

HOPA HEMSINLIS: HISTORY, LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

This thesis is submitted to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Cultural Studies**

**by
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ABSTRACT

HOPA HEMŞİNLİS: HISTORY, LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

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This thesis aims at studying with the Homşetsnak/Hemşince speaking Hopa Hemşinlis with a focus on their history, language, culture, and ethnic identity with the use of ethnographic data and oral history interviews. My analysis focuses on how Hopa Hemşinlis construct their past at the present, as well as the already existing studies on Hemşin history within a discussion of history writing in general. This study also describes the history of Hemşince focusing on the language ideologies held by Hopa Hemşinlis in addition to the processes having impact on the use of Hemşince. In this study, it is depicted that Hemşin history and language are resorted as sites for ethnic identity negotiations and discussions by researchers as well as Hopa Hemşinlis. Although there have been endeavors to attain Turkish and Armenian origins to Hopa Hemşinlis, which still continue today, Hopa Hemşinlis exhibit a strong sense of Hemşinli identity.

Keywords: Hopa Hemşinlis, Hemşin history, Hemşince, language ideologies, ethnic identity.

ÖZET

HOPA HEMŞİNLİLERİ: TARİH, DİL VE KİMLİK

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Bu tez, Hemşince konuşan Hopalı Hemşinlilerin tarihini, dilini, kültürünü ve etnik kimliklerini etnografik veri ve sözlü tarih mülakatları kullanarak onlarla birlikte çalışmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda Hemşincenin kullanımını etkileyen süreçlerin yanı sıra Hopalı Hemşinlilerin sahip olduğu dil ideolojilerine odaklanarak Hemşincenin tarihini anlatmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Hemşin tarihi ve dilinin hem araştırmacılar hem de Hopalı Hemşinliler tarafından kimlik kurulumları ve tartışmaları için başvuru kaynağı olduğu gösterilmektedir. Hopalı Hemşinlilerin kökenini Türklüğe ve Ermeniliğe dayandırmaya yönelik günümüzde de devam eden çabalar olsa da Hopalı Hemşinliler Hemşinli kimliğine güçlü bir bağlılık gösteriyorlar.

Anahtar sözcükler: Hopalı Hemşinliler, Hemşin tarihi, Hemşince, dil ideolojileri, etnik kimlik

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

- () Double parentheses provide information about the transcriber's comments, explanations
- (...) Represents omitted speech.
- “ ” Quotation marks are used to mark direct reported speech.
- Indicates self- interruption.

PREFACE

I frequently think that if there were not encounters of people with others who have different ethnic, linguistic and historical backgrounds, the nationalist ideologies of the nation states would be more successful at the production of national languages, cultures and even persons. One such is my encounter with İlden whom I first saw confronting the jokes of some people attributing Laz ethnicity to her, for she has a long nose. Long nose and being a Laz is a stereotypical association in Turkey.¹ Confrontations such as these occurred many times during my years of friendship with İlden. Not making the jokes on her nose an issue, but taking them seriously, İlden has always provided detailed explanations until the jokers regretted their jokes. In her short lecture, she always states that she is not Laz but a Hemşinli; that Laz people and Hemşinlis live in the same place, in the county of Hopa in Artvin; that Hemşinlis speak a language called "Homşetsnak" by its speakers; that they have a dance called "Hemşin Horonu" which everybody would like to learn when they see it. She further states that she is of Armenian origin though not all Hemşinlis accept this. Much later, I was going to learn that Hemşinlis introduced themselves as Laz when they are outside their hometown. She provides evidence for Armenian origin, which is burying the dead with a coffin, which is not a Muslim tradition at funerals. She concludes that because Hemşinlis have such a burying ceremony, which is a Christian tradition, her Hemşin Armenian ancestors converted from Christianity to Islam. Like İlden's joking friends, I had not known either one word of İlden's narrative, or the existence of a group of people called Hemşinlis until I met her in the late 1990s.

¹ In Turkey, it is a very much common prejudice that if a person is from the Black Sea Region, most probably she is a Laz and most of the time being a Laz does not refer to a different ethnicity but reduced to Turkish citizens who live in the Black Sea Region and who have a different Turkish accent. The people in Turkey generally use the name "Laz" referring to all inhabitants of Turkey's Black Sea provinces associated with certain social stereotypes.

In the summer of 2010, we decided to spend some time in İlden's village Çavuşlu in Hopa. She had always been telling us how beautiful her village was and referred to the people there with expressions of passion and joy. Before heading for Hopa, we traveled to southeastern Turkey. Finally, we took a bus from Van to Artvin with the tiredness of travelling. I thought that I was not very motivated to see one more new place even if it was my friend's hometown. However, when I saw the Zigana Pass with an exceptional view of enormous pine trees hidden under the foggy sky, I felt refreshed. Having spent fifteen days in dry territory in the heat of Southeastern Turkey, encountering rainy and cool weather with a view of the amazing Kaçkar Mountains covered with fog fascinated me. My cheer with the cool weather was accelerated when İlden made me listen to a piece of horon music. I thought that such music could be born only in a place like this. It seemed to me that it contained a melody running from the base of the voice to the top reaching to soprano level with the sharp voice of bagpipe being analogous to the rough mountains rising to the infinity of the clouds. These formidable mountains with fast flowing water streams and the songs living here reminded me of the comparison between the Nile River and the Euphrates.

İlden's mother and sisters welcomed us to their house, which is situated on a sharp hill covered with tea bushes. Her father was not at home but abroad as he works in a transport company as a truck driver.

The first morning, while we were having our breakfast, the women in the village came to the house having heard that İlden had some friends visiting their village. That evening, these women visited us again and when they went back to their houses it was almost morning. They frequently asked why they should go home, as their husbands were not home. Since most of the men in the village work as truck drivers, they are frequently out of the town. During the whole night, the women told us stories. Due to my presence, they told these stories twice, first in Hemşin language then in Turkish so that I also could understand. Each of these stories was based on true stories they experienced in tea delivery places, while shopping or during encounters with people outside of Hopa. They said that they would like to tell the stories in the Hemşin language as otherwise the stories were not funny. While telling their stories they were standing up as if they were on stage performing, making everybody laugh.

Another night İlden told me that we were going to go out. I was surprised. Where would we go in a village or even in Hopa? I did not think much of it and waited. In the evening a minibus came blowing a horn crazily. İlden told me that it was time to go. In

the minibus there were only women, including the driver whom everybody claimed to be a very crazy driver. On the way back everybody was drunk in the minibus. One started to sing a song in Hemşince and all the others listened. The song sounded very mournful. Later on I learned that the name of the song is Havas Ali Meralets and it is the lament of a woman who could not come together with her love. That night we came home around four in the morning. I was bewildered seeing the door left open for us to enter the house and not seeing a father waiting with frowning eyebrows.

I spent only a week there but had the chance to see two wedding ceremonies and to do family visits (It was Ramazan Holiday). Thus, I had the chance to visit my friend's grandparents and many relatives. The wedding ceremonies lasted until the morning, with everybody dancing horon. There is a dance called "Hemşin Horonu," which is different from the other horons in the Black Sea Region. The horons were the liveliest part of the wedding night. People danced in groups in a circle. The group had a leader of the horon who gives the commands to the dancers to organize the arm and feet movements as well as to cheer the dance group and the bagpipe player. In the meanwhile, visitors ate and drank in the wedding house.

The other wedding took place in a wedding house in the city. Everything here was scheduled in regular wedding party fashion with time spent on the marriage ceremony, marriage gift, wedding cake, and dancing. The place was too small for the crazy dance of the Hemşin people.

Having spent the daytime trekking along the sharp mountains and tea lands and having teatime chats with the warm welcoming women, we left the village with sadness. I hoped to return to that small place for I saw it as a small wonderland.

This story narrates my first encounter with the Hemşinlis. My depiction of the first impressions of Hemşinlis and their cultural practices might be criticized for rendering them "exotic" and "other" when we also consider my seeming fascination with the natural beauties around the region, Hemşin Horonu, the warm welcoming people, and the Hemşin language. However, this was more of an endeavor to get to know an otherized or silenced group of people from the same region I was born in, but about whom I heard very late in life. Having been more informed about the Hemşin language thanks to my work on the Hemşin language and the ridiculous but influential histories written by Turkish nationalists, my curiosity and aspiration to study Hemşin history and language increased. In the summer of 2012, we started a project on the Hemşin

language with the aim of documenting the Hemşin language as well as writing a grammar book of Hemşin with two linguists (Songül Gündoğdu and Markus Pöchtrager at Boğaziçi University), along with Hikmet Akçiçek and Mahir Özkan in HADIG.² Added to this was my search and struggle for social justice in my country, which does not have good records of democracy, human rights, and freedom especially for identities other than Turkish Sunni Islam.

This first visit of mine can be seen as a first step to the field, being precursor of many others. As for the story, it not only narrates what impressions I obtained from the Hemşinlis as a "visitor" totally foreign to Hemşinlis, but also depicts the beginning of the process of my own transformation; from then on I took different positionings starting from being a friend on to a researcher in the field and finally, a thesis writer at the desk afterwards.

Most important is my changing approach to the culture concept and to language. At first, I couldn't restrain myself from seeing them from a bird's eye view from which they are seen as detachable, portable, a product of a community, even a commodity that circulates in the marketplace, including the academic market. Such an approach can easily be rejected immediately, but as a bird's eye view cannot reflect upon its own view but only on others such a positioning is hard to avoid, especially for novice students of anthropology. The particularities, differences and contestations among the Hemşin community regarding history, language, culture and how these are reflected upon enabled me to see that I was perceiving Hemşinlis as exotic others who had a totalizable, homogenous and timeless culture, language and history. Throughout my research, the word "process" has a due emphasis rather than "results" or "products," and I consider my own changing positionings and approaches as a process as well.

² The Organization of Research and Preservation of Hemşin Culture

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Geldi bir kara duman *Black clouds covered the sky*
Dağların arasına *And the mountains*
Kaderum da benziyor *It is the black clouds*
Dumanun karasına *My fate follows*

(Anonymous)

The Pontic Mountains rising out of northern Turkey draw a natural line parallel to the southern shore of the Black Sea. Between the coastal Black Sea and the Pontic mountains lies a strip of land containing the present day Turkish provinces of Trabzon, Rize, and Artvin.³ This land, called the eastern Black Sea region in Turkey today, and which encompasses a succession of parallel valleys running south to north, from the rough mountains to the coast, has been populated by numerous communities, one of which is known as the Hemşinlis. It is in one of these valleys that the legendary capital "Tambur", later "Hamamaşen" and "Hemşin" was located, if it existed at all. Historically, the Hemşinli lived in the highlands of this region.⁴ However, due to migrations for different reasons throughout the centuries, Hemşinli settlements have extended beyond the boundaries of the traditional district. Today, the Hemşinlis live in an area stretching from the Çayeli county of Rize as far east as the Georgian border of Hopa county in the province of Artvin in Turkey. The Turkish speaking Hemşinlis, known as Rize or Baş Hemşinlis, are mostly settled in Rize (in the counties of Çayeli, Pazar, Ardeşen, Hemşin, Çamlıhemşin and Fındıklı).⁵ Further east are Hopa and Borçka counties of Artvin where Turkish and Homşetsnak/Hemşince speaking bilingual Hemşinlis live.⁶ Today, there are

³ See Map 1. Turkey.

⁴ See Map 2. Historical Hamshen and Hemshin Kaza.

⁵ See Map 3. Rize Hemşinlis settlement.

⁶ See Map 4. Hemshin villages in the province of Artvin.

also Hemşinlis settled in the county of Akçakoca in Düzce and Karasu county of Sakarya in addition to a significant number of Hemşinlis living in cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa, and Eskişehir.⁷ Today there are also Hemşinlis living in Krasnodar in Russia and in Kazakistan and Kyrgyzstan.

The Hemşin community I worked with in this thesis is the Homşetsnak/Hemşince speaking Hopa Hemşinlis. Despite numerous experiences of exile and the cultural and linguistic assimilation projects of Turkey, Hemşin people have preserved most of their cultural and linguistic heritage constituting a unique group identity within the diversified ethnic and linguistic context of the region.

There is very little research on the Hemşinlis. The available ones, except for a few, are influenced by the nationalist policies of the Turkish Republic, if not in its direct service. There is some research conducted by Armenian researchers, but these are in the Armenian language. Without exception, existing research gives utmost importance to revealing the origins of Hemşinlis through the existence of Homşetsnak, the language Hopa Hemşinlis speak. These studies, even the most thorough and nonnationalistic ones, follow a positivistic approach to history disregarding the contemporary subjectivities, positionings, and self-reflections of the Hemşinlis. As for the Hemşin language, there are only a few linguistic studies of the Hemşin language focusing on the similarities or differences between Armenian and Homşetsnak.⁸ However, Turkish nationalist

Bert Vaux groups Hemşinlis into three according to the languages they speak. According to Vaux's categorization, Hemşinlis are categorized as Western (Turkish speaking Sunni Muslim) Hemşinlis living in Rize, Eastern (Homşetsma speaking Sunni Muslim) Hemşinlis living in Artvin, and Northern (non-Islamized Christian speaking) Hamşen Armenians living in Georgia and Russia today. When needed to refer to Hemşinlis living in different regions we will use the categorizations attributed by the Hemşinlis I studied with, which are "Rize Hemşinlis" and "Hopa Hemşinlis" (Vaux, 2007, p.257). Hemşin-ce. -CA is the suffix driving language names out of nation names in Turkish. Hemşinlis call the language they speak as either "Hemşince", Hemşilce, or as "Homşetsnak" in Hemşin language.

⁷ See Map 5. Hemshin settlement in western Black Sea areas.

⁸ Bert Vaux, 2007. "Homshetsma: the language of the Armenians of Hamshen" in In Simonian, Hovann H., (Ed) *The Hemshin: History, Society and Identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey*. (pp. 353-388) London and New York: Routledge.

researchers the to try to degrade the Hemşin language by rejecting its existence.

The socioeconomic development, technological advancement, and democratization in the global world in recent decades set the stage for a recontestation of nation-states. More influential than this enthusiastic view of globalization as bringing democracy to the multicultural states has been the failure of nation states in homogenizing different ethnicities having faced the mobilization of people for cultural recognition, autonomy, or separateness. The era of nation-states with all their coercive apparatuses to assimilate different ethnicities has seen the struggles of Quebecois in Canada, Basques in Spain, and Kurdish people in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. The Turkish Republic, having failed to erase the different ethnicities, had to loosen homogenizing pressures in the last decade, after a war against Kurdish Movement lasting thirty years. It is in such a context that identity-based movements of other ethnicities for ethnic, cultural and linguistic recognition have increased in Turkey. Hopa Hemşinlis, whose existence has been discounted by the Turkish state, are among these ethnicities, though they are in the very beginning of this process and smaller in number compared to the Kurdish people.

For my thesis, I seek to study with the Hopa Hemşinlis who are frequently referred to as "the mysterious people of the Black Sea Region" and whose history is viewed as "an absence, lack, or incomplete" and whose language is viewed as "agglomerated, oral and deficient" for many Hemşinlis as well as researchers.

It is not my purpose in this thesis to reveal "the mystical" and complete "the absence" by reconstructing the history of the Hemşinlis or determining their ethnic origins. I do not have an aspiration for "reality," "fact" or "truth" either, for I believe these are situated in the very historical and social context in which they occur, mutating into stories no differing from any other legendary myths told at the present time.

What I aspire to do in Chapter 3 is to understand what interests, dreams and desires the Hopa Hemşinlis have in relation to their present constructions of their past and identity at present, and to investigate in what way the knowledge of this past penetrates into these constructions. In order to do this, I present the global and local context for the increasing interest in Hemşin history as well as identity politics in recent years and analyze the life histories of Hopa Hemşinlis focusing on their interest in finding out their

past, adding my own ethnographic observations. In this chapter, I also aim to problematize history writing in general in relation to official nationalist histories which exclude and silence any ethnic "other" including the Hemşinlis, as well as all the endeavors to attribute a past not their own to the Hemşinlis. For this, I examine the available works by Armenians as well as by Turkish nationalist historians and local Hemşinli researchers.

In line with my criticisms of the already existing approaches to Hemşin history, in Chapter 4, I turn to the Hemşin people in order to understand why they need a written history of their own, if they do so at all. In this chapter, I present the accounts of the Hopa Hemşinlis I interviewed to see how and to what extent the knowledge of the past exists in the collective memory of the Hopa Hemşinlis and how they use this knowledge in their meaning-making process in their present lives. In this chapter, I write Hemşin history with the Hemşin people producing historical knowledge based on the knowledge they have in their collective memory.

In Chapter 5, I go over the history of the Hemşin language describing how it has been preserved up until today. I also present the context, which prepared the dramatic decrease in the usage of Hemşince since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. It is again in this chapter that I dwell on the spaces in which Hemşince has been spoken, the reasons for the decrease in the number of these spaces in line with the language ideologies of the Hopa Hemşinlis and the Turkish modernization process.

