas in which the Sephardim settled, especially throughout the Balkans, North Africa, and the Middle East. It is difficult to find agreement concerning the name

⁴ Each of these non-Moslem communities, which were granted autonomy over their internal affairs within the Ottoman Empire, was known as a *Millet*. Each *Millet* had official status, and its appointed leader was responsible solely to the court of the Sultan.

of this dialect, even among its speakers. *Ladino*, *Kastilyano*, and *Zudeo ispanyolca* are among the designations accepted by various speakers in Istanbul. After some pre-testing, it was decided to use the general Turkish term for Spanish, *İspanyolca*, in the study. French has also been promoted as a second language within the community, especially among the educated and wealthier members.

The Istanbul Sephardi community goes back to the reign of Sultan Beyazit II, who succeeded Mehmet the Conqueror in 1481. Moses Capsali had been recognized by Sultan Mehmet as chief rabbi of the Istanbul Jewish community in 1456, three years after the conquest. But he was a Romaniote or Greek speaking Jew presiding over an almost exclusively Romaniote community. It was not until the tenure of Elija Mizrahi as chief rabbi under Beyazit II that the Spanish speaking Sephardim arrived in Istanbul. Fugitives from Spain and Portugal from which they were expelled in 1492, they first went to Oran in North Africa, then to Italy, and finally to Istanbul, where they were welcomed into the Ottoman Empire as well educated professionals. The Sephardim are to be distinguished not only from the earlier Romaniotes, but also from the Yiddish speaking Ashkenazi Jews from central and eastern Europe. It is estimated that about ninety-five percent of the current Istanbul Jewish population is Sephardi in origin and numbers approximately twenty-three thousand⁵.

There are no schools in Istanbul where Spanish is the medium of instruction, and there never have been. The majority of the wealthier Istanbul Sephardim send their children to four or five particular Turkish primary schools where the language of instruction is exclusively Turkish. At the middle and lycée levels most Sephardi children attend foreign private schools, mainly French. Universities, as would be expected, are very well attended.

The Sephardim sampled in this study are, for the most part, engaged in upper level professions, such as medicine and business. There are at least fifteen social and service organizations in the

⁵ The figures presented here are unofficial estimates provided by the office of the chief rabbi in Istanbul.

city which are run by the community as well as a hospital, a home for the aged, and an orphanage.

GROUP IV

The fourth group examined consists of the Istanbul Greeks, whose religious, cultural, and linguistic traditions can be traced back to the Byzantine Empire and beyond. Almost immediately following the conquest of the city, Sultan Mehmet II decided to fill the patriarchal seat (which had been declared vacant) with the Greek scholar and priest, George Scholarius. The new patriarch assumed the title of Gennadius II and in 1454 was invested with civil and ecclesiastical responsibility for the entire Greek Orthodox population. In this way, the Greeks were given their own special position within the *Millet* system in the same way as were the Jewish and Armenian populations soon after.

There have been many fluctuations in the number of Greek speaking residents of Istanbul throughout the history of the city, and it is impossible to give an exact figure for the present size of the population. Instead, a range of between nine and twelve thousand is offered as an approximation, after consulting with various sources such as the Greek patriarchate and the circulation department of the local Greek language newspaper. As recently as ten years ago the estimate was forty thousand, and earlier the figures were much higher. There are very few Greek speakers presently residing in Anatolia.

It is estimated that at least eighty percent of the present Greek community of Istanbul has been indigeonus to the city for at least three to four generations, and many families have been natives of the city for much longer periods. The majority of those Greeks who emigrated to Istanbul did so prior to the exchange of populations in 1923⁶. They came mainly from the Black Sea coastal region, Bur-

⁶ In accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed in 1923, Greeks living in Turkey were exchanged for Turks living in Greece. The only exceptions were the Greeks of Istanbul and the Turks of western Thrace.

sa, and the Konya-Kayseri area of Anatolia, as well as from the towns of Silivri and Tekirdag in eastern Thrace.

There are thirty primary schools where Greek is the main language of instruction. In addition, there are three middle schools and lycees for boys and two for girls. Many members of the community enter Turkish institutions of higher learning in the greater Istanbul area.