To sum up, in this thesis, I present an ethnographic analysis of the Hemşin history, language and identity based on oral history interviews with Hopa Hemşinlis. This thesis is the first study of Hemşin history, language and identity based on the stories of Hopa Hemşinlis through which we learn their own constructions of notions of self, belonging, ethnic origins in their own personal times rather than national/official constructions of history and ethnic as well as linguistic identity.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY

*To overcome lies in the heart, in the streets, in the books
from the lullabies of the mothers
to the news report that the speaker reads,
understanding, my love, what a great joy it is,
to understand what is gone and what is on the way.*

Nazım Hikmet

I believe that my entry into the field for my research started with the encounter with İlden whose story I told in the preface. Although this encounter became a story with a beginning and end when I decided to study with the Hopa Hemşinlis, I consider it a preparation period for my fieldwork. Portelli states "field situation is a dialogue, in which we are talking to people, not studying "sources"(Portelli, 1990, p.10). Similarly, my encounter with İlden started a dialogue, which I have continued to the present and which for the purposes of this study will end when I write the last words of this thesis. Therefore, the story goes on from when I left Hopa, which I saw as a small wonderland with the hope of visiting again.

The second time I went to Hopa was different in purpose, for it included making observations, doing interviews and video recording in addition to participating in everyday life. When I went to Hopa with these purposes the second time, I lived with İlden's family for ten days. It was in October 2012. I interviewed twenty-one people. I conducted interviews mostly in people's houses, cafes, the house where I stayed, and sometimes in the tea fields as well as gardens also became places to do interviews.

The people from the village I was staying in, Çavuşlu already knew that I was studying the Hemşin language and trying to learn it. To the others I said that I was working on Hemşin culture and language. In the interviews, to start the dialogue, I asked them if they could talk about their lives. During the course of the interviews, I asked

specific clarification questions, or some questions to learn the things I would like to be knowledgeable about such as what their grandparents doing, or if their children speak Hemşin. I mostly preferred to leave the floor to the interviewees but there were many cases where I talked about my own past experiences, or spoke for several minutes to console those who were talking about their problems. In other cases, we ended the meeting without me uttering a word. An exemplar interview is given in the Appendix A.

Portelli signals the joint formation of the relationship between the "observer" and the "people" with whom we study. He states "Oral history does not begin with one abstract person observing another, reified one, but with two persons *meeting on a ground of equality* to bring together their different types of knowledge and achieve a new synthesis from which both will be changed"⁹ (Portelli, 1990, p. XI). I agree that each meeting produces a new synthesis thanks to different types of knowledge people have and depending on the very context of the meeting even when the same two persons have different meetings. However, unlike Portelli, I believe that no two persons "meet on a ground of equality," for each relation encompasses unequally distributed power relations constructed on different bases. Being aware of this but at the same time seeing that it is so in everyday relations we set up in our lives, I always tried to let my meetings proceed with my agency being shaped by the persons I was talking to and mine shaping theirs in turn.

In addition to the interviews I conducted, I should mention how I took part in the everyday practices of Hopa. I believe that it was a great chance for me to live with my friend's family. My relation to this family dates further back than my thesis research. My family and İlden's family now know each other, they make family visits to each other in Istanbul. When İlden's family comes to Istanbul, they stay in my house. Hence, I can say that with this family I was an insider to some extent and in the Çavuşlu village, I was "an adopted" child of İlden's family. The Hopa Hemşinlis refer to people who are not Hemşinli as "yabancı" (foreigner). When people were introducing me to new Hemşinlis, they were saying "Yabancı değil. Gönüleyin ağçık e" (She is not foreigner, she is Gönüle's daughter). Thanks to this kind of relationship, I did not have any difficulty in reaching people. Moreover, I could participate in every kind of activity people were

⁹ Italics is my emphasis.

involved in, such as "altın günleri" (gold days)¹⁰, visiting relatives, going to the fields to prepare firewood for the winter, to harvest tea and so on. Therefore, except for conducting oral history interviews, which I take "as a form of ethnographic research" as suggested by Neyzi (1999a), in the village I was doing everything the other people at home were doing, which can be considered "participant observation". I can conveniently state that I was in the field "physically and ecologically" and "close to Hopa Hemşinlis while they were responding to what life does to them going through the same steps with people which can be considered as the hallmark of social/cultural anthropology (Goffman, 1989, 125).

That I was taken as an "insider" helped me and the people retain the potential dialogical language with dispersed authority (Clifford, 1983:133). This I believe enabled us to experience meetings as learning situations. I as a novice researcher was learning at every moment, which is not hard to expect. However, as a researcher or somebody coming from Istanbul, I also was seen as a source of knowledge, which means people were "learning" things from me. For instance, people, especially the young, were asking me how they could learn English, how to prepare for university entrance exams and so on. More significant than these, is when I saw changes in their perception of what I was doing there. Some of the Hemşinlis told me that I could not study Hemşin language because it was not a language since it did not have an alphabet. The same people were later asking how our studies were going and whether we wrote the alphabet, not hiding how content they were that I was studying the Hemşin language. While in the beginning for some Hemşinlis the Hemşin language was not considered a "language," it gained the status it deserved after a point.

After fifteen days in Hopa, I came back to Istanbul. I consider this period as a continuation of my fieldwork including the process of transcription of the video records of the interviews in Hopa. I transcribed all the video recordings in which I had a chance to see myself in the field from the bird's eye view. Of course, I found many things to be aware of such as background noise in the recordings.

¹⁰ Altın günleri (Gold days): Women gather in each other's houses, to save money. Each takes a predetermined amount of money or gold to the person they visit so that finally each gets the total money they have paid. During these gatherings, they eat and chat for hours.

I studied these data while at the same time reading written sources about the Hemşinlis. Having read these sources, and seen the distortion of Hemşin history and language by people with nationalistic interests, I decided to add a section on the history of the Hemşinlis to my thesis.

Like Portelli, I could focus on the "imaginative errors" expressing "the shared subjective dreams and myths", but in my case the imaginative errors I came across did not belong to the people I decided to study with (Portelli, 1990, IX). Rather, they belonged to the writers in the service of the Turkification projects of the Cembalist Republic. Therefore, I decided to run to the Hemşin people again to check if these errors are reflected in their discourse with the idea of using oral history as my conceptual framework.

In February 2013, I went to Hopa again. This time I conducted meetings with Hemşinlis from different villages and small towns in Hopa such as Başoba, Sarp, and Kemalpaşa including Hopa town center. This time I stayed for a month in Hopa. During this time, I got more engaged in the everyday life of the Hemşinlis in the village. During the wintertime, most of the women do not have anything to do but housework and visiting each other since it is neither tea harvesting time, nor the time for transhumant pastoralism. Therefore, I had more of a chance to spend time with the Hemşinli women having tea time chats, visits, and spending time in downtown Hopa. After a month, I came back to Istanbul with the video recordings of the meetings with twenty-two Hemşinlis and further observation notes.

During this whole time from September 2012 to today, I have participated in some of the cultural activities HADIG organizes in Istanbul. These were panels on Hemşin history and language, on nationalism and ethnicity in the context of Turkey, various gatherings with different topics such as Hemşin cuisine, meetings of the Hemşinli elderly, brunches, picnics, short trips. The members of the organization were actively attending to these gatherings. In these meetings I was generally asked to video record since I had a video camera. In this way, while helping them, I was having the chance to record them as an insider. During this time, I was also following the discussions on the facebook page of the organization. Thanks to the Hemşinlis working in the organization, I came to know a lot of Hemşinlis living in Istanbul. I conducted interviews with nine of

these Hemşinlis. I also met with some Hemşinlis living in Sakarya and Izmit, having conversations with them on being from Hemşin, Hemşin history, language and identity. Moreover, HADIG has a facebook page, on which there are always hot debates on being Hemşinli, the origins of the Hemşin people and on the past of the Hemşinlis. I was also following the discussions on this page. Most of the time I was an observer, remaining silent. However, sometimes, I could not help participating in hot debates regarding language when some Hemşinlis stated that there is no Hemşin language. I believe that this page and the views and approaches of Hemşinlis from different regions regarding Hemşin history and language helped me a lot in the analysis I make in this thesis though I do not use the data from facebook directly. These discussions on facebook enabled me to see the different positionings of Hemşinlis living in different regions in Turkey. Hopa Hemşinlis belong to the Hemşin community as Hemşinlis not as Turks as opposed to the other Hemşinlis living in Western Anatolia or in Rize Çamlıhemşin. Although I did my fieldwork in Hopa and interviewed only Hopa Hemşinlis, I attained knowledge about the other Hemşinlis and of their identity constructions thanks to these discussions.

I conducted interviews with 51 Hemşinlis, which took a lot of time and effort to transcribe. I then started to work on the life histories in the transcribed data. Geertz states that the ethnographic account rests “on the degree to which he (the ethnographer) is able to clarify what goes on” in a particular “culture” and “understanding a people's culture exposes their normalness without reducing their particularity” (Geertz, 1973, p. 8-9) During my study my aim has never been to describe only what I observe following the “cultural relativism of the Malinowskian model” in the fieldwork "formulating laws regulating the lives of people which they have probably never formulated themselves, certainly not with the clearness and definiteness which they have to the mind trained by a more complex civilization" as “magician anthropologists” did in the early 20th century (Clifford, 1983, p.122; Stocking, 1992, p.35). Therefore, during my data analysis process, I have always been in contact with my Hemşinli friends, asking what they think about my deductions and consulting them throughout the whole process. I have checked all the new information I learned from the written sources with the aim of understanding what Hemşinlis think about these. This kind of approach I believe helped me not to make misinterpretations but also allowed me to avoid "relativism and totalization" which has

been criticized much in ethnography. Moreover, it made this study a collective work comprised of "partial, locatable, critical knowledges sustaining the possibility of webs of connections called solidarity in politics and shared conversations" epistemologically, although I should admit that the final form of the story belongs to me (Haraway, 1988, p.584).

CHAPTER III: HISTORY: KĪMANAQ TA? HOZAIK!¹¹

"Those in power write the history, while those who suffer write the songs, and, given our history, we have an awful lot of songs."

Frank Harte¹²

Hemşin people have created songs from time immemorial rising as clamor from the soaring mountains in the Eastern Black Sea Region. However, their history is rendered inscrutable in these dark and foggy mountains since there are few written sources and nationalist historians distort what exists. In addition to the ideologies and pressure of the Republic of Turkey to build a homogenous nation state promoting the assimilation of different ethnic and religious groups, the scholars in Turkey, including the local researchers, who are of Hemşinli descent, suggest that Hemşin people have Turkish roots.¹³ Songs that people have been singing in the fields, wedding ceremonies, in mountain pastures entered the public sphere when a Laz singer, Kazım Koyuncu, introduced songs in Hemşin to the peoples of Turkey for the first time.¹⁴ While many people in Turkey came to know the existence of Hemşinlis and the Hemşin language

¹¹ Do you hear? We are here!

¹² http://www.jerryoreilly.net/folk_icons/frank_harte.html

¹³ -li is a Turkish suffix meaning "from" a specific place, or area.

¹⁴ Kazım Koyuncu (1971-2005) was a singer, songwriter and Laz activist from Hopa in Artvin province. The Laz people are an ethnic group in the Black Sea Region in Turkey. They speak Lazuri, a Caucasian language. In recent years, Laz people actively negotiate their ethnic identity, and document their language with the aim of standardization. Hemşin people frequently refer them to with their work activism in identity claims and language documenting.

upon hearing these songs, many Hemşinlis started to discuss their ethnic identities publicly in the subsequent years. These songs and discussions challenge the mono-ethnic and religious ideologies of the Republic of Turkey, the historians who buttress to these ideologies, and "history writing" in general.¹⁵ It has now become impossible to silence the fact that there are Hemşin people who are of different ethnic origins other than Turkish, who speak a different language and who are in search of their past which has been hidden in the thick haze of silence. The words of a Hemşinli woman, Halime below challenges those who believe that they have written the history of the Hemşin people, indicating the pursuit of knowledge of one's past:

H: I mean, I think, we do not exist in the history. Sometimes I get doubtful. I mean, don't we have any traditions; don't we have anything that we can pursue?¹⁶ (Halime, 53)

The historian Anne Elizabeth Redgate suggests that the paucity of written histories of the origins of Hemşin people is due to the fact that Shapuh and Hamam Amatuni, the leaders of the migrants to whom the origins of Hamshen are attributed, lived in a society in which oral tradition was strong (Redgate, 2007, p.11). However, living in a society having oral tradition might have also augmented the transmission of past events and experiences to the subsequent generations though it might be reason for not having written sources. It might even be one of the factors helping Hemşin people preserve their cultural heritage and language despite all the assimilation policies they have undergone.

The problematic situation regarding the history is more elusive and complex than

¹⁵ Some of the reasearhers who write the history of Hemşin people in line with Turkish nationalist history will be referred to in relevant sections. The most widely known one is Fahrettin Kırzioğlu's works which are referred to by many other local historians, and taken as classic work on this topic. (Kırzioğlu, F., 1974; 1994; 1998 Kırzioğlu, F., 1994; Arıcı, S., 2008; Gündüz, A., 2002; Sakaoğlu, M.A., 1990, Yılmaz, R., 2003; Yılmaz, Ş., 2012.)

¹⁶ *Original:*

H: bizim şimdi şöyle bişey düşünüyorum e tarihte hiç bi yerimiz yok bazan şüphe ediyorum yani hiç mi geleneğimiz yok hiç mi bi şeyimiz yok hani sürdürebileceğimiz bi şeyimiz yok

simply not having written sources on the origins of an ethnic group. The problem is the huge blank in the subject of the Hemşin people in the currently existing picture in history and the endeavors to fill this blank adjusting it to the hegemonic story with distortions. Hence, further more feasible explanation for the scarcity of the resources on Hemşin history is the argument that history is written by the victors, and that the Hemşinlis were not involved in a war as Redgate states, and for centuries survived as vassals of other powers such as the Armenians, Byzantines, and the Karakoyunlu and Akkoyunlu Turkomans as Simonian states (Redgate, 2007, p.13; Simonian, 2007, p.26).

Trouillot states, "History is the fruit of power" which is never transparent, invisible and constitutive of the story and any historical narrative is a bundle of silences (Trouillot, 1995, p. XIX, 40). What Halime states not only raises voice into these silences but also brings transparency to the invisible constituents of historical stories written in the Republic of Turkey. Trouillot further states that as a social process, history, involves peoples as agents, actors, and subjects. The inequalities experienced by the actors in a historical process create uneven historical power in the inscription of traces. The sources that are based on these traces favor some events over others, includes some over other many, which are excluded. Hence, "some peoples and things are absent of history, lost, as it were to the possible world of knowledge..." and this absence itself is highly related to power both in the social process and process of history writing, and hence "is constitutive of the process of historical production (Trouillot, 1995, p.40). However, in the last two decades, Hemşinlis decided to end this absence and silence by either their works on Hemşin history and language or by the political desire for recognition of some Hemşinlis especially for the last ten years.

3.1. Why Do Hemşinlis Need History?

In the recent discussions, one of the most frequently referred lacks regarding the knowledge on Hemşin people is history, the knowledge of Hemşin past. Due to the long

lasting silencing and huge blank regarding the Hemşin people in history, in recent discussions in the social media, in news about Hemşin people and in some researches, Hemşin people are frequently referred to as the "mysterious", "mythical" people of the Black Sea Region. For example, a newspaper article about Hemşin people is titled "Karadeniz 'in Gizimli Halkı" (The Mysterious People of the Black Sea) referring to Hemşinlis. Also, the first counter Turkish nationalist history work on Hemşinlis by Levon Haçikyan was translated into Turkish with a title "Hemşin Gizemi" (The Hemşin Mystery) while the original title is "Ejer Hamshinahay Patmutyunits" (Pages from the Hamshen Armenians). Hence, Hemşin people including the local researchers have been growingly interested in finding out their origins and solve this "mystery" of the Hemşinlis.¹⁷

In 2012, HADIG¹⁸ (the Organization of Research and Preservation of Hemşin Culture) was founded by Hemşin people living in Istanbul. In May 2014, the Organization of Sakarya Hemşinlis¹⁹ was founded. In these organizations, history and research on the origins of Hemşin people is seen as an absolute must activity to be done among the members and often raise hot debates in the gatherings and social media.