The Greek speaking population is engaged in a wide range of professions, from simple workmen to university professors. In general, however, tradesmen and small shop owners predominate. The community supports two sports clubs and ten cultural associations. There are numerous women's clubs, and the community operates a hospital. One Greek language newspaper appears every day except Sunday, and another appears weekly. Radio stations from neighboring Greece are clearly received in the Istanbul area, especially in the evening.

GROUP V

The fifth group to be sampled is made up of those Istanbul residents who speak Italian in addition to Turkish. This community is the smallest of those under consideration, and its origins are not as easily determined as those of the other four groups. However, at least two, and possibly three, sources can be cited.

The first source is the oldest and most difficult to trace. The maritime powers of Venice and Genoa had a great interest in Istanbul as a trading and commercial center dating back to the Byzantine Empire. The area of the city now known as Galata, across the Golden Horn from old Istanbul, was the principal Genoese settlement. The Venetians had their quarters within the confines of the old city, itself, along the southern shore of the Golden Horn. It is impossible to determine how many, if any, of the present Italian speaking residents of Istanbul are actually descended from these early settlers. It is claimed by many members of the Italian community that the last descendents died out in the eighteenth century.

The second source is the Italian merchant fleets, which were active throughout the Aegean and Mediterranean until recently. The islands of Tinos, Chios, Rhodes, and Cyprus, in particular, had large settlements of Italians, many of whom emigrated to Izmir and Istanbul. Records exist and have been examined which trace a number of Istanbul Italian families back to these islands. Further information on this may be found in Sperco, 1959 (approx).

The third source consists of more recent arrivals from Italy who have joined the community on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. This took place in several stages, the first occurring between 1880 and 1890, when great numbers of emigrants, especially from southern Italy, were seeking better economic conditions abroad. Although the largest percentage went to the United States, many chose Turkey and Istanbul, in particular. In addition, the two world wars contributed to the flow of emigrants from Italy. Many Italian families who found themselves refugees during the early stages of World War II took up residence in Istanbul and still remain. Finally, during the past decades Italian banks and other business concerns in the city have imported personnel from Italy to fill managerial positions. A good percentage of this work force has remained at least for several years.

A recent estimate places the Italian speaking population of Istanbul at approximately one thousand, out of a total of two thousand throughout Turkey⁷. There are two middle schools and one lycée in Istanbul where the main language of instruction is Italian. In addition, there are three primary schools where Italian is used exclusively. Not all Italian children attend Italian schools, however. Many families in the community, especially those in the higher income brackets, send their children to schools where French is the principal language of instruction. This has led to a situation where some Istanbul Italians are trilingual in Turkish, Italian, and French or even bilingual Turkish and French. Moreover, almost all Italians know at least some Greek. This is especially true of those families who emigrated from the Aegean islands.

⁷ This estimate was provided by the office of the Basilica of San Antonio in Istanbul and corroborated by the *Istituto Italiano di Cultura*.

There is no locally published Italian language newspaper, although magazines and newspapers from Italy are available. Italian radio programs may be received only on short wave. An Italian hospital is located in the city. One cultural organization is at the service of the community, and alumni groups from the Italian schools are active throughout the metropolitan area.

It should be mentioned that numerous churches and synagogues serve the religious needs of all five groups. And these play an active and clearly defined role in the life of their respective communities.

SOME MAJOR STATISTICS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

A reasonable, initial expectation would be that Istanbul is a linguistic «melting pot» for the five communities, even in a limited sense, given their respective backgrounds and the fact that they are all living in the same geographical area under a roughly parallel range of socio-economic conditions. However, the situation is more complex than suggested by external similarities, with each group responding in its own way to the cosmopolitan, predominantly Turkish milieu of the metropolitan center. To a greater or lesser extent, each of the communities has adapted to the environment in which it finds itself. This is evidenced in the self-evaluation of proficiencies in both the ethnic language and Turkish as well as in the degree to which each group uses these languages under diverse conditions.

There are several variables tested in the study which appear to affect all of the groups about equally. Some of the more apparent are:

1. *Sex*, where females are generally more proficient than males in the ethnic language and less proficient in Turkish.
2. *Age*, where the older generations in all groups have a consistently higher degree of proficiency in their respective ethnic languages than do the younger generations. Also, in terms of language choice, with the one exception of the children's generation, whose picture is not entirely clear,

all groups indicate a progressively greater use of the ethnic language as opposed to Turkish, proceeding from the respondents' generation to that of their grandparents.