This interest is also seen in the academic circle both in Armenia and Turkey. Both Turkish and Armenian researchers who have been reticent on the subject of the Hemşin for long years have broken their silence. In September, 2005, the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia and Russian-Armenian Commonwealth Organization of Moscow organized a conference on "Hemshen and Hamshen Armenians" in Sochi. In November 2013, Hrant Dink Foundation organized a conference on Islamized Armenians with the cooperation of Boğaziçi University, and contribution of The Benevolent Malatya Armenians, Culture and Cooperation

¹⁷ Article on Hemşin people in Agos newspaper, lastly reached on 24/07/2014: <http://www.agos.com.tr/haber.php?seo=karadenizin-gizemli-halki&haberid=6096>

Levon Haçikyan, Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1996; 2nd rev. edn, 1997)

¹⁸ Hemşin Kültürünü Araştırma ve Yaşatma Derneği

¹⁹ Sakaryalı Hemşinliler Derneği

Association in Istanbul. For the first time in Turkey, research papers on Hemşin people were presented in this conference by Armenian, Turkish, and Hemşin researchers, which in turn increased the debates on the origins of Hemşin people. This affinity is common among the young Hemşin people as well, as the extract from a 32- year-old Hemşin woman illustrates:

E: We are of Hemşin race; I mean there is a race called Hemşin. One wonders the racial relation between this language and Armenians, Armenian language. I mean, to take a weight off our mind, I mean I think we should know the history. I mean it is important to know who Hemşinlis really are. There are many stories around, many events. They talk about events happening in these and those times. On what are these based? I mean everybody would like to know his or her birth. I mean would not you like to know your birth date. Would not you like to know where your life started? This is something like that. I mean our beginning is important. I think it should be known.²⁰ (Esin, 32)

In this extract, Esin considers knowing one's origins as significant making an analogy between an individual's life and the history of Hemşin people. She presents knowing the origins of Hemşin people as important as one to know his/her birthday. Steedman attributes the desire to know and to have the past to some components of modern self. She states that history is one of the narrative modes that we inherited from the 19th century, via which modern self plots and tells their lives. She further compares history with the modern idea of childhood. In this idea the way childhood is remembered, the narrative of the self, is a dominant way of telling the story of how the self got to be the way s/he is (Steedman, 2001, p.75-76). Therefore, the knowledge of the past, here, is

²⁰ *Original:*

E:biz kendi başımıza bi hemşin bi ırkıyız hemşince bi yani hemşin denen bi ırk var ama hani bu dilin ermeniyle olan hani ermeniceyle olan benzerliği de hani ırksal bi bağlantı olduğunu da insanın kafasında soru işaretleri uyandırmıyo diil yani o yüzden ee hani rahatlamak açısından ee ve bu bu tarz ee şimdi ne biliyim hani ne biliyim tarihin bilinmesi gerekiyo diye düşünüyorum hani insan hemşinlilerin gerçekten ne olduğunu bilmek önemli bence yani bissürü hikaye var bissürü olay var bi işte bilmem kaç tarihlerinden bahsedilen mevzular ve bunun neye dayandığını başlangıç yani herkes başlangıcını bilmek ister yani sen doğum tarihini bilmek istemez misin senin hayatının nerde başladığını öğrenmek istemez misin bu da öyle bişey yani bizim başlangıcımız nerdeyse önemli bişey yani bence bilinmeli yani

stated to be indispensable in the understanding of the self, of the process of becoming the way one got to be. Hence, according to Esin's analogy, in order to be able to attain a group identity to the Hemşin people now, one needs to know the origins and past of the Hemşin people.

We have noted that in the recent years there has been a dramatic increase in discussions about Hemşin identity and history. What is the reason for having endeavors to found organizations, to make researches on Hemşin history, and to make identity politics recently for a community even the existence of which was unknown by many only a decade ago? Why is the knowledge of past is taken so much significant and indispensable at the present in Hemşin community?

One reason is the changing social and political climate in Turkey in recent years. From the early 1980s to today Turkey has been experiencing a profound transformation, possibly the most profound since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Since 1923, the foundation of exclusionary Turkish Republic "with a single language and a single imagined ethnicity", the aim was to build a new, modern nation and to create a homogeneous national identity with a cultural, integrated identity, and linguistic commonality superseding all ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural identities other than Turkish and Sunni Muslim (Neyzi, 2002, p. 140, Kirişçi, 2000, p. 1-4).

However, in the late 20th century, globalization and the arising renegotiation of the place of nation-state have begun to be less "supreme and sovereign authorities, either outside or even within their own borders" (Hardt&Negri, 2001:Xi). Although one cannot know today whether construction of a separate Hemşin nationness will be considered "one happy day" by the Hemşinlis in the near future, "many 'old nations', once thought fully consolidated, find themselves challenged by 'sub'-nationalisms within their borders-nationalisms which, dream of shedding this sub-ness one happy day", as Anderson states (Anderson, 1991, p.3).

Similarly, Kadioğlu states that the most significant consequences of "the process of globalization is the shattering of homogenous, standardized cultures in an international order whose main political actors were the nation-states." Turkey, as well had the share from these international factors. Kadioğlu considers the changes in the political dynamics of Turkey after 1980s a new chapter. The end of Cold War rhetoric, globalization, and the

internal factors affecting Turkish political structure inaugurated this process of change (Kadiođlu, 1996, p.189-190).

The citizens of Turkey are increasingly speaking out their different ethnic backgrounds-whether Kurdish, Circassian, Georgian, Chechen, Hemşin, or Laz.²¹ Whether officially acknowledged or not, peoples of the Republic of Turkey have moved beyond many of the principles of Kemalism and Turkish nationalism. The myth of mono-ethnic Turkish identity was always challenged by oppositional movements, leftist, Islamic, or ethnic (Neyzi, 2010, p. 15).

The prolonged-armed conflict between the Turkish army and PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party) can be given as an example as one of the prominent oppositional movements. The Kurdish Movement since 1990s has created widespread public debate on human rights, national identity, and democratization in Turkey. The long lasting rejection of the Kurdish identity by the Turkish state throughout the 20th century resulted in an increased consciousness about language, oral tradition, music and performance (Neyzi, 2010, p. 3). The alternative works on Kurdish history, cultural traditions, language, and identity had impact on the collapse of the myths attributing Turkish ethnic backgrounds to non-Turkish groups "mountain Turks" for Kurdish people, limiting even the words "Kurd" and "Kurdistan", for instance (Kadiođlu, 2007: 289). Among many others, Kızılkaya's work on Kurdish oral tradition, Özgen's on oral history and memory work of Kurdish identity can be given as examples (Kızılkaya, M., 2000; Özgen, H. N., 2003). However, most influential has been the visibility of works of music and literature,

²¹ For example, on May 17, 2013 Laz Institute was founded one of the aims of which is improving Laz language. In the opening speech, one of the founders of the institute, Mehmet Bekarođlu, criticized the Turkish State, blaming the state for banning and preventing speaking languages other than Turkish. In the same year, Laz language started to be presented as an elective course in some universities.

(<http://www.baskahaber.org/2013/11/laz-enstitusu-kuruldu-lazlar.html>)

On the International Mother Language Day, February 21, 2014, the president of the Federation of Circassian Organizations, Nusret Bař, referring to the recently opened TV channel broadcasting in Kurdish, asked for a TV channel in Circassian.

(<http://www.haber46.com/yasam/27221/dunya-anadil-gunu%E2%80%99nde-cerkesler-feryat-ediyor!.htm>)

and especially the discussions on "mother-tongue" which became exemplar for other ethnicities in Turkey showing that it is one of the basic humans rights that one speak their mother tongue.

As in the case of Kurdish Movement, among the Hemşinli people doing ethnic activism, much emphasis is given on history, language and cultural traditions. For instance, the publishing of Diyarbakır Institute for Political and Social Research on Kurdish mother tongue have been circulating among Hemşinlis. "Scar of Tongue" by Derince, Coşkun and Uçarlar published in 2011 focusing on the consequences of the ban on the use of mother tongue in education and experiences of Kurdish students in Turkey was one of these works.

References to Kurdish movement are common also in the discourse of Hemşin people. Below is an extract from a Hemşin woman, Esmâ, talking about the impact of Kurdish movement on the construction of her awareness of being Hemşinli and Hemşin language.

E: I mean, when I go to Hopa today, I mean this concept of being a Hemşinli. That I have become aware of these things is because I have known the Kurdish people, I mean their struggle. I mean, they have a language; they do struggle for their language etc. I started to question why we had not had such similar things, why we had not had such claims. Then in the process of my membership to the organization I thought it was necessary to contribute to the culture. Since I thought it was necessary to start with something I delved into language that much. I realized that Hemşin language was my mother tongue. Normally, for us, Hemşin language was a language that we spoke secretly. I mean until I started the university and saw the struggle of Kurdish people. It never seemed to me as my mother tongue.²² (Esmâ, 25)

²² *Original:*

E: ya bugün ben hopaya gittiğimde hani bu işte hemşinlilik kavramı aslında benim bu şeylerle tanışmamın biraz da yine benim kültürün bi yani mesela kürtlerin kürtlerle tanışmak onların hani mücadeleleri mesela hani bak bunların bi dilleri var bi mücadele veriyolar felan hani biz niye dille ilgili böyle bişeyimiz hiç olmamış ya da niye böyle bi talepte bulunmamışız diye mesela o zaman böyle düşünmeye başladım sonra işte istanbulda işte dernek süreciyle birlikte böyle daha kültüre daha da şey katkı sunmak gerektiğini hani bi yerinden tutmak gerektiğini düşündüğüm için bu kadar hani dilin içine girdim hemşincenin hani evet bizim anadilimiz olduğunu kavradım normalde bizim için normalde işte gizli konuştuğumuz bir dildi yani bu benim anadilim gibi bi algı hiç bi zaman bana gelmedi yani ne zamanki üniversteye gelene kadar hani o kürtlerin mücadelesini birebir üniverstede görene kadar

Esma is a 25-year-old Hemşinli woman who lives in Istanbul. She actively participates in the social, political and cultural activities in HADIG. In this extract, we see that she bases her awareness of Hemşinli identity and Hemşin language as her mother tongue upon her encounter with Kurdish people and their movement. She clearly states that it was after her encounter with Kurdish people and after she learned about their struggle that she started to think on being Hemşin, and got aware that Hemşin language was her mother tongue.

It is significant to note that she also states that before this encounter, Hemşin language was a language they spoke secretly for them. However, among the Hemşinlis I had interviews with, there is generally no presentation of the Hemşin language as the "secret language". I have not come across any story expressing the fear of being heard when speaking the Hemşin language in the past among the Hemşinlis I had interview to the extent that we come across in the discourse of Kurdish people. We do not have any stories like hiding the Kurdish music cassettes when soldiers entered into Kurdish people's houses, or keeping Şivan Perver cassettes in the shuttle buses in secret.²³ The reasons for this certainly relate to the different socio-political contexts in which Kurdish and Hemşin people lived through for years, the latter of which will be analyzed in the following chapters. However, what we see in Esma's account is that she constructs similarities between the Kurdish people and Hemşinlis as both have languages other than Turkish and relying on this similarity she constructs Kurdish movement as a model to be followed by the Hemşin people. This tendency is common most of the young Hemşinlis who had university education in other cities, and who met with Kurdish people and got to become knowledgeable about Kurdish Movement. Similar to Esma, a 28- year-old Hemşinli woman Hasibe refers to Kurdish people, who struggle for their nationhood and language as she states in the excerpt below:

H: I hope to do something like that because well, I would like it to be similar to the case Kurdish people do. They defend their nation, their language

²³ A very famous Kurdish singer, who is frequently referred to in the stories of state violence against Kurdish people, banning Kurdish music being one king of these violent oppressions.

and ask for having education in Kurdish. What you do is something good. (...)
N: I have a few more questions. When you started the primary school, did you have difficulty since you were exposed to both Hemşince and Turkish? Do you remember?
H: No, we did not learn Hemşince in writing. We learned both Hemşince and Turkish unconsciously at the same time. The children among themselves generally speak Turkish. Well, we did not speak Hemşin- well our language too much like the Kurds in the East. For instance, they even hardly know Turkish. They learn it at the school. Our situation was not like that. Yes, we speak Hemşince at home but we also speak Turkish. It was not only Hemşince. I mean there was not anything to have difficulty. I remember that our grandmother always spoke Hemşince with me but it was not as much as the Kurds in the East. They also know Turkish but they mostly speak Hemşince among themselves.²⁴ (Hasibe, 28)

I told Hasibe that my thesis is about Hemşin language and culture and this excerpt follows from our conversation about my study. Hasibe states that she would like to do something similar to what Kurdish people do. She presents what Kurdish people as defending one's nation and language asking for education in Kurdish. Then she states that what I do as well is something good. As we see, this is a direct affirmative reference to Kurdish movement. Similar to Esmâ, Hasibe constructs Kurdish Movement as a role model for the studies on Hemşin and political activism of ethnicity. Moreover, this excerpt clearly shows that Hasibe not only constructs similarities between the Kurdish and Hemşinli people regarding their having languages different than Turkish, and even

²⁴ Original: H: inşallah ben isterim böyle bişey yapmak da çünkü hani nasıl kürtler dillerini milletlerini savunuyolar kürtçe ders mers yapalım falan diyolar işte onun gibi olsun isterdim ama sizin yaptığınız iyi bişeymiş (...)

N: bi kaç sorum daha var ilkokula başladığında zorlandın mı hani gitmeden önce hemşinceye de türkçeye de maruz kalmışsındır işte başladığında zorlandığını hatırlıyo musun

H: yo yani hemşinceyi biz yazı olarak öğrenmedik ki hem hemşince hem türkçe fark etmeden aynı anda öğrendik kendi aramızda çocuklar kendi arasında genelde türkçe konuşuyolar işte doğudaki kürtler gibi aşırı hemşin şey kendi dilimizi kullanmıyoduk onlar mesela türkçeyi bile zor biliyolar okulda öğreniyolar hepsini bizimki öyle değildi evde tamam annemler hemşince konuşuyoruz beraber ama yani türkçe de geliyo peşine tek başına değil yani öyle zorlamalık bişey yoktu hatırlıyorum işte babaannemler hep hemşince konuşuyo hemşince konuşuyolar benle yani doğudaki kürtler kadar da değil türkçeyi de biliyolar ama çoğunluk kendi aralarında hemşince konuşuyolar

nationality, but also makes arguments about the differences in their knowledge of Turkish comparing and contrasting the use of Kurdish and Hemşince and Turkish at home. In a way, what I endeavor to do in this thesis is also done by Hemşinlis to some extent since they themselves make observations, comparisons and analysis on the political and linguistic situation of Hemşinlis in Turkey comparing it with the case of Kurdish people.

Later on in Hasibe's story, she states that she had a Kurdish roommate when she worked in Istanbul and she had Kurdish friends in the university. References to Kurdish people are not restricted only to the young university graduate Hemşinlis although taking the Kurdish Movement, as role model is restricted to only young university graduate students who show sympathy for the Kurdish people and their movement. A 73-year old Hemşinli man, Nihat who was a driver states that he used to speak Kurdish a little in the past and had Kurdish friends.

Ni: (...) I spoke that much. I don't know (any other language). In my life I also used to understand Kurdish a little bit. I used to speak Kurdish in the past.

N: I see. Where?

Ni: Around Kars I was a driver. From Erzurum, Kars to Batman I transported goods. In those places we had many friends from Kurds. We had many driver friends.²⁵ (Nihat, 73)

In this excerpt, we see that Nihat had knowledge of Kurdish language though a little bit and had Kurdish friends similar to Hasibe. I believe that such relationships have a role on how people see the different "others" and on how they present them in their accounts. As we see, there is not any negative attribute in Nihat's references to Kurdish people. That Nihat one of the elderly who attributes Turkish origins to Hemşinlis makes my claim asserting having met with different ethnicities and constructing relationships

²⁵ *Original:*

Ni: (...) o kadar konuştum ben de başka bilmem hayatımda kurtçe çat put anlardım kurtçe konuşurdum eskiden

N: hım? nerde?

Ni: bu kars tarafında biz çok şoforluk yaptık erzurum kars taa batmana kadar mal getirmişim oralarda kurtlerlen çok yakımız oldu şoforlerden çok arkadaşlarımız vardı.

with them helps restraining from the hegemonic nationalist ideologies against Kurdish people stronger.

Sağlam, in his unpublished M.A. thesis on Romeika-speaking communities of Trabzon, states that Kurdish Movement and its increased visibility have an impact on Turkish nationalism by fueling subsequent investment in, circulation of, and performances of nationalism (Sağlam, 2013, p. 7). In his study, he finds out that Kurdish people are referred to with negative attributes such as "uncivilized". They are constructed as the "Other" of the Romeika-speaking communities of Trabzon and they are marked as the concrete obstacles on the path of the realization of Turkish-nationalist ideology (Ibid, p. 101-102).

Similarly, Kaya in her unpublished M.A. thesis finds out that second generation Cretan immigrants who are Turkish and Cretan bilinguals construct their ethnic identity in opposition to Kurds presenting Cretans as loyal "good citizens" complying with the policies of the state while denoting Kurds as "separatists" (Kaya, 2011, p. 140).

In line with these attitudes towards Kurds, Taşkın, in her unpublished M.A. thesis states that Kurds are presented as 'miserable', 'separatist', 'hostile to the state' and consequently 'unreliable' by the Laz and they are constructed as the 'other' of the Laz. She further states that condemnation of the Kurds has been a convention in order to express one's Laziness safely. Taşkın, attributes the reasons for this differentiation of the Laz against Kurds to ideologies Laz people have tending to secure their middle classness and privileged position in the eye of the state rather than physical interaction or confrontation of one's foreigners (Taşkın, 2011, p. 45).

As we see in these examples, most of the different ethnicities living in Turkey construct their ethnic identity in opposition to Kurdish people rather than Turks. When Hemşin people are considered in terms of the attitudes they have towards Kurdish people, this picture changes totally regardless of generation difference. Neither during my fieldwork nor in the recorded stories did I come across such negative attributes to Kurds. On the contrary, among the young Hemşinlis who do identity politics, Kurdish Movement is taken as a role model. Among the elderly who live in Hopa, references to Kurdish people are never negative contrary to the Romeika speaking communities in Trabzon, Laz people that Taşkın studied with or Cretan immigrants that Kaya studies

with. During my fieldwork I even heard a Hemşinli woman stating Selahaddin Demirtaş, who represents People's Democratic Party in Turkey. Such an approach is common neither among other ethnicities nor among Turks in Turkey. Taşkın explicates Laz people's approach to Kurds with the ideology of keeping a privileged position in the eye of the state rather than a physical interaction with the Kurds similar to Kaya who claims the same for second-generation Cretan immigrants in Turkey. In the case of the Hemşinlis, however, physical interaction and constructed relationships with the Kurds seem to be playing a role on the positive attitudes towards the Kurds. As we will be referring to in the next chapters, Hemşinlis and Kurds share the same places for their summer pastures. Although there have been conflicts in the sharing of these places I have not heard a Hemşinli referring to Kurds with negative attributes. Another reason might be the leftist tradition, which has been continuing in Hopa since 1970s with the mottos of equality, democratization, and freedom.

In 2006, the Municipalities of Hopa and Diyarbakır, having mayors from the political parties ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) and DTP (Democratic Society Party) respectively, initiated a project in collaboration with the aim of constructing sisterhood between the people of Hopa and Diyarbakır supported by the European Union. The project included concerts given by local singers in the relevant cities and many activities with the aim of meeting and introducing the people of the two cities to each other. When the organization for the activities were initiated in 2007, the head of the Hopa district, Şahin Aslan organized a meeting presenting his objections against the project with a ridiculous claim that "Events like publishing maps including Hopa as a part of Kurdistan in America disturbs the people. This is a subject carrying the potential of creating tension".²⁶ His objection was supported by the head of the Association of Village Headmen, Coşkun Bekar. Finally, the project was suspended and cancelled at the end. Although this project was canceled, even the endeavors to initiate this project as well as the positive approach of Yılmaz Topaloğlu, the Mayor of Hopa Municipality in that

²⁶ *Turkish Original:*

"Amerika'da yayımlanan haritalarda da Hopa'nın Kürdistan'ın parçası gösterilmesi gibi hadiseler vatandaşı rahatsız ediyor. Bu gerginliğe gebe bir konu"

<http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=217832>

period show that Hopa Hemşinlis do not have the negative approach to Kurdish people. On the contrary, I might claim that they are in the endeavor of changing such attitudes. Topaloğlu upon these events told "Our aim is to show that to be multi-cultural, and to have multi-identity is not a problem for the peoples. This decision is not good for the Eastern Black Sea Region where nationalism is provoked".²⁷

As I stated in the very beginning, encounters which start a relationship and provides the grounds for knowing an "other" person challenges the policies of the nation states which are in the endeavor of erasing all the differences and others to create a homogeneous nation state.

I believe that this approach to Kurdish people plays a significant role on what Hemşin people see as necessary in order to preserve their culture, language and to do identity politics. In the accounts, when Hemşinlis talk about the necessary things to be done, including historical researches, they refer to Kurdish people frequently as we see in the account below:

*V: (...) Since Hemşince is our culture, I think we should be loyal to it. We should preserve our language and culture. We should know our history. For example, Kurds defend their own language, culture and history. They struggle for. We are day by day slowly scattering around. We do not speak our languages. We cannot practice our culture in those places. We already do not know anything about our history. In some places, they say things like "Don't teach the children Hemşince". In this way, Hemşin language is lost. I don't want it to be like this. I want it to continue, because in the world, for years, many different languages, cultures have been lost, everything has been lost.*²⁸
(Vasfiye, 28)

²⁷ *Turkish Original:*

"Amacımız çok kültürlü, çok kimlikli olmanın halklar açısından sorun olmadığını göstermekti. Milliyetçiliğin kışkırtıldığı Doğu Karadeniz açısından bu karar iyi olmamıştır." <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=217832>

²⁸ *Original:*

V: (...) hemşince bizim kültürümüz olduğu için ona biraz daha bağlı kalmamız gerek dilimizi kültürümüzü korumamız gerek tarihimizi bilmemiz gerek kürtler mesela savunuyolar kendi dillerini kültürlerini tarihlerini onlar çok mücadele ediyolar bizim de yavaş yavaş gittikçe orıya burıya dağılıyoruz dillerimizi konuşmuyoruz kültürümüzü yaşayamıyoruz tarihimizi zaten hiç bilmiyoruz bazı yerlerde işte yok çocuğa hemşince söyleme hemşince öğretme ıı kayboluyo gidiyo ben onu istemiyorum sürsün istiyorum

This excerpt follows from a comparison of Turkish and Hemşin languages. Vasfiye continues to talk about language and then refers to history and culture as well. She states that as Hemşin people live in other places the use of Hemşince, cultural practices decrease. She also refers to history stating that they do not know their history. We see that she constructs language, culture, and history as parts of the Hemşin community. For all these components and their preservation, she refers to Kurdish people stating that Kurds defend their language, culture and history.

In short, I might state that as the mono-ethnic, monolingual project of the Republic of Turkey is being challenged the high proportion of which is thanks to Kurdish Movement, other ethnicities, including Hemşin people start to negotiate their identities, criticize the sovereign state, and make researches to write alternative histories, and to document their languages. Kurdish movement is frequently seen as exemplar for Hemşin people with their claims for recognition of their ethnic identity and mother tongue.

Another reason for Hemşin people consider having the knowledge of the past in the present significant relates to the changes in everyday life within Hemşin community through industrial and social modernization. What industrialization and modernization brought into Hemşin community has also changed their attitude towards history, towards having the knowledge of the past, wishing to document the historical, linguistic and cultural heritage. Assmann states that one group remembers the past when they have "the fear of deviating from its model; "A society becomes visible to itself and to others through its cultural heritage (Assmann, 1995, p. 133). Below, is a quote from a Hemşin man, Lütfü who expresses his and his generation's worries for losing their language, traditions, and pastoral life- style upon their transition to industrial society?

N: The parents here, do they speak to their children in Hemşin or Turkish?

L: The parents nowadays cannot speak Hemşin to their children. We see this all together. Unfortunately, this is widespread. We are forgetting our language. Everybody is worried. My generation and me are the last generation speaking

çünkü dünyada yıllardan beri kaç çeşit dil kaybolmuş kaç çeşit kültür gitmiş herşey yok olmuş

the language. The generation after ours is getting more and more worse in language. Some speak very little, or learn it when they grow up. We have this concern now, we are forgetting our language, we are forgetting our culture, and we do not practice our traditions now. We gave up. We are in the endeavor of transition from feudal society to industrial society. We have not reached to the industrial society either but we are like losing our own identity. We have this feeling; it makes us feel like this. I don't know. As we don't speak we assimilate ourselves. This is not because of oppression. We do this ourselves. We don't speak one or two words with our children in Hemşin. We always speak Turkish. It became a habit. I mean we ourselves assimilate ourselves. When we don't speak Hemşin, when we don't practice our traditions. Now we have wedding ceremonies in salons. We did not have this in the past. We had our wedding ceremonies at home. In the past, we sang songs, danced horon. Now we are in salons until midnight. Now we try to go back to keep our culture Alive. We go to the village after salons to alive our culture; we try to do the things we did in the past. In the weddings the bride comes to the door, people welcome her. They ask for a cow or a gun. Things like that. We did like that. We had wedding in the village. We went there and did the same things in the past. Until three in the morning we ate and drank. I mean we try to make these things alive. We have this fear: We forget. People like me say that we should not forget. But it is not a concern for my children. The concern for forgetting and being assimilated started among us, our generation. It was not like that in the past. Everybody in our society used to go up to summer pastures in the past. (...) Our society had pastoral economy. They were shepherds. They gave up this work and everybody started to work in transportation. People started to live in downtown, the society started to become industrial society.

N: Now you have concerns, did your father's generation have concerns?

L: The people in my father's generation used to live their own time. They were practicing the things came from their own past. Today we are forgetting the past. We have this concern for forgetting our own past. We have this concern but we do not do anything. There are some friends trying to do something. They try to record and document. It is good that they record. They do the right thing.²⁹ (Lütfü, 54)

²⁹ *Original:*

N: burada aileler genelde çocuklarla hemşince mi konuşuyolar türkçe mi

L: şimdi aileler çocuklarıyla hemşince konuşamıyolar görüyoruz görüyoruz biz hep beraber görüyoruz maalesef bu herkeste yaygın dilimizi unutuyoruz herkeste bi endişe var ben işte bende benim emsallerimde işte bizim kuşakta özellikle bizim kuşak en son dili bilen dili bilen kuşağınız biz bizden soraki kuşaklar çok zayıf gittikçe de zayıflamış işte az konuşurlar soradan öğrenirler falan o endişe bizde var biz dilimizi unutuyoruz kültürümüzü unutuyoruz yapmıyoruz artık kültürümüzü yapmıyoruz ananelerimizi yapmıyoruz vazgeçtik biraz feodal bi toplumdaki sanayi toplumuna doğru emekleme memekleme oraya çabalıyoruz sanayi toplumu aslında sanayi toplumu da olamadık işte oraya doğru ulaşıyoruz kendimizi kendi kimliğimizi biraz kaybediyorduk gibiyiz o var o his var onun verdiği hisler bilmiyorum konuşmaya konuşmaya kendi kendimizi asimile

In the extract above, upon the question whether Hemşin parents speak in Turkish or Hemşin to their children, Lütfü starts to talk about the process of "lost" in the use of Hemşin language, traditional practices and cultural habits such as wedding ceremonies, change in the livelihood. He clearly expresses his fear of forgetting their past, losing the former way of life and their "identity" with frequent references to the past habits and descriptions of how things were in the past. He presents the reasons for change and "lost" as the transition to industrial society, as adjusting themselves to urban way of life. That he lists all the old traditions and affiliations at once without any prompt shows that the forgotten, lost past is visible to him and that he wishes the Hemşin community to be visible to the others through this past by expressing his content and approval for recording and documenting their past.

This situation depicted by Lütfü supports the above-mentioned argument by Assmann regarding the relation between a community and cultural heritage and

ediyoruz aslında baskıdan değil biz kendimiz kendi kendimiz yapıyoruz şimdi biz çocuklarımızla burda oturup hemşince bi iki cümle kurup da burda konuşmuyoruz hep türkçe konuşuyoruz alışkanlık olmuş yani kendi kendimizi biz asimile ediyoruz aslında e biz bunu konuşmadığımız zaman bu örf adetleri yapmadığımız zaman düğünlerimizde salonlara yerleştik biz salon kültürü yoktu evimizde yapardık düğünleri eskiden işte türkü söyledik şarkı söyledik horon oynardık e şimdi inmişiz salonda yapıyoruz onbire kadar işte onbirden sonra şimdi şimdi geriye dönüş kültürümüzü yaşatmak amacıyla belki içgüdüsel olarak gidiyoruz işte köyümüzde yemek yapıyoruz işte aneneleri yaşatmak için geçmişte yapılan şeyleri yapmaya çalışıyoruz düğünlerde gelin kapıya gelir karşılarlar işte inek isterler işte onu nişanlarlar halı isterler silah isterler ya ne bilim kapıya gidene kadar bi sürü şeyler var biz yaptık mesela köyde düğün yaptık aynı şeyleri gittik yaptık saat üçe kadar dörde kadar yedik içtik yani bunları yaşatmaya çalışıyoruz şu korku var işte bizde ya biz unutuyoz unutmalıyım benim gibiler unutmalıyım diyor ama benim çocuklarım o onun hiç umrunda değil o bizde o o bizde unutuyoruz asimile oluyoruz düşüncesi başladı bizde bizim nesil eskiden öyle değildi eskiden tüm toplum bizim toplumda herkes yaylaya çıkardı (...)işte bizim toplum çobandı o işi bıraktılar şoförlüğe vurdular herkes eline bi araba aldı herkesin evinde şehir merkezine doğru sanayi toplumuna doğru atılmaya başladılar hepsi herkes artık şehre indik o ara

N: şimdi sizin kuşağın kaybolduğuna hayıflandığı şeyler var babanızın kuşağının hayıflandığı şeyler var mıydı

L: şimdi babamın kuşağı kendi kuşak kendi dönemlerini yaşıyorlardı kendi geçmişinden gelenleri yaşıyorlardı bugün biz geçmişi unutuyoruz biz kendimizi geçmişimizi unutuyoruz endişesi var bizde bişey de yapmıyoruz aslında bi kaç arkadaşlar çalışıyorlar uğraşan o işlerle uğraşan arkadaşlarımız var onlar bişeyler yapmaya çalışıyorlar kayıt altına almaya çalışıyorlar kayıt altına almakta yarar var doğrusunu da yapıyorlar bence (...)

remembering the past. That Lütü bases the changes and the forgotten traditions on the industrial growth and urbanization is supported by Pierre Nora's analysis of the relationship between memory and history, as well. Nora categorizes the history of memory into three periods, which are premodern, modern, and postmodern conditions. For Nora, the relation between people and their past is reconstructed as old traditions and affiliations lose their meaning with the acceleration of everyday life through industrial and social modernization. He gives the example of the disappearance of peasant culture and how popular the memory of it became as an object of historical study with the process of industrial growth. He describes this process as follows:

"Lieux de memoire", where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense the memory has been torn- but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists.

(Nora, 1989, p.07)

The reason there are *"lieux de memoire"* is the fact that memory is crystallized and it does not have real environment, which Nora calls *"milieux de memoire"*, where the constituents of memory are practiced in real everyday life. Hence collectively remembered values are conserved in language, monuments, and archives. (Nora, 1989, p.07)

We have noted that Hemşin people, especially the young Hemşinlis and middle aged Hemşinlis who have leftist background started to negotiate their identities in recent years with dramatic increase as the principles of Turkish nationalism are loosened with oppositional movements. We also noted that the fear of losing their traditions and language also had its impact on this process. Another question to be asked at this point is why "history" and the knowledge of past is taken so much significant to study by Hemşin people. Is the knowledge of past "sine qua non" in negotiation of identity? Why do people bother to have the knowledge of their past, which is impossible to retrieve? In a similar fashion, Chakrabarty asks why history is a compulsory part of education of a modern person in all countries today, though this compulsion is neither natural nor ancient. He also provides answers for this question stating that European imperialism and

third-world nationalisms have achieved the universalization of the nation-state as the most desirable form of political community and "history" is one of the knowledge forms having contribution in this achievement (Chakrabarty, 1995, p. 41). It seems that history, which is used to realize the ideals of nation states through erasing and suppressing different ethnicities becomes a tool for change and speaking out alternative stories in the hands of the suppressed. Otherwise, we might expect peoples to deal with the present or the future rather than the knowledge of the past. Halbwachs states that people are very well aware of the fact that "the past no longer exists, so that they are obliged to adjust to the only real world-the one in which they now live" (Halbwachs, 1992, p.51). Below is a quote from a Hemşin man, Mahmut, where he speaks about the origins of Hemşin people, and where he refers to the past as something unattainable:

M: Nobody knows exactly where Hemşin came from. There are many sources but. I know things everybody knows. I mean there are some books. There is a book of a nationalist man in Kemalpaşa, in our town. For example, he states that the Hemşinlis are of Oghuz-Turk origin. I read in another book called Homşetsis. It says that we are from a branch of an army. So and such. There is no certain information about the origins. The past...We cannot find the past anymore. The past is in very different places in fact. It is not that important anyway. We should be concerned about where we are going.³⁰ (Mahmut, 25)

Here, Mahmut presents the past as a discrete entity which remained far beyond the present and which cannot be revealed pointing out the importance of present situation and of the future. That Mahmut considers the past as nonexistent anymore should not be interpreted as an endeavor to leave the knowledge of past aside and get rid of it. Rather, it should be interpreted as a strategy; a formula he devises to repress the nationalist claims,

³⁰ *Original:*

M: Hemşinin tam kimse de bilmiyo nerden geldiğini ya bi çok kaynak var da ben de herkesin bildiği kadar biliyom işte hani bazı kitaplar var bi tane milliyetçi milliyetçi bi adamın kitabı var bizim orda kemalpaşada o mesela oğuz türklere falan dayandırıyor Hemşinlileri bi yerde bişey okumuştum hamşetsiler diye bi tane ordunun bi koluymuşuz falan öle gelmişiz öle kesin bi bilgi yok yani nerden geldiğiyle ilgili artık geçmiş geçmiş bulamayız geçmiş çok farklı yerlerde aslında o da çok önemli değil acaba nereye gidiyo diye düşünmek lazım bi yerden gelmişiz acaba nereye gidiyo diye bi bakmak lazım diye düşünüyorum

which are not based on “certain information”, or evidence for the subject but which link the origins of Hemşin people to Oghuz Turks. Trouillot states that "the past is only past because there is a present" and "pastness is a position" (Trouillot, 1995, p.15). If the past is a position to be held at the present, but not a fixed entity, what Mahmut states for the past can be seen as his rejection of the "position" created by the nationalist writers. Halbwachs, in line with Trouillot's argument, states that "the past is not preserved but is reconstructed on the basis of the present" (Halbwachs, 1992, p.39-40).

What Mahmut points to is that the present condition of the Hemşin people, not just "the past which remained far behind," is significant for the study of history in general as well. The historian White considers the study of the past "as an end in itself" as "thoughtless obstructionism". He considers anyone "who studies the past "as an end in itself" an "antiquarian, fleeing from the problems of the present into a purely personal past". He even considers historians studying the past "as an end itself" a "cultural necrophile, that is, one who finds in the dead and dying a value he can never find in the living." White further argues that the contemporary historian should "establish the value of the study of the past, not as "an end in itself," but as a way of providing perspectives on the present that contribute to the solution of problems peculiar to our own time" (White, 1966, p. 124-125).