3. *Topics*, certain of which have a definite and predictable influence on language choice. For example, topics drawn from or influenced by the media induce a greater amount of Turkish usage than do those of a more personal nature. A comprehensive account of the relative influence of the entire twenty-one topics tested as well as other variables included in the questionnaire is contained in the final report on the original study.

There are other variables, however, whose distribution is more common to some communities than to others. These variables have important implications, both sociologically and historically, in that tentative reasons for their particular distribution are to be found in the origins of the groups, themselves, the manner of their movement into the city, or their current status within the general urban population. To be specific, certain configurations revealed in the analysis suggest that the Suryani and Armenians be considered as a loose but separate entity on the one hand, and the Greeks and Italians as a more cohesive unit on the other, with the Sephardim standing somewhat apart. This is supported by the figures for language exposure, proficiency ratings, and usage.

EVIDENCE FROM LANGUAGE EXPOSURE

The figures for language exposure reflect the respondents' experience at both an early and a later stage of life. And evidence for the grouping suggested above is available at both stages.

One type of early exposure, for example, is the first language spoken in childhood. The figures indicate that a higher percentage of Greeks and Italians speak their ethnic language initially than do the Suryani or Armenians, even though all four groups claim a strong dominance of the ethnic language at this stage. The Sephardim, however, present a completely different picture, with a much greater percentage citing Turkish rather than the ethnic language.

The opinion of the respondents concerning the language they consider native also supports the Süryani-Armenian/Greek-Italian dichotomy, but not as decisively. The Greeks and Italians maintain a clear dominance of the ethnic language over Turkish as do the Armenians. The Armenians, however, indicate a lower figure than do the former two communities, and the Süryani are almost evenly divided between Turkish and their ethnic language, with a slightly higher figure for Turkish. Once again, all four contrast markedly with the Sephardim, who, almost without exception, consider Turkish as their native language.

Data concerning the first language read are interesting only in that they are further indication of the strong ethnic language proclivity among the Greeks and Italians. This is not in evidence within the Süryani and Armenian communities. For one thing, the Süryani do not read Arabic, which is reflected in that almost one hundred percent of them specify Turkish. And the Armenians' almost fifty-fifty division on the question may be accounted for by the fact that most literate members of this community have mastered their own writing system as well as the Roman orthography of Turkish.

Further support for a Süryani-Armenian/Greek-Italian division is found in figures for later language exposure, particularly in those measuring the language of the respondents' daily associates. When the principal language of friends and companions is checked, for example, it is seen that the Süryani and Armenians, taken together, differ significantly from the Greeks and Italians. In all cases the former two groups claim that the majority of their friends and companions speak Turkish as their principal language, while the Greek and Italian communities both indicate the opposite. This suggests a conscious inclination of the Greeks and Italians towards members of their respective communities through freedom of choice. It should be noted that the Süryani and Armenians do not form quite as homogeneous an entity here as do the Greeks and Italians, nor do they indicate as strong an affinity towards Turkish speakers as do the Sephardim.

It is revealing that when the language of neighbors and colleagues is considered, a Süryani-Armenian/Greek-Italian grouping

is not in evidence. All five communities claim that such persons speak Turkish as their principal language. This is most likely due to the fact that the choice of neighbors and colleagues is generally much more restricted than is that of friends and companions.

EVIDENCE FROM PROFICIENCY RATINGS

Further evidence for the Süryani-Armenian/Greek-Italian dichotomy is to be found among the proficiency ratings provided by the respondents for themselves and their family members, from children to grandparents. These were mentioned briefly above in discussing the «age» variable. Patterns of distribution which are clearly supportive of the re-grouping, however, appear in the proficiency ratings for the ethnic language rather than in those for Turkish.

A direct comparison of the Süryani and Armenian communities reveals that the two groups share the same general pattern of decline in ethnic language proficiencies from the parents' generation to that of the respondents' children. The Süryani grandparents and parents are at a somewhat higher level than are their Armenian counterparts. And the decrease in ethnic language fluency within the children's generation is generally greater among the Süryani. Despite these disparities, however, the over-all picture is one similarity between the two communities.

The Greeks and Italians also share parallel distribution patterns in ethnic language proficiency ratings which, taken together, are distinct from those of the other three groups. Specifically, the Greeks' proficiency in Greek increases from the grandparents, through the parents, to the respondents, then declines slightly among the children. The Italians start at a very high point in ethnic language proficiency among the grandparents, increasing through the parents to the respondents, then declining slightly with their children. Both communities, then, are very similar in the distribution of their figures, the only difference being the slightly lower ratings for the Italian grandparents and children compared to their Greek counterparts.

If a Süryani-Armenian/Greek-Italian dichotomy is evident from the figures for proficiency in the ethnic language, an exami-

nation of the same figures for the Sephardi community indicates that this group stands quite apart. The Sephardim show a slight decline in ethnic language proficiencies from the grandparents to the parents and a steep, steady decline from the parents to the respondents' children. And although this pattern parallels that of the Süryani and Armenians in the general decline in numbers, it is much more extreme.

As noted above, proficiency ratings for Turkish are not clearly supportive of the proposed re-grouping. Although each of the five communities has its own particular development in Turkish proficiencies across generations, there appears to be no common pattern shared by the Süryani and Armenians on the one hand and the Greeks and Italians on the other which would support the dichotomy suggested. All five communities show a considerable and steady rise in Turkish proficiency from the older to the younger generations, the only difference between them being one of degree.

EVIDENCE FROM LANGUAGE USAGE

In order to simplify the comparisons among the groups, the individual figures for usage contained in the original study have been converted to over-all averages for the ten family and forty-three general situations, respectively. These averages are displayed in the linear graphs below, reducing the need for detailed descriptions.

In choosing a language for communication within the family, the Süryani and Armenians behave in almost the same way. Both groups use more of the ethnic language than Turkish, with the Süryani using a bit more of the former and less of the latter than the Armenians. The Greeks and Italians, on the other hand, use a very large amount of their ethnic language as opposed to Turkish. This represents a major deviation from the other three communities. And, although the Sephardim are more similar to the Süryani and Armenians than they are to the Greeks and Italians, they differ from all four groups in that they use more Turkish than the ethnic language. In short, the data for usage in family situations

clearly show the relatively close similarity of the Süryani and Armenians as well as the basic difference between them and the Sephardim on the one hand and the Greeks and Italians on the other.

The figures for usage in general situations show that the Süryani and Armenians again have similar distribution patterns. They both differ in their behavior from family situations in using more Turkish than the ethnic language, with the Armenians leaning somewhat more heavily toward Turkish. What is more significant, however, is that together they again contrast with the Greeks and Italians, who both use more of the ethnic language than Turkish.

The Sephardim are also set apart here, this time more distinctly than they were within the family situations. For, although they indicate the same general type of distribution pattern as the Süryani and Armenians, an exceptionally high percentage of them speak Turkish as opposed to the ethnic language.

CONCLUSION

Mutual characteristics of the Greek and Italian communities are clearly discernible from the data reviewed in this paper. And, although it is not as easy to make a firm case for a Süryani-Armenian classification, these two communities also share definite distributional patterns in language exposure, proficiency ratings, and language usage. The Sephardim are, if anything, closer to the Süryani and Armenians, than they are to the Greeks or Italians.