Considering what Mahmut foregrounds and the argument that the knowledge of past is constructed through the vantage point of the present according to the problems we face in the present we might ask what kind of function the study of history would have for the Hemşin community. What kind of problems do the Hemşin community face in the present and how would history help us in the process of "solving" these problems. Chakrabarty argues that "history is important as a form of consciousness in modernity", and subaltern classes need the knowledge of history "in order to fight their battles for social justice" (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.86-87). A Hemşin man, Mahir elaborates on the meaning and function of history for Hemşin community in confirmation with Chakrabarty's argument:

M: If Hemşinlis can write their own history, or at least have the chance of comparing what has been thought to them until today with the written things by others they can develop a healthier attitude for their past and to know

themselves. They would attain more information. Today, there is great ignorance about this issue. It is tragicomical. I mean, especially the new generation takes the official history that the state teaches them as their personal history. And as they change, as the difference from Turkish history and identity decrease with urbanization, this history seems more plausible because people are getting more exposed to these values. For instance, if you said to a woman you came from Central Asia and you have these and those in your culture twenty years ago she would not accept these, she would say, "we are not like you say". However, today children who grow up in big cities are already like Turkish since they have schooling and the history they are told seems more plausible to them. And this accelerates assimilation, it abolishes the necessity to preserve the different or the right to be different. I mean when people do not have historical consciousness, or when they do not believe that there can be a different history and when they do not have the knowledge of this past, the official history thesis is recreated and becomes more influential among the young. I mean one of the ways to stop assimilation is to know that you, as a person and a group, have a history, which is different than this mainstream history. And history is important for the identities to express themselves because for example you are a yoruk, Turkmen. There is no problem because you are already Turk. You can contribute to the process of Turkish nation building voluntarily. What you say is "we are already Turk, this is the modern way of being Turkish" and you become this. When Hemşinlis see themselves as such to be Turkish would not be a problem. Hence, when they are transformed into something else they are not concerned. I mean they become volunteers for being assimilated. However, if history tells us that we have come through different ways, we have a different language, different culture and we are of different origins, and this is the reality, then this person will have difficulty in being a volunteer for becoming a Turk. Maybe s/he will claim on (this difference). Maybe despite this s/he will say, "Okay, this is fine. We can be like this but I am a part of this modernization process now". Many Hemşinlis who favor Turkish nationalism do so. And this is a choice. Only then this becomes a choice. I mean if we do this despite the knowledge (told by alternative history), then it becomes a real choice. But when we do not have this knowledge then it seems to me simply an injustice. This is per se an injustice. Can you imagine? They treat you as somebody that you are not. And what offends me most is that the state knows this. Halaçoğlu (He is a Turkish historian and politician) admitted this. They know the ethnic origins of everybody. They have records one by one village by village. And they conduct a project on you. I mean they consciously change you, transform you but you have to develop an attitude without even having knowledge as much as they have. This is something insulting for the individual in terms of the relation between a state and an individual. Let alone a social group, a Hemşinli individual should know these and then develop an attitude. I think this is not moral. They will swear at me when I am detained and they will tell me "Look we have an Armenian among us!" and despite this I will see myself as Turkish. This is

³¹ *Original:*

M: (...) Hemşinliler kendi tarihlerini yazarlarsa yazabilirlerse ya da en azından kendi tarihleriyle ilgili başkalarının yazdığı şeylerle eee bugüne kadar kendilerine öğretilmiş olanları karşılaştırma imkanı bulurlarsa daha sağlıklı bir tutum geliştirebilirler kendi geçmişleriyle ilgili geçmişlerine yönelik yani kendilerini tanımak konusunda eee daha fazla bilgiye sahip olurlar bugün çünkü ciddi bir cehalet var bu konuyla ilgili komik derecede cehalet var yani yani misal yeni kuşaklar özellikle direk devletin öğrettiği resmi türk tarihini kendi tarihi kişisel tarihi olarak da algılayo aynı zamanda ve kendisindeki farklılaşma yani türk tarihinden türk kimliğinden farklılaşma azaldıkça kentleşmeyle beraber o tarih daha inanılır gelmeye başlıyo çünkü bu değerlerle daha fazla haşır neşir oluyo çünkü mesela yirmi yıl önceki otuz yıl önceki kadına sen işte orta asyadan gelin işte senin kültüründe şunlar şunlar deseydi ne alakası var biz öyle değiliz ki şöyleyiz derdi ama şimdi mesela çocuklar büyük şehirlerde yetişen çocuklar okul tedisatından geçtiği için zaten türk gibi yetiştiriliyo ve onlara anlatılan işte siz orta asyadan geldiniz tarihi çok daha inanılır çok da makul görünüyo yani ve bu işte asimilasyonu hızlandırıyo farklı olma ya da o olan farklılığa sahip çıkma gereğini ortadan kaldırıyo yani tarih bilinci olmadıkça yani farklı bi tarih olabileceğine dair algısı olmadıkça ya da o farklı tarihin bilgisine sahip olmadıkça resmi tez daha güçlü bi biçimde kendini yeniden üretiyo gençlerde yani asimilasyonun engellenmesinin en önemli yollarından bi tanesi nedir senin o ana damar tarihten farklı bir tarihinin kişisel olarak ve grup olarak olduğunu bilmendir e kimliğin kendisini ifade etmesi için tarih önemli neden önemli şimdi türkmensin yörüksün avşarsın tamam mı ama türksün sonuç itibariyle bunların hangisi olursan ol ve türk uluslaşma sürecine gönüllü katılıyosun ne diyosun zaten türktük bunu türklüğü sürdürmenin modern biçimi de budur diyosun ve o oluyosun şimdi hemşinli kendisini böyle algıdığı zaman türkleşmek onun için hiçbi sorun olmuyo dolayısıyla da hani kendisinden başka bişeye dönüştürüldüğüne dair bir kaygı taşıımıyo yani ve asimilasyona gönüllü oluyo ama tarih bize hani farklı kanallardan gelmiş bi toplum olduğumuzu farklı bi dilimiz farklı bi kültürümüz farklı bi kökenimiz olduğunu söylerse hani zaten gerçeklik bu söylerse o zaman o insan ee türk olmaya gönüllü olmaktan olmakta zorlanacaktır belki sahip çıkacaktır belki buna rağmen tamam öyle olabiliriz ama ben artık modernleşme sürecinin bi parçasıyım diyecektir ki hani ulusalcı refleksler alan bi sürü hemşinli böyle yapıyo bu bi seçimdir ama o zaman bu bi seçim oluyo yani o bilgiye rağmen yaparsak o gerçekten bi seçim olur ama bu bilginin olmadığı bi yerde bu bana en basitinden haksızlık gibi geliyo bu kendi başına zaten haksızlık yani düşünsene hani sana olmadığın bişeymişsin gibi davranılıyo bi de benim en çok zoruma giden mesela devlet bunu biliyo abi yani adam tek tek köy köy işte halaçoğlu itiraf etti işte bi ara köy köy kimin hani etnik kimlikten olduğunu ne olduğunu biliyo o senin üzerinde bi proje uyguluyo yani seni bilinçli bi şekilde değiştiriyo dönüştürüyo ama sen onun bildiği kadar bilgiye kadar bile sahip olmadan bi tutum almak zorunda kalıyosun bu bi kere hani birey devlet ilişkileri açısından bile hani bireyi aşağılayan bişey hani bırak toplumsal grup bilmem neyi yani bi hemşinli birey bu tutumu bunu bilsin de öyle kabullensin bunu yani bu anlamda ahlaki diil bence adam bana küfür edicek karakola düştüğüm zaman vay aramızda ermeni de varmış bilmem ne diycek ben de burda kendimi türk hissedicem aşalayıcı bişey bi kere yani

In the extract above, Mahir succinctly explicates what history is for him and for Hemşin people, what function history has, who should write history and why Hemşin people need history. In fact, here, the informant foregrounds very significant issues regarding history and history writing in general. For Mahir, the "otherized" ethnic group should write their own history. They should bring out "the facts" hidden in the past and learn their own history, which is different than the hegemonic mainstream national history they are exposed to in the Republic of Turkey. This is important for Hemşin people to determine who they are, to negotiate their ethnic origins and identity. Only then what they decide, "to be" will be a "choice" rather than an unconscious "becoming" something else, becoming Turkish. Mahir considers "past" as a site where "facts" are hidden. When these facts are not known or distorted, this is "injustice", "immoral", and this is an "insult" for Hemşin people. Hence, the knowledge of past is needed for the present, for fighting against injustice. In his account, Mahir states that the state knows the ethnic origins of all peoples living in Turkey. What is most offensive for Mahir is that although the state knows the "reality" but disregards these facts for the sake of their assimilation projects but as a person who is not Turkish you are constructed as Turkish without knowing the things the state knows. What he states through the end of this excerpt is interesting and commonly expressed among other Hemşinlis as well. He states that the police officers refer to the detained Hemşinlis as Armenians. Another Hemşinli man Alim, states he learned that he was Armenian from the police officers.

A: For instance I was detained in 1991 for distributing illegal leaflets. When I was resisting under torture, I learned that I am Armenian for the first time from the police. Yes, well, I learned it from an official power. A policeman who got angry since we were resisting, since our eyes were blindfolded I don't know whom, attacked us shouting "You the Armenian bitches!" I mean, I am sure of it because no state official says this by chance. Being Armenian has nothing to do with communism.³²(Alim, 42)

³² *Original:*

A: ben mesela ee doksan birde gözaltına alınmışım burda bir bildiri dağıtımı yasadışı bildiri dağıtımıyla alakalı bişey mesela orda işkencede direndiğimde ilk ermeni olduğumu aslında ben polisten öğrendim evet yani yani resmi bir güçten öğrendim direndiğimiz için kızan bi polis gözlerimiz kapalıydı tabi kim olduğunu bilmiyorum sizi ermeni piçleri diye saldırdı bize yani ordan aslında benim net biraz şeyim devlet görevlisi tesadüfen söylemez bunu bunun Ermeniliğin komünistlikle alakası yok

Therefore, as we see in both Mahir's and Alim's accounts what is unjust, immoral, is that while Hemşinlis have been changed, transformed into Turkish identity without having the knowledge of their past, the state, as the procreator of these knows everything.

Steedman states that in the everyday world of the early 21st century, we operate in a mode of historical representation "by means of a politics of the imagination in which the past has become a place of succor and strength, a kind of home, for the ideas people possess of who they really want to be". Hence, when facts become written works of history, they would be inscribed as "how things really were" and as "they really happened" (Steedman, 2001, p.76). For Mahir as well, the facts hidden in the past will function as a site where people make identity politics when they become historical representations, when they are written. For him, the knowledge of the past is needed for the pursuit of justice under conditions of a modern public life. In fact, the pursuit of justice is at the center of Hemşin activism, which started to become visible relatively in the past three years. On the mass demonstrations such as May 1st, Workers' Day, or January 21st, International Mother Language Day, among Hemşin people the emphasis was on visibility. On these days, one fixed slogan of Hemşin people is "Kimanq ta? Hozaik!" (Do you hear? We are here!). What we observe regarding history in Hemşin community is that history which was brought by modernization and which was used by nation states to construct their nationness becomes a tool, a site of struggle against nation states and their mono-ethnic, mono-linguistic policies (Chakrabarty, 1995, p. 41).

3.2. History writing: Hemşin History by Armenian and Turkish Researchers

Trouillot explicates the place of Haitian Revolution in written history outside of Haiti. He signals two kinds of formulas of silencing. The first is formulas of erasure, which tends to

erase directly the fact of a revolution. The second kind is the formulas of banalization, which "tends to empty a number of singular events of their revolutionary content so that the entire string of facts, gnawed from all sides, becomes trivialized" (Trouillot, 1995, p. 96). Considering the Hemşin community, we see both types of silencing have been practiced in Turkey. The national history texts always tried to apply total erasure cancelling out the existence of different ethnicities, including Hemşin people. The recent endeavors to write the history of Hemşin community, the formula of "banalization" is common among the local historians, and researchers. Trouillot further states that "the joint effect of these two types of formulas is a powerful silencing: whatever has not been cancelled out in the generalities dies in the cumulative irrelevance of a heap of details" (Trouillot, 1995, p.96).

We see the same effects of silencing in history writing for the Hemşin people, as well. History comes out to be the site where the struggle goes on to appropriate the past of Hemşin community, their identity to the national if not always nationalist interests. Given the history of both Turkey and Armenia, it is not surprising that we see such attempts in both sides, considering "past" a separate world and creating "facts" and "myths" to write out this past disregarding how Hemşin people position themselves in the present, how their constructions of their identities are.

However, what Armenian and Turkish "historians" or researchers focus on this "past" differs greatly. As Simonian signals, Armenian scholars have been concerned with the forced nature of conversion process and of the linguistic Turkification in the following years with no doubt regarding their being Armenian,³³ while Turkish scholars, including some local Hemşinli historians have been striving for establishing the story of Hemşinlis as authentic Turks having no links with Armenians (Simonian, 2007, p. 19).

The areas where Hemşin people live today in Turkey are also the ones where the

³³ For example, Hovakim Khushpulian has a work titled *Kemalakan Arhawirknerx* [The Kemalist Atrocities], in *Patmut'iwñ Haykakan Pontosi* [History of Armenian Pontos], ed. Hovakim Hovakimian [Arshakuni] (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967), pp. 304–05; Barunak Torlakyan has *Ejer Hamshenahayeri XVII–XVIII Dareri Patmut'ynits* [Pages from the Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries History of Hamshen Armenians], *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* [Historico-Philological Review] (Erevan, 1972), no. 4 (59), pp. 133–36.

Armenians "maintained a permanent presence since medieval times with their churches and monasteries and other national institutions." Especially, in "the small Hamshen canton and possibly the Karadere/Sev Ler valley", the Armenians constituted a majority of the population until the year 1915, which "began the final chapter in the history of the Armenian communities of the Pontus".

The increase in the Armenian settlement in the Pontus, from Batumi in the east to Samsun and Sinope in the west, is associated with the mythic Hemşin city founded by the Armenian noble family (Shapuh and Hamam Amatunis) fleeing from the Arab oppression in the 8th century (Hovannisian, 2009, p.1-3). Moreover, Redgate claims that the inhabitants of "Hamshen" developed a strong sense of community retaining their Christianity and Armenian language since they shared religion and language with their fellow Armenians (Redgate, 2007, p. 12). Hence, the presence of Armenians in the Black Sea region for hundreds of years, the fact that the Hemşin people, especially the Hopa Hemşinlis speak an Armenian dialect even today, that there are evidences of conversion of Hemşin people from Christianity to Islam during the reign of Ottoman Empire make Armenian and some other scholars construct an association between Hemşinlis and Armenians.

Armenian researchers prefer to refer to Hemşinlis as Hemşin Armenians directly and to the language they speak, as Armenian. The studies Armenian researchers are quite a lot compared to Turkish researchers and date back to as earlier as the 1890s. However, we cannot reach most of these works since they are written in Armenian and they have not been translated into either English or Turkish. We learn about these works thanks to the most thoroughly and carefully prepared collective work on Hemşin people by Hovann H. Simonian (ed).³⁴ They not only go over all the sources referring to Hemşin people exhaustively but also provide the English translations of titles of the works they cite.

To give an example, one of these Armenian researchers is Sargis Haykuni whose work is one of the most frequently referred ones. He has articles titled "Lost and Forgotten Armenians", " The Clan of Husep and the Curious Bandit Abrieom in the

³⁴ Simonian, H.H. (2007) *The Hemshin: History, society and Identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey*. Routledge: London and New York

Islamicization of Hemshin Armenian Villages of Trebizond 1795–1840" published in 1895 and 1905 respectively.³⁵ He is known to be "one of the founders of modern Armenian anthropology". Simonian states that his work reflects patriotic and even nationalist preoccupations (Simonian, 2007, p.60, 64).

From the early 19th century on Armenian researchers have works on or referring to Hemşin people, which were published almost every year. Among these is Levon Haçikyan's work 'Ejer Hamshinahay Patmutyunits' (Pages from the Hamshen Armenians) which was published in 1969 and translated into Turkish in 1996 by an Armenian living in Istanbul, Bağdik Avedisyan. Haçikyan describes the Hemşin people living in Russia as the biggest immigrant Armenian group and states that they have blurred historical consciousness and attachment with their past. His aim is to evaluate and compile the history of "Hamşen Armenians". Haçikyan, without any doubt, refers to Hemşin people as Armenian. He bases his arguments regarding the origins of Hemşin people on Ghewond's *History*³⁶, one of the very few sources on the origins of Hemşinlis. Although this source provides us with very brief and insufficient information, scholars including some Turkish ones traditionally accept Ghewond's account as reliable and very much significant.

According to this tradition, which Haçikyan is included, two noble princes, Shapuh and his son, Hamam, founded the Armenian community of Hamşen. They are from the Amatuni family. These Armenian lords led their people into the territory of the Byzantine Empire to escape Arab oppression about 790 to get rid of the unbearable heavy taxation. In Ghewond's *History* we are provided with only the following information, which we can link to the Hemşin history.

According to Ghewond, the caliph Harun (Aharon) (al-Rashid, 786-809) gave the

³⁵ Sargis Haykuni, 'Nshkharner: Korats u Mo"ats'uat's Hayer' [Fragments: Lost and Forgotten Armenians], Ararat (Vagharshapat, 1895), no. 8, p. 296; Sargis Haykuni, Husep'ts'i Azgatohm ew Tarorinak Awazak Abrieom Trabizoni Hay Giwgheru mej 1795–1840 [The Clan of Husep' and the Curious Bandit Abrieom in the Islamicization of Hemshin Armenian Villages of Trebizond 1795–1840] (Vagharshapat: Press of the Holy See of Ejmiatsin, 1905), pp. 17–25

³⁶ Ghewond's *History*, Translated from Classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian, in Sources of the Armenian Tradition (Long Branch, N.J., 2006; sections 41-42)

control of Artpatakan and Armenia as well as Iberia/Georgia and Aghuania to his brother Ubadiullah upon an antagonism between the two. Then Ubadiullah confirmed Sulaiman (ibn al-Amri, 788-790) as prince over the land and Sulaiman increased the burden of taxation on people so much that they could not endure it, for even though people gave them all the things they possessed, it was not enough to save their lives. According to Ghewond, the unbearable life continued forcing people to flee leaving their ancestral home of Oshakan in the Aragatson canton. Therefore, under the leadership of Shapuh from the Amatunik House and his son Hamam, 12.000³⁷ people, who were "deprived of their belongings, naked, barefoot, starving and unable to make a living" fled to Byzantine territory. However, Arab troops pursued them and caught them in the district of Kogh (now Göle, near the sources of the Kur River) at the Iberian/ Georgian border. The fugitives then crossed the Akampsis (Çoruh) River, defeating the Arab troops and reached Pontos, which was under the Byzantine, rule then. The Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI (780–797) "gave honors to the lords and their cavalry" and "settled the common folk on good fertile land"³⁸.

Coming back to Haçikyan's history of "Hamşen Armenians", this short account by Ghewond, in addition to some other chronicles by Stepanos Taronetsi, or Asoghik (Stephen Asoghik of Taron), Pseudo-Yovhannes Mamikonian (John Mamikonian), some Armenian manuscripts, and diary of Castilian ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo and depictions of the region by the historian Hetum of Korykos and a German botanist Karl Koch³⁹ are the main sources on which Haçikyan bases his history of "Hamşen" people. In

³⁷ Redgate A. E. states that the number 12.000 is symbolic rather than referring to the real statistical number of the people who fled because in the Bible, the numbers twelve and 12,000 recur since these numbers seem to be favored by God in His activity in history. The early Armenian writers were aware of this and interested in number symbolism (Redgate, 2007, p.6).

³⁸ Ghewond's *History*, Translated from Classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian, in *Sources of the Armenian Tradition* (Long Branch, N.J., 2006; sections 41-42)

³⁹ Stephen Asoghik of Taron [Step'anos Taronets'i (Asoghik)], *Patmut'iw'n Tiezerakan* [Universal History], edited by Step'an Malkhasiants', 2nd edn (St Petersburg: I. N. Skorokhodov, 1885); Part I is translated into French: Édouard Dulaurier, *Histoire Universelle par Etienne Açogh'ig de Daron*. Traduite de l'arménien et annotée, vol. 1, Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, no. 18 (Paris: Ernest Leroux,

all of these sources, the mention of Hemşin region and people is quite little to write a history of almost 2000 years. Haçikyan is not doubtful as Sargis Haykuni whom he criticizes for using indefinite language regarding the origins of Hemşin people. Presenting the accounts of Ghewond and Mamikonian and establishing the association between "Hamşen" people and Amatunis, he becomes certain that Shapuh and Hamam are Amatuni Armenians and they found a new land for Hamşen people as well as other groups migrating from the highlands of Armenia.

In the light of the mentioned sources, one can conveniently state that the majority of the *Armenian* population migrating from to Hamşen under the leadership of *Amatuni Shapuh and Hamam* are cavalries and villagers loyal to Amatunis and came from the Ayrarat canton which is considered as the *heart of Armenia*. Naturally, in the following centuries, the valleys of the mountainous Hamşen region became homeland for new groups from various regions of Armenia and from highlands of Armenian bordering Hamşen. However, without any doubt the true founders of the Armenian Hamşen were *these brave people* who under the leadership of Amatuni Shapuh and Hamam, *took up arms against the Arab oppression, who defeated them and who won a new land* coming from the regions of Aragatsotn and Kotayk in Ayrarat.⁴⁰

1883), pp. 161–62.

Levon Avdoyan, Pseudo-Yovhannes Mamikonean, *The History of Taron [Patmut'awn Taronoy]: Historical Investigation, Critical Translation, and Historical and Textual Commentaries* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 25–48.

Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, edited, introduced and annotated by Francisco López Estrada (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1999), pp. 352–53

Karl Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente während der Jahre 1843 und 1844*, vol. 2, *Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkische Armenien* (Weimar: Landes Industrie Comptoirs, 1846), pp. 32–33.

Hetum of Korykos, *Hetum Patmich Tatarats, Yegheal i Latin Orinake i Hay Barba* [Het'um the Historian of the Tatars, translated from Latin into Armenian], translated by H. Mkrtich Awgerian, 2nd edn (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1951), p. 15.

⁴⁰ *Turkish translation original:*

Sözü geçen kanıtların ışığında Şapuh ve Hamam Amatunilerin yönetiminde Hamşen'e göç eden Ermeni nüfusun ezici çoğunluğu Amatunilere bağlı süvarilerle köylüler olup Ermenistan'ın yüreği sayılan Ayrarat eyaletinden gelmiş oldukları rahatlıkla ifade edilebilir. (Footnote of Haykuni referring to Haykuni: S. Haykuni müphem bir üslupla

(Haçikyan, 1997, p.24-25, Italics are my emphasis).

In fact, Haçikyan's work is excellent in compiling all the available sources, revealing the past and reaching at approximate truth, which positivist historians practiced a lot. If one wants to write a history taking the single homogeneous historical time for granted which "allows the different parts of a nation to exist all at once in some nationalist imaginary of simultaneity" (Trouillot, 1995, p. XIX), this history would be as Haçikyan wrote. Considering that Haçikyan presents the migrants as the ones from the heart of Armenia, which position them as core Armenians, and as brave heroes who fought against the Arabs and not only found a place for themselves but also for other Armenians, it would be no exaggeration to say that Haçikyan is heavily guided by nationalist interests trying to create an imagine of single, homogeneous time as well as a collection of people.

Moreover, in Ghewond's piece, they are said to have fled but not took up arms. "Many people, unable to bear the severity of the disasters, voluntarily left their flocks and herds and fled...); "Thus deprived of their belongings, naked, barefoot, starving, and unable to make a living, (people) fled to Byzantine territory" says Ghewond (Ghewond, 2006, ch.42). Haçikyan's efforts to create a heroic past of brave "Hamşen Armenians", is also seen in how he depicts them. "Islam Hamşenlis" he says "are different than their Greek, Laz, and Georgian neighbors in being brave, self-sacrificing, honest, and sincere" (Haçikyan, 1997, p.62).⁴¹

This approach to Hemşin history is common among other Armenian researchers as well. Haygazun Alvrtsyan's preface to the proceedings of the on "Hemshen and Hamshen Armenians" in Sochi summarizes the history of Hemşin people. The preface is titled "Hemşinli Ermeniler Kimdir?" (Who are the Hemşinli Armenians) and presents us

"böyle anlatılır" diyor.) Doğal olarak daha sonraki yüzyıllarda Hamşen dağlık bölgesinin geçit vermeyen vadileri, Ermenistan'ın değişik bölgelerinden, özellikle Hamşen'e sınır komşusu Yüksek Ermenistan bölgesinden göç eden yeni topluluklara da yurt olmuştur, fakat Ermeni Hamşen'in asıl kurucuları, kuşkusuz Şapuh ve Hamam Amatuniler önderliğinde Arap boyunduruğuna karşı silaha sarılarak onları yenen ve kendilerine yeni bir vatan kazanan Ayrarat eyaletinin Aragatsotın ve Kotayk bölgelerinden gelmiş o yiğit insanlardı.

⁴¹ *Turkish translation original:* Onlar komşuları olan Rum, Laz, ve Gürcü'lerden farklı olup yiğit, özverili, dürüst ve içtendiler.

with a picture of Hemşin community which is solid moving homogeneously and steadily up and then down through time with a heroic past.⁴²

Although the Principality of Hemşin had enough power and the people of the principality was brave and fond of their independence, it is clear that it could not have resist the hundred years of oppression of such a powerful empire like the Ottoman. *The resistance history of the Hemşin Armenians is full of countless heroism stories (...)*.⁴³

(Alvrttsyan, 2007, p. 6, Italics are my emphasis)

Attribution of heroic past with the idea that the past, the ancestors make us what we are, though it might be outdated theoretically today, is still a common practice among scholars, and among people in the communities identity of which is newly negotiated. Since 1882, when Renan delivered his essay "What is Nation?" (Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?), almost 150 years has passed but the influence of the idea he presented is still observable. In this essay, he states "A heroic past, great men, glory (by which I understand genuine glory), this is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea" (Renan, 1996, p. 41-55). Although there are not uncountable heroic stories, or great men with notorious stories in Hemşin history, and to the contrary some references to Hemşin people present them as uncivilized robbers and thieves, Alvrttsyan, most probably since this is a common strategy to create nation-hood, states that Hemşinlis has great deal of heroic stories.⁴⁴

Similar to Alvrttsyan, Harutyunyan, history professor at the Yerevan University, states that Hemşinlis are notorious with their brevity, justice, and honor. However, Harutyunyan carries constructing a glorious past for Hemşinlis to a further plane than

⁴² Haygazun Alvrttsyan is a philology professor in the Institute of Armenian Researches at Yerevan University.

⁴³ *Turkish translation original:* Hemşin Prenslüğünün yeterince güçlü kuvvetli olup, halkı ise cesur ve hürriyet sever olmasına rağmen Osmanlı gibi güçlü bir imparatorluğun bir kaç yüzyıllık baskı ve takibine direnemeyeceği açıktır. Hemşinli Ermenilerin direniş tarihi sayısız kahramanlık sayfalarıyla doludur (...)

⁴⁴ See Simonian, 2007 page 86 for the presentation of Hemşinlis as brutal robbers.

Alvrttsyan in presenting strategies for how Hemşinlis, who are not Christian Armenians anymore, can be Armenianized:

The population of Muslim Hemşinlis in Turkey is much greater in number. Most probably, their number is 200.000 today. We think that with a reasonable propagation, with the use of radio, television, and media, we can make them return to mother's bosom of Armenian people.⁴⁵

(Harutyunyan, 2007, p.24)

Extensive comment is unnecessary. It should suffice to note that especially in recent years, Hemşinlis, the mysterious people as frequently referred to as we mentioned before, have become an interest to Armenian scholars among many others. To answer the question "Who are Hemşin people", history is indispensably appealed to and Armenian scholars, mostly focusing on the origins of the Hemşin as well as the Islamicization period made good use of positivist history.

When we look at the picture in the Turkish side, we do not see a better view. Considering the non-democratic ontological and political assumptions of the Republic of Turkey, it is hardly surprising that written texts on the history of Hemşin people and on their ethnic origins contribute to the Turkish nationalist constructions. Benninghouse bases the beginning of attempts at recreating, manipulating and distorting the past of Hemşin people on some recent publications of Western or other authors. These publications are the unauthorized and incomplete translation of Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey including an article by Benninghaus on Hemşin people (1992), Kavimler Kapısı by Hale Soysü with short mention of Hemşin people (1992), and the book called Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar by Levon Haçikyan (1996).⁴⁶ As Benninghaus states, among these publications, Haçikyan's article on Hemşin

⁴⁵ *Turkish translation original:*

Türkiye'de Müslüman Hemşinlilerin sayısı çok daha büyük. Büyük olasılıkla onların miktarı bugün 200 bin. Bizce makul propaganda halinde televizyon, radyo ve medya kullanıp onları Ermeni halkının ana kucağına döndürebiliriz.

⁴⁶ Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli', in Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989); Türkiye'de Etnik Gruplar, ed. Mustafa Kıpüşoğlu (Istanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1992)

history was the one getting the most reactions from Turkish nationalists. After these publications local researchers started to produce works on Hemşin history, language, and culture (Benninghaus, 2007, p. 357).

However, long before all these publications and discussions on Internet forums, Prof. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu⁴⁷ who was a historian and also a member of the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu-TTK) had started to produce works on the history of many different ethnicities in Turkey and Hemşinlis got their share from these works.⁴⁸

Hâle Soysü, *Kavimler Kapısı*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları/Güney Yayıncılık ve Sanayi, 1992)

Levon Haçikyan, *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1996; 2nd rev. edn, 1997)

⁴⁷ Kırzioğlu's approach to history and ethnicities other than Turkish can be seen even upon seeing the titles of his books and articles. He has works titled "Armenian Atrocity in and around the Province of Kars", "Kurds who are Turks with all respects", "The Turkishness of Kurds" etc. For Kırzioğlu's biography, see: <http://www.biyografi.net/kisiayrinti.asp?kisiid=2552>

⁴⁸ On April 28, 1930 Turkish Hearths' Committee for the Study of Turkish History (Türk Ocakları Türk Tarihi Tetkik Heyeti—TOTTH) was founded by prominent historians, intellectuals, and ideologues of Kemalism with the instructions of Atatürk to produce works on Turkish history. In 1931, the Hearths were dissolved and TOTTH changed its name to Society for the Study of Turkish History (Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti—TTTC). The society aimed at disseminating Turkish national history, anthropological characteristics of the Turkish race, and Turkish language and literature. One product of the society was Turkish History Thesis. According to the Turkish History Thesis, the Turks were "the ancestors of all brachycephalic peoples, including the Indo-Europeans, whose origins went back to Central Asia. Second, the Turkish race had created the civilizations in all the lands to which the Turks had migrated. Thus, the contemporary Turks were the inheritors of the glories of the ancient Sumerians, Egyptians, and Greeks, among others. Besides, they were the founders of the earliest civilization in Anatolia through the Hittites. A third implication was that since the Turks were its original autochthonous inhabitants, Anatolia was the Turkish homeland." The society establishing Society for the Study of the Turkish Language (Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti—TDTC) had another mission for showing that Turkish was the mother tongue of the great civilizations such as Sumerians, the Hittites, other ancient Anatolian civilizations, Egyptians, Cretans and Aegean, and Etruscans. TTTC changed its name to Society for Research on the Turkish History (Türk Tarihi Araştırma Kurumu-TTAK) in 1935; and later to Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu-TTK) preserving the same principles, aims and missions (Chagatai, 2006, p.48- 52).

In line with the Turkish History Thesis, which considers many different ethnicities as the descendants of Turkish people disseminating from the Central Asia, Kırzioğlu attributes Turkish origins to Hemşin people.⁴⁹ He begins his work with an introduction of Hemşinlis; "Hemşenlis are reliable Muslims, respectable Turks and obedient, hard-working and pastoral sheep men."⁵⁰

Kırzioğlu then refers to two works from Russian professors who studied on Hemşinlis and whose works were translated into Turkish by the scholars in Istanbul University, Faculty of Literature. He refers to these Russian professors as having "separatist and discriminatory political" views presenting them as distortions of facts, and as products of separatist and discriminatory policies of Russians. Kırzioğlu then criticizes the scholars since they translated these texts as they are without making any change and correction by accepting the view of the Russians. Kırzioğlu harshly criticizes these scholars because in the works of these Russian professors Hemşinlis are referred to as "Muslim Armenians".⁵¹ The Russian scholars Kırzioğlu condemns with being "separatist", "discriminatory" and "political" are Prof. Nikola Marr and Vladimir Minorsky. Prof. Nikola Marr's works on Hemşin dialect which were published in the Journal of Oriental Manuscripts by Asiatic Museum of Russian Academy of Sciences in 1925. These texts were translated into old-Turkish and published in the Journal of Turkic Studies (Türkiyat

For further information about the history, principles, missions, and publications of TTK, see their web-page: <http://www.ttk.gov.tr/index.php?Page=Anasayfa&Lisan=en>

⁴⁹ For a detailed and through criticism of Kırzioğlu's works on Hemşinlis, see Benninghaus, R. (2007). Manipulating ethnic origin and identity. In Simonian, Hovann H., (Ed) The Hemshin: History, Society and Identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey. (pp. 353-388) London and New York: Routledge.

⁵⁰ *Original:*

"Hemşenliker, sağlam Müslüman, temiz Türk ve uysal, çalışkan ve yaylacı, koyuncudurlar."

⁵¹ *Original:*

Ancak İstanbul Üniversitemizin Edebiyat Fakültesi, tercüme yoluyla iki Rus Profesörünün «Hemşinler» üzerine yaptığı bir inceleme ile bir makalesinden bahsedebilmiştir. Rusların, «bölücü ve ayırıcı siyaseti» ne uyan ve politik ülküler güden her iki profesörün yazılarından aktarma yapılırken de, körü körüne tercüme ile yetinilerek, Hemşinliler için «Müslüman Ermeni» denilme gafletine düşülmüştür!

Mecmuası) in 1928. As for Minorsky, his articles published in the Encyclopedia of Islam (Islam Ansiklopedisi) in 1955 according to Kırzioğlu. I could not read the first work in the Journal of Turkic Studies since is written in old Turkish. However, I could read the article on Laz people in the Encyclopedia of Islam published in 1955. This article on Laz people is composed of four pages in total and only half a page touches on Hemşinlis. In this very short text, Hemşinlis are described as "Islamicised Armenians" who are of Amatuni descent and who settled in the region under the leadership of Hamam. It is also stated that " Today Hemşinlis are Muslims and only the ones from Hopa have not forgotten Armenian" language (Adıvar, et al. 1955, p. 26). Leaving aside Kırzioğlu's unethical views on translation, when we read the article, we see that there are citations to Lewond (Ghewond), Clavijo, and Koch in this very short text not being restricted to Vladimir Minorsky. Moreover, one of these citations, Ghewond is cited Kırzioğlu's own works as well.