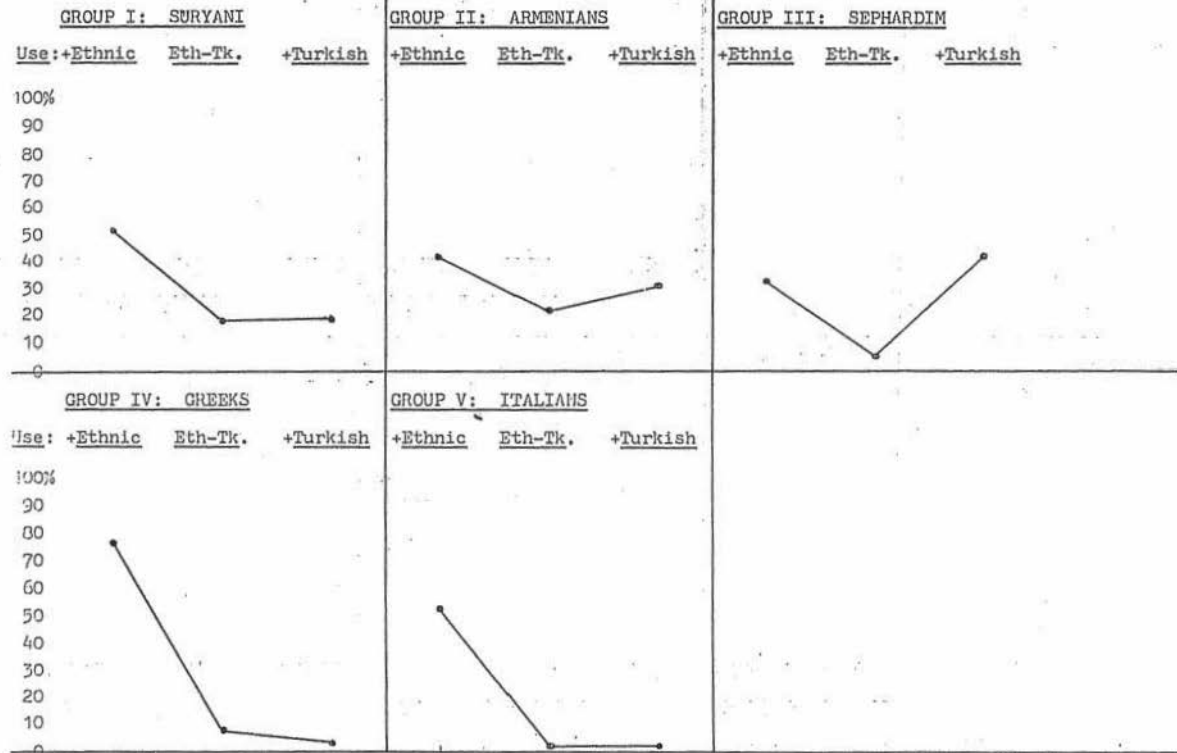
One important historical fact that distinguishes the Greeks and Italians from the Süryani, Armenians, and Sephardim is that the former two groups originally came from the West, mainly the Aegean region. Even those Greeks who migrated from Anatolia, including the Black Sea coast, had their ultimate origins in the area of the Aegean and persisted in maintaining their cultural heritage across the centuries. An extreme example of this penchant to preserve traditional customs and institutions is found among the so-called Caramanian Greeks, who moved to Istanbul from the cities of Konya and Kayseri during the 1920's. Although they no longer spoke Greek, they continued to use traditional Greek orthography in writing their adopted language, Turkish.

As noted earlier, In contrast to the Greeks and Italians, the Süryani and Armenians, who recently arrived in Istanbul, previously occupied settlements in the southeastern provinces of Turkey, particularly in the Mardin-Diyarbakır region of Anatolia. This makes it more than likely that the two groups had some mutual contact throughout the years. It is just this type of earlier geographical distribution which provides extra-linguistic support for the grouping presented here based upon current patterns of linguistic behavior.