Kırzioğlu in his manuscript then states that he would refute such arguments referring Hemşinlis as Armenian etc. (Kırzioğlu, 1966, p. 4099-4100). He further states that in his book "The History of Kars" (1953), he demonstrated "Arsaklı – Parts" are the descendants of Old-Oghuz Turkmens. In the same work, he also claims that he demonstrated Saint Greguvar who was an Arsaklı from Khorasan established Gregorian sect called "Straight- Armenian". Hence, in this way, Kırzioğlu proves the Turkishness of the Armenians and Arsaklı-Parts who are the ancestors of Hemşinlis. Therefore, Hemşinlis, who are attributed Armenian origins, in the way are proved to be Turkish simply since Armenians are Turkish as well. He then claims that considering all national myths, historical, anthropological, ethnographical, folkloric, and linguistic aspects, "Hemşen" tribe comes out to be cavalier nomads composed of "Arsaklı-Parts" and descendants of Old-Oghuz.

He bases the national myths on the accounts of two Hemşinli acquaintances. They tell that their ancestors are "Ham/Ham and Şen/Şin brothers who came to the mountainous regions of Atine (Pazar)⁵² from the regions of Erzurum/Kars. They were Christian Armenians from the Armenian Church- "Straight Armenian" sect. Descendants

⁵² Called "Pazar" today in the province of Rize in Turkey.

of Ham and Şen/şin diverged into four: (1) Farmers settled in Atine (Pazar); 2) Hemşinlis settled in Viçe, 3) Hemşinlis settled in Abu, -these converted to Islam in earlier times compared to others; and 4) Hemşinlis settled in Hopa -since most of these Hemşinlis shepherds and sheep men and pastoral they converted to Islam much later.

Kırzioğlu himself states that the ancestors of Hemşenlis, are from the sect of «Amad-Uni» (Amad/Hemedan – Dynasty) who came to the region of Amadan (Hemedan) with Ansaks from Khorasan 2200 years ago, and stayed there for hundred years and then came to Eastern Anatolia later on. They are famous for their bulky, huge bodies and strength.⁵³

Upon the conquest of Sassanians/Iranians which started in 604, the Byzantines came to the region around Çoruh River and from there to the Hamşen region in the Black Sea Region. Hamam Beg who is of "Amad-Uni" descent enlivened the city of "Dampur/Tambur". This region is called "Hamam-a-Şen/Hamam-Şen" (Hamam-abad/the one Hamam enlivened) after this event. In the course of time, it became Hemşin.

Kırzioğlu emphasizes that "The name of the region Şen/Ham-Şen named after Hamam Beg from Old-Oghuz Amad-Uni sect little before the dissemination of Islam in the Black Sea Region.⁵⁴ He claims that the name Hamam-a- Şen is an Old-Oghuz Turkish name. The word "şen" means "joyful", "the one who gives joy" and of Turkish origins.⁵⁵ Kırzioğlu criticizes the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Interior for not being able to differentiate the original Turkish vocabulary from others and making mistakes when they were changing the place names in Turkey. By considering the already Turkish

⁵³ Tarih kaynaklarına göre Hemşenlilerin ataları, iri gövdeli dev yapıları ve güçleri ile ün salan, Horasan'dan Ansaklılarla birlikte 2200 yıl önce, Amadan (Hemedan) bölgesine gelip yüzlerce yıl bu başkent bölgesinde kalan, sonra da Doğu-Anadolu'ya geçen ulu- ilbeğleri soyundan «Amad-Uni» (Amad/Hemedan – Hanedanı) uruğundandır.

⁵⁴ İslâmlığın yayılmasından az önce Karadeniz bölgesinde Eski – Oğuzlardan Amad-Uni uruğundan Hamam-Beg'in adıyla anılan «Hamam – Şen/Ham-Şen» bölge ve boy adı, Anadolu'daki en eski Oğuzca bir addir; Türkçedir.

⁵⁵ The Ethimological Dictionary of the Society of Turkish Language (Türk Dil Kurumu Etimolojik Sözlüğü)
http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_gts&arama=gts&guid=TDK.GTS.53980640402798.70601374

name "Hamşen" as foreign, the committee changed Hamşen into Hemşin.⁵⁶ However, we see that in the beginning of the 16th century, in the Ottoman defters (tax lists), this word is already mentioned as "Hemşin" (Simonian, 2007, p.31; Edwards, 1988, p. 414; Gökbilgin, 1987, p. 470- 471).⁵⁷

It is also said that the word "şen" is of Armenian origin and means "inhabited" place and of Armenian origin in Nişanyan's etimological dictionary.⁵⁸ Moreover, the suffix -şen (shén/shin) is a productive particle in place names in Armenian. In Turkey, we have other place names ending in the suffix -şen. For example, in the province of Bitlis, in Turkey, there is a town called "Güroymak" today. The president of the Republic of Turkey, Abdullah Gül, during his visit to eastern part of Turkey stated that the real name of the district which is called Güroymak today is "Norşin" to give a positive message regarding the government's Kurdish initiative.⁵⁹ This town was called "Nora-shen" until the name was changed into Güroymak in 1987. "Nor" means "new" in Armenian.⁶⁰ To give further example, Ardeşen is a town and district of Rize Province in the Black Sea region of Turkey. In the account of German botanist Karl Koch who visited Hemşin area in the 1840s, Ardeşen is mentioned as "Artaşin".⁶¹ Art means field in Armenian and

⁵⁶ Kırzioğlu adds that In the Annual book of Trabzon (Trabzon Salnameleri) with the date of 1320/1902, No: XX p. 280-281, Hemşin is referred to as Hamşen.

⁵⁷ Gökbilgin in *XVI. Yüzyıl Başlarında Trabzon Livası ve Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi* has a separate section on the town of Hemşin. He gives information on taxes in the region relying on the documents (Tahrir defterleri-tapu defterleri; No: 52, 53, 387, 288) in Başbakanlık Arşivi (The Archive of the Prime Ministry).

⁵⁸ Nişanyan's Dictionary (Nişanyan Sözlük)
<https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=%C5%9Fen&x=11&y=7>

⁵⁹ Gül's speech: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ugUTHKeqenw>
The news took place in: <http://haber.gazetevatan.com/Haber/253004/1/Gundem>

⁶⁰http://www.nayiri.com/search?l=tr&query=%D5%B6%D5%B8%D6%80&dt=HY_EN

⁶¹ Karl Koch's travel account titled "Wanderungen im Oriente während der Jahre 1843 und 1844, vol. 2, Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkische Armenien" is in German and translated into Turkish by Tahir Deveci, and edited by Muzaffer Arıcı. In the Turkish translation the name of this town is given Artaşin (Arıcı, 1991, p.134), which

etymologically it is of Arabic origin.⁶² When we consider the widespread use of the suffix "-şen", and the myth of the Armenian prince Hamam who rebuilds the city of Tambur after it is destroyed by the Prince of Georgia, it seems that the origins of the name Hemşin is Hamam-a Şen which means "built by Hamam" (Avdoyan, 1993, p.25-48). It seems more plausible that "-şen" means "to build" rather than "to make joyful" after the destruction of a city.

Coming back to Kırzioğlu's work, we cannot claim that his accounts totally lack of factual events. The historical texts he refers to, include the only and hence widely accepted information about the Hemşin people, though with very little and short mentions. For instance, he refers to Ghewond's *History*. However, regarding this source he presents us with the information, which is not present in Ghewond's work. He states that Ghewond says "since Hamam Beg from the dynasty of Amat-Uni/Amad-Uni came to and settled in the region of "Tambur/Dampur" and named this region after his name, this place was called Hamam-Şen" (Kırzioğlu, 1966, p. 4102).⁶³ In Ghewond's *History* we have very little mention of Shapuh and his son Hamam, whom Ghewond calls Armenian lords. According to Ghewond they escape from the Arabs, cross the Akamis (Çoruh) River and the Byzantine emperor Constantine welcomes these lords and their cavalry to "good fertile lands" around 790 (Ghewond, 2006, Ch. 41-42). There is no other mention of these lords after 790 in Ghewond's *History*, neither of the regions of Tambur/Dampur as Kırzioğlu presents us with.

That Kırzioğlu, refers to the sources available, that he does not refrain from using the word Armenian referring to Hemşinlis, or the names of the princes whom are referred

Benninghaus sees as distortion. Arıcı is said to have distorted Koch's work for nationalist interests. For example, "Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkischen Armenien (Voyages to the Pontos Mountains and Turkish Armenian) was translated into Turkish as "Prof. Dr. Karl Koch'un Rize Dağlarına Seyahatleri (Voyages to Rize Mountains) See the discussion of Benninghaus with Arıcı on Karl Koch's work, where both elaborates on the criticism of each other: <http://www.karalahana.com/makaleler/tarih/beeninghaus.htm#1>

⁶² <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=ard&x=0&y=0>

⁶³ GEVOND diyor ki: «Amat-Uni/Amad – Uni soyundan Hamam Beğ» kendi boy ve takımıyla yerleşip şenlendirdiği eski «Tambur/Dampur» bölgesine, kendi adını verdiğinden, burası «Hamam-Şen» diye anıldı.

to as Armenian Princes, makes his work seem reliable and trustful. He does not reject these events. He even criticizes the changes in place names. Since he thinks that he proved the Turkishness of Armenians in his earlier works, calling these princes Armenian does not create conflicts in his story. Similarly, he has detailed explanations for the place names to prove that these names are Turkish, which changed through time by phonological reasons. Although in content, he sometimes gives us ridiculous information and explanations, that he speaks from an academic position and presents his articles referring to different disciplines in arts and sciences such as anthropology, ethnography his works seem to be scientific and trustable. For instance, under the title anthropology, he describes bodily features of Hemşinlis in one paragraph as if the information he is giving was based on a research, or he had evidence for this information.

All the Hemşenlis are of the best Oghuz/Turkmen type, with round-head, proper nose or with "aries type nose" which Kaşgarlı Mahmud calls "kıval", brown or dark, with short necks but wide shoulders. Since they do not like intermarrying Laz people, they could preserve their old core bodily structure.

(Kırzioğlu, 1966:4102)

If we accept the formulas of silencing stated by Trouillot, what Kırzioğlu tried to do in his works can be considered as a kind of silencing but neither "erasure" nor "banalization" (Trouillot, 1995, p.96). We need a third kind of formula, which we might call formulas of "adulteration". Such formulas do not erase directly a fact or an event, or do not empty the content of the facts or events to make them trivialized. Rather, formulas of "adulteration" add extra information, probably made-up and distort the quality of a fact or event, alter the fact/event into another, so that it becomes another picture.

For the historian Roger Dorsinville who banalizes the Negro insurrection, Trouillot states, "When reality does not coincide with deeply held beliefs, human beings tend to phrase interpretations that force reality within the scope of these beliefs. They devise formulas to repress the unthinkable and to bring it back within the realm of accepted discourse" (Trouillot, 1995, p.72). We may claim the same for Kırzioğlu, who is a member of the society, which claims that Turks are the ancestors of many ethnicities

from Middle East to Europe. How could an ethnicity living within the borders of the modern Turkey belong to an ethnic group other than Turkish?

When academicians become the soldiers of nationalist ideology and produce distorted historical knowledge to protect the nationalist ideology, they nevertheless seem reliable since they present "scientific knowledge" as an authority recognized by the people. However, when local researchers, the ones who are of Hemşin descent, use their works, they disseminate more and since said from inside the community, they are taken more like a "fact". We see this in the increasing number of books published by the local researchers who follow Kırzioğlu's thesis. Kırzioğlu is referred to as "great historian" and his work as the "most explanatory" by the local researchers who are of Hemşin descent (Güzdüz, 2002, p.2; Sakaoğlu, 1990, p.27). Generally, these books all have the same structure by having the same index, usually present undocumented information but present the information as generally accepted truths, and easy to read.⁶⁴

One such example is Remzi Yılmaz's book "*Hemşin'In Tarihi Köklerine Doğru*" (Heading for Historical Origins of the Hemşin) which is full of ridiculous information about the origins of Hemşinlis and their language as well as conspiracy theories. In the very beginning of his book, Yılmaz, who is of Hemşinli descent, states that there are "öz be öz Türkçe kelimeler" (genuine Turkish vocabulary) used in everyday use of Hemşin language, and this is the evidence for "Hemşin Boyunun Türk'ün ta kendisi" (Hemşin people's being genuine Turks) (Yılmaz 2003, p.5). Then Yılmaz explicates why there are different discussions about the ethnicity of Hemşin people and states that,

In the West, the Strategy Academies and Institutes of the states follow Turkey closely and they talk about the possibility of Turks' becoming a super power of the world again in the years 3050. This potential development makes the West and the super powers get worry (...) The new road of Eurasia and the Western Civilization may pass through and it does Hopa (...) In this region which is a gate to Caucasia and Asia, the activism for ethnic groups and separatist practices should be kept under surveillance. The European Union does not want to see a Turkey as a "Unified Nation" and "Unified State". They

⁶⁴ They all have a chapter on history discussing the origins of Hemşinlis, chapter on local vocabulary and language, and chapter on cultural practices and traditions such as cuisine, pastoral life, family structure etc.

desire for a Turkey the people of which is separated and sometimes a Turkey, which come to the forefront with sectarian differences.⁶⁵

(Yılmaz, 2003, p. 10, 12)

Yılmaz, with the endeavor of presenting evidences for the Turkishness of Hemşin people creates conspiracy theories about the "West" attempting to separate Turkey crushing the unity of it so that Turkey will not be able to be super power in 3050s. Such reactions by Turkish nationalists have been very common but Yılmaz's political observations surpass these reactions becoming ridiculous at some point.

In line with this fear of the ghost of separatism, Yılmaz refers to Kırzioğlu's thesis for the origins of Hemşinlis. He states that after the wars between Byzantium and Iran, the Amatuni Beg Hamam who escaped from the Pers oppression, came to Black Sea shores. The Turkmen tribes settled in Dampur, which was destructed and enlivened this place. This is why this town, which he built, is called "Hamam-a Şen". In time, this name shortened and became "Hemşin" in Turkish.⁶⁶

He further states that it is interesting to note that the Turkmens coming from Khrosan in our prophet's time, called themselves "Hamam-a şenli= Hamşenli" (the one from Hamşen). Since they called themselves Hamşenli before coming to today's Hemşin is interesting⁶⁷ (Yılmaz, 2003, p. 23). His story is full of contradictory information. In

⁶⁵ *Original:*

Batıda çeşitli devletlerin Strateji Akademileri ve Enstitüleri Türkiye'yi yakından takip etmekte, 3.bin yılının 50. yıllarında dünyada "Yeniden Türk Hakimiyeti"nin varlığından bahsedilmektedir. Bu olası gelişme batıyı ve "süper güçleri" endişeye sevk etmektedir. (...)Avrasya ve Batı Uygarlığının yeni yolu belki de Hopa'dan geçecektir, geçmektedir de(...) Kafkasya ve Asya'ya açılan bu bölgede; Etnik grub ve bölücü faaliyetler gözlem altında tutulmalıdır. Avrupa Birliği Türkiye'yi "Üniter Devlet yapısı "Tek Millet" olarak Birlik içinde görmek istemiyor. Halkı bölünmüş ve kimi zaman mezhep farklılıkları ile ön plana çıkmış bir Türkiye arzu etmektedirler.

⁶⁶ *Original:*

Bizans-İran savaşları sonucunda Pers'lerin baskı ve zulmünden göç ederek kurtulan AMADUNİ'ler beği HAMAM, Çoruk(h) nehrini takip ederek Karadeniz kıyılarına gelirler. Dampur' gelen Türkmen oymakları burayı yurt edindiler. Yıkık ve perişan bu yeri şenlendirdiler. BU yüzden buraya, onun imar ettiği şehre, Hamam-a şen' denildi. Zamanla bu deyim kısaltılarak günümüz Türkçesi ile "Hemşin" oldu.

⁶⁷ *Original:*

another page, he states that Homşetsi people (Hopa Hemşinlis call themselves Homşetsi) came to Rize Hemşin as Homşetsi but not Hemşinli. Hemşin was already there as a city and does not refer to a people. It is only a name for a local geographic place (Yılmaz, 2003, p. 15-16).

There are plenty of these researchers and they more or less present us with the same undocumented claims. It suffices to say here that their thesis is, especially in social media, disseminating and since they present their stories as if they had precise and certain information and evidences, and since "scientific knowledge" is seen as an authority, they receive recognition among some Hemşinlis. One of my aims revisiting Hopa was to see how these stories and historiographies carry over into local/oral history among the Hopa Hemşinlis. During my fieldwork I saw that even if people do not present these claims as certain historical knowledge, they are circulating in the discourse of Hemşinlis.

Especially, among the elderly Hopa Hemşinlis, we see references to the thesis ascribing Turkish origins to the Hemşinli. A 78 year-old Hemşinli man below, points to Kırzioğlu's thesis stating that Hemşin people came from the Central Asia:

N: Where did Hemşinlis come from here?

Na: Well, now, from where. We did not study history that much. Some say (they) came from Central Asia, some say (they) scattered from Pazar (in the province of Rize today). I don't know. Some say (they) went to Khorasan and from there scattered up until here. They talk about these. People studying history would know the best. The historians know this issue, no? They say Central Asia, central Asia. From Central Asia they came to Pazar. From there they went to Khorasan. Some say they came from Iran. We don't know (laughs). Well, our language is similar to the Armenian's.