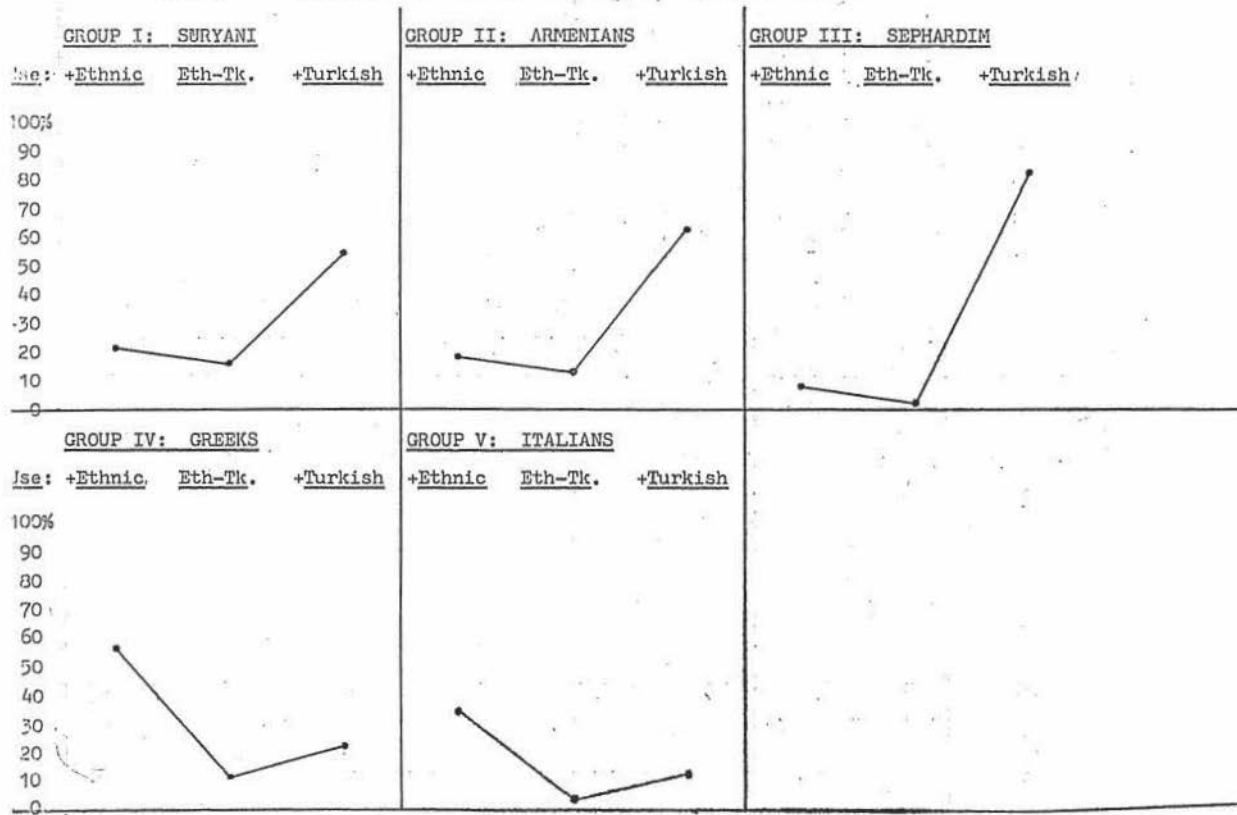
The Sephardim represent an interesting case of linguistic adaptation, which may account for their partial similarity to the Süryani and Armenians. Lacking such institutions as special schools for the community, which would tend to maintain their ethnic language heritage, they have had to rely on the family and, to a lesser extent, the synagogue as the principal preservers of community values. And, although there is evidence that Spanish and/or French is still used at home, especially among members of the older generations, it is clear that the younger members of the community have almost completely adapted to their Turkish linguistic environment. This, in itself, would put them more in line with the Anatolian-rooted Süryani and Armenians, than with the Greeks or Italians.

The present investigation has at least uncovered data which strongly suggest the pairing of the Istanbul Greeks with the Italians into what might be termed an «Aegean Group» and the Süryani with the Armenians (and, more tentatively, the Sephardim), which could go under the heading of an «Anatolian Group». The search for further evidence to justify such a classification would require a detailed study of the linguistic situation in the relevant regions of Anatolia as well as the Aegean, drawing upon the techniques of historical and sociological methodology. In any event, the analysis carried out in this study and the suggestions made provide a point for discussion as well as an impetus for such research, treating, as it does, the linguistic situation of the communities in Istanbul today.

Graph I USAGE IN FAMILY SITUATIONS



Graph II USAGE IN GENERAL SITUATIONS



REFERENCES

- Bowman, Steven Barrie. *The Jews in Byzantium, 1261-1453*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1974.
- Dolapönü, M.H. *Tarihte Mardin*. Istanbul : Hilal Matbaacılık Koll. Sti., 1972.
- Fishman, Joshua A. *Language in Sociocultural Change*. Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1972.
- Fishman, Joshua A. and Greenfield, Lawrence. Situational Measures of Normative Language Views of Person, Place and Topic Among Puerto Rican Bilinguals. In Fishman, J., Cooper, R., and Ma, R. *Bilingualism in the Barrio*. Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1971.
- Murphy, Richard A. *Language Usage Among Bilingual Speakers in Istanbul*. Unpublished manuscript, Washington, D.C., 1981.
- Sperco, Willy. *Les Anciennes Familles Italiennes de Turquie*. Undated monograph, Istanbul, approx. 1959.
- Weinreich, Uriel. *Languages in Contact*. The Hague : Mouton, 1966.