N: Are they?

Na: Very similar but very difficult.⁶⁸(Nazım, 78)

Hız. Peygamberimiz zamanında Horasan'dan (Batı Türkmenistan) gelen Türkmenlerin, Türkçe "ŞEN" kelimesini kullanması ve kendilerine Hamam-a şenli= "Hamşenli" demeleri de ayrıca dikkate değer bir bilgidir. Yani henüz bugünkü Hemşin'e gelmeden önce de kendilerine "Hemşenli" dedikleri görülmektedir.

⁶⁸ *Original:*

N: hemşinler buraya nerden gelmiş

Na: ya şimdi artık nerden biz tarih de okumuyduk fazla uzun boyli kimi orta asyadan gelme deyiler kimi pazardan dağılma deyiler o hemşinlerden artık ne bileyim kimi pazardan horasana çikilmiş ordan buralara dağılmiş artık neresi ne şekil olsa konuşuluyor

In this short extract, we see references to both far past migration of Hemşinlis to the district of Hemşin (around Rize province) and the near migration from Rize district to the places around Hopa. As we see, there is no mention of the Armenian princes Şapuh and Hamam and hence of Armenian origins. Rather, there is mention of Khorasan, Central Asia, and of Iran. The Turkish nationalists, who establish Turkish origins for the Hemşinlis as we mentioned above, refer to these places.

However, interestingly enough, Nazım laughs at some point and then starts to talk about the similarity between Hemşince and Armenian. This maybe because he sees the thesis establishing Turkish origins as contradictory to the fact that they speak Hemşince and it exhibits similarities with Armenian. Upon my question asking confirmation of the similarity between Hemşince and Armenian, Nazım states that they are very similar but difficult. Here, it is not certain whether he refers to communication or not. If he referred to communication "very similar" languages would not be "difficult" to understand. Between the lines reading of this comment might be accepting this similarity with Armenian considering the "silenced" presence of Armenians in Turkey who have been exposed to "massacres, deportations, forced migration and the discrimination policies" and whose sense of being is defined with "displacement" and "lost" (Bilal, 2004, p. 7-12).

Another significant point is that Nazım considers the knowledge presented by the history discipline and historians authority. He states that if he had studied history he would know the mentioned events and facts and historians know the better. What he states all confirms my claims about how these constructed stories by the Turkish nationalists and local historians of Hemşinli descent disseminate among the Hemşinlis. Another account by 85 year-old Hemşinli man further shows how history as a discipline is considered the authority to know and to speak about this knowledge:

N: Why do they call Hemşinli?

H: The ones they call Hemşinli came from Hemşin. There is Hemşin county in

da eyisi tarih bilen eski tarihçi bilir bu işi değil mi orta orta orta asya diyorlar diyorlar orta asyadan Pazar mazar a gelmişler ordan horasana çıkılmış kimi deyilar irandan gelme artık bilmeyruz ki (laughs) şimdi ermenilerle de bizim hemşin dili uyayı birbirine

N: uyuyo mu

Na: çok uyuyor ama çok zor

Pazar. They came from there. I told you before. These are shepherds. They speak Hemşince. There is Hemşin language. They came from there. They came from Hemşin so they are called Hemşinli. Well, they came from Hemşin; there is Hemşin town in Pazar.

N: çamlıhemşin?

H: They call Hemşin town. It is in Pazar. They came from there. These separated from the Hemşinlis living there. I don't know well. In fact, in order to know this issue you should speak about history, you should study history. Then maybe from history you know it, but I didn't study history, I am a graduate of Ali School.⁶⁹ (Hüsnü, 85)

In the extract above, Hüsnü states that to be able to speak about why Hemşinlis are called so, one should have studied history meaning that only history as a science can tell us the truth. He does not see what he knows as a reliable knowledge.

As we have seen, the texts produced by Kırzioğlu and the people following his tradition carry over into the discourse of the elderly Hopa Hemşinlis. However, these assumptions of the Turkish nationalists about the origins of Hemşinlis are not acquiesced by all Hemşinlis. Especially, the young Hemşinlis exhibit reaction to these undocumented stories stating that they are the products by Turkish nationalists:

N: Well, what do you think about the history of Hemşin people then?

⁶⁹ During the first years of the Republic of Turkey, as a part of education campaign, in order to increase literacy, people receive education during their military service. The literacy trainings at the military are called Ali Okulları (Ali schools) and these schools became the first place where many men learned the Turkish alphabet for the first time in their lives.

Original:

N: niye hemşinli diyolar

L: hemşinli dedikleri hemşinden gelmedurler hemşin kazasi var pazar ın ordan gelmedurlar bunlar e demin soyledum da çobanluk mobanluk bimem ne ahaaa hemşinli hemşinceyi konuşuyurlar bunlar henşin dili var ordan gelmişler hemşinli gelme gelen gelen için deyiler gelmiş ordan ya hemşinden hemşinden gelmişler hemşin kazasi var orda pazarun bi yerinde içerde bi kaza var hemşin

N: çamlıhemşin

L: hemşin kazasi diyurler heee pazara bağlidur aha ordan gelmedurler bunlar ordaki hemşinlerden gelme ama onu çok iyi bilmem işte bu tarih esasen o işi bilmek için tarihi konuşacaksın tarık okumuş olcaksın o zaman tarıktan belki bilursin ama biz tarık okuduğumuz yok ben Ali okulinden mezunum

*E: I am not a person who made a good research on Hemşin history. I have hearsay information. I mean there are not many sources on this subject anyway. And the existing ones are very nationalist. I mean they are sources based on the discourse of Turkish nationalist history. They are sources claiming that we were Turkish. I mean there are no scientific sources. Even if you make research, you cannot find anything. There is nothing to read. There are no scientific objective sources. I mean nobody has certain knowledge on this subject. I personally think that we have a relation with the Armenians. However, there is not again any scientific evidence for whether this relation is racial or not. However, the researches on language, I mean after these researches, my opinion about this issue has changed. I mean there an unbelievable similarity of languages. Nobody can disregard this similarity.*⁷⁰ (Esin, 32)

In this account, we see that Esin considers the available sources on Hemşin history Turkish nationalist and rejects the claims assuming Turkish origins for Hemşin people. She is very much right in the scarcity of the sources unlike the elderly Hemşinlis. The number of the sources, which do not make up stories but present the available information with documents, is handful and they are in English. However, Esin similar to the elderly, recognize the authority of "scientific knowledge". She considers "scientific knowledge" objective and hence reliable.

Why history as a science is seen as an authority and why "scientific knowledge" is taken certain facts and in which processes they become so are beyond our analysis here. However, given these facts are observable in the discourse of Hemşinlis, it is necessary for the historians and researchers to reflect upon ethical responsibility of historians for knowledge production, epistemological and discursive implications of the words they

⁷⁰ *Original:*

N: peki şimdi hemşin tarihi konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz

E: hemşin tarihi konusunda çok böyle yani çok aman aman bi araştırma yapmış bi insan değilim hani kulaktan dolma şeyler hani ufak tefek zaten çok fazla bi kaynak yok bu anlamda hani kaynak çıkan kaynaklar da daha çok milliyetçi hani türk tarih milliyetçi söylem üzerine yapılan hani bizim türk olduğumuza yönelik yapılan kaynaklar hani çok bilimsel kaynak yok araştırma yapsan da bişey bulamıyorsun hani okuyacak bişey yok ki hani bilimsel objektif kaynaklar yok bu anlamda kimse kesin bi bilgiye sahip diil ama ben kendim bireysel olarak hani eee yani ermenilerle bi bağlantımız olduğunu düşünüyorum ama bunun da işte ırksal anlamda olup olmadığı konusunda yine bilimsel bi veri yok kanıtlanmış bişey yok ama işte yapılan dil araştırmaları falan hani onlardan sonra benim hani daha sonra bu konuda fikrim değişti yani inanılmaz derecede bi dil benzerliği var bunu kimse yadsıyamaz

write and upon the congruity of what they write with the "reality" of the past and of the present.

3.3. Conclusion

In this chapter it has been indicated that Hemşin history is generally rendered inscrutable since there are very few written sources and since many researchers distort what exists with hegemonic ideologies and nationalistic aims. However, recent years seen a dramatically increased interest in Hemşin history, among many Turkish and Armenian researchers including the Hopa Hemşinlis as well. In the last decades, especially the young Hemşinlis who are university graduates inaugurated a process of research on Hemşin history, cultural practices, and language and political activism for the recognition Hemşin people as a distinct ethnic community.

Among the young Hemşinlis we see that the need to know one's individual life history is seen as similar to knowing the history of the Hemşin people. The same analogy is made between one's birthday and the origins of Hemşin people. In this chapter, I have shown that the knowledge of the past is seen indispensable in the understanding of the modern self, as well as in the construction of Hemşin identity as a distinct community.

I presented the grounds for this increasing interest in Hemşin history as the arising renegotiation of the place of nation-states with the globalization in the late 20th century. I stated that Turkey as well, got its share from this renegotiation the homogeneous and standardized order of which has been shattered and challenged by oppositional movements, leftist, Islamic, or ethnic.

I also showed that the Kurdish Movement is taken as a role model by the young Hemşinlis who are interested in identity politics and unlike many other ethnic communities Hemşin people both elderly and youth refer to Kurdish people with positive

attributes. I indicated the reasons for these positive attributes as constructed relationships with the Kurds and becoming knowledgeable about Kurdish people as well as the leftist tradition attaining equality and democracy importance in Hopa since 1970s as I exemplified with the project of constructing sisterhood between the people of Hopa and Diyarbakır. Moreover, in this chapter I showed that such an approach to Kurdish people has an impact on how Hopa Hemşinlis construct their agenda of identity politics. Taking Kurdish Movement as a role model they determine what components should be included to do identity politics.

In this chapter, I also indicated that the growing interest in the desire to know the history of the Hemşin people is highly related to the industrial development and modernization in the region as stated by many Hopa Hemşinlis I had interview with. I showed that industrialization, modernization, and hence adjustment to urban way of life, set the grounds for the fear of departing from one's traditions and cultural heritage resulting in turning back to one's past.

This chapter has also shown that Hemşinlis need the knowledge of the past for speaking out alternative stories to the hegemonic nationalistic Turkish history. I indicated that the Hopa Hemşinlis doing identity politics take history as the site to struggle for social justice seeing it as a form of consciousness.

Finally, in this chapter I presented the historical works on Hemşin history by Armenian and Turkish researchers as well as by researchers having Hemşinli descend. I showed that Armenian researchers such as Haçikyan, Alvrtsyan, and Harutyunyan having been guided by nationalist interests attribute Armenian origins to the Hemşinlis constructing a heroic Hemşinli past which is situated in a single homogeneous historical time. I noted that construction of a single historical time and collection of people/Hemşinlis is carried over into the plane that the Hemşinlis who remain out of this single homogeneous time are aimed to be Armenianized with the use of tools such as media as seen in Harutyunyan's work. Moreover, I presented some works of the Turkish nationalistic researchers who attribute Turkish origins to the Hemşinlis and showed that formulas of silencing; "erasure" and "banalization" presented by Trouillot do not suffice to explain the silencing practices of the works of Kırzioğlu. Hence, I claimed that we need a third kind of formula, which I called formulas of "adulteration". I stated that such

formulas add extra information, probably made-up and distort the quality of a fact or event, alter the fact/event into another, so that it becomes another picture. In this chapter, I also showed how these constructed and distorted historiography carried over into the discourse of especially the elderly Hopa Hemşinlis with the help of local researchers who are of Hemşinli descend and the constructed authority of the "scientific knowledge".

CHAPTER IV: HISTORY BY HOPA HEMŞİNLİS

Aşçi dayi orda misin	Are you there uncle
Gene eski dinde misin	Still believe in the older religion
Ermeniden donme misin	Are you a convert from Armenian
Helesa yalesa hey yamola hissa ho	Helesa yalesa hey yamola hissa ho

Anonymous

In Chapter 3, we have seen that the studies on the subject of Hemşin history even the most thorough and free of nationalistic aims, follow a positivistic approach to history disregarding the present subjectivities, positionings, and self-reflections of the Hemşinlis. These studies along with the ones which distort the already existing knowledge of Hemşin history disregard how Hopa Hemşinlis themselves as a community collectively remember their past, how they perceive their history. This chapter focuses on the present constructions of their past and identity at present.

Anthropologist and oral historian Neyzi states that research on memory is particularly significant in Turkey due to the discourse and experience of Turkish modernity. She further states that the Turkish modernity project disregarded the everyday experience of ordinary persons while attempting to create a single national identity though the Republic of Turkey is situated on a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-lingual geography. The Turkish modernity project, according to Neyzi, resulted in a gap between public (and written) discourse and the commonplace experience of the citizens living in Turkey (Neyzi, 2004, p. 62). This chapter also aims to fill this gap by presenting the knowledge Hopa Hemşinlis collectively remember, their identity constructions and subjectivities situated in their discourse and everyday life and how past is remembered by different generations.

4.1. Constructions of Ethnic Identity and Origins of the Hopa Hemşinlis

We have noted before that the reflections on the knowledge of past among the Hemşinlis have strong associations with identity politics. In line with this association, in numerous different contexts almost all of our informants make references to their relations with Armenians. Even if the context is not the one in which the origins of Hemşinlis is discussed, people bring out their ethnic origins which is possibly common with Armenians. This makes the discussion of the past of the Hemşinlis separately from the present and from the ethnic identity impossible. Below, a 28 year-old Hemşinli woman, Vasfiye introduces the "Armenian issue" regarding the ethnic origins of Hemşinlis in such a context mentioned above:

N: Well, your grandmother and grandfather from maternal side? Can you talk about them a little?

V: My maternal side is the same anyway. Their family name is "Kibarlar" as well. Well, whom did she marry? My mother married her uncle's grandchild. Well, she is not her real mother. My mother's aunt in law raises her. Since she did not have any child, she raised my mother. My grandmother is also the grandmother of Mahmut whom you will meet soon. My real grandmother is a very wise knowledgeable woman. She has great knowledge. I speak to you now but she could tell you a lot more than I can now. You can be sure that she passed all this knowledge to Mahmut as well. Well, one day Mahmut asked her this Armenian issue. Mahmut asked her "Grandma, are we really Armenian?" She said, "Hush! My son. Nobody should hear this. We are Armenian but we hide this. We don't tell this to nobody." In this way, it was silenced. In these times it was so but it differs depending on the family.⁷¹ (Vasfiye, 28)

⁷¹ *Original:*

N: peki şey anne tarafın anneannen deden onlardan bahseder misin biraz

V: anne tarafım da zaten aynı sülale kibarlar yani annem eee kimi almıştı kendi amcasının torunuyla evlenmiş annem şey eee gerçek annesi diil de benim annemi yengesi

As seen in the extract, while we were talking about Vasfiye's grandparents, she instantaneously tells her account with Mahmut whose grandmother told him that they were Armenians without any question of the interviewer to prompt ethnic origins. We see that either the mention of elderly who are frequently associated with past triggers her to shift the topic to their ethnic origins, or this topic is always in the discourse of Hemşinlis and expressed whenever there is a chance to do.

Megill states that the 'remembered' past becomes more constitutive when the identity of a community is problematic (Megill, 1998, p. 45). We might interpret this as the need to resort to past, which is very significant for the construction of identity. Hence, it might be claimed that the interest in the Hemşin past and negotiation of ethnic identity with references to Armenians might be because of the increasing interest in identity politics and its reflection on the Hemşin society and/or because Hopa Hemşinlis have conflicting characteristics with the description of Turkish citizen described in the Turkish national project such as speaking Hemşince.

Another important point is the relationship between remembering and past. Megill also points out that we do not remember the past, what we remember from the past is not a frozen thing remained in the past. Rather, it continues to live within our situations in the present. What we remember is actually the present (Megill, 1998, p. 51). Therefore, the references to having Armenian origins though in different contexts, and though presented sometimes as rumors, sometimes hearsay information, and sometimes as an invented story or a fact indicate that having Armenian origins or not does not relate to the past, which is an end itself, but rather to the present, existent in the current discourse and it is highly significant in the formation of ethnic identity among the Hemşinlis. The account from 53-year-old Halime below is a good example illustrating the negotiation of ethnic

büyütmüş hiç çocuğu olmamış onun yengesi büyütmüş diğer anneannem de biraz sonra röportaj yapıcan kişi mağrufun öz babanesi gerçekten öz anneannem bilgili bi kadın ya müthiş dehşet derecede bilgisi vardı yani senle şu an ben konuşuyorum ama benim yansıtamadığım bi sürü şeyi sana yansıtabilirdi buna emin olabilirsiniz ki marufa da vermiştir bunları o da yansıtacandan eminim hani böyle ermeni meselesini sormuş bi gün maruf gerçekten babanne demiş biz ermeni miyiz demiş sus oğlum demiş bunu duymasınlar demiş biz ermeniyiz ama demiş bunu gizliyoruz demiş kimseye söylemiyoruz demiş böyle bastırılmış o dönemler tabii ki öyle ama aileden aileye fark ediyö bu

origins with references to Armenians and to the knowledge of the past:

N: Are there any other things like using Hemşin names for children? What else do they do for language maintenance?
H: Well, the young, to stop language loss, name their children with Hemşin names. I mean, they also say that we are close to Armenians. It is not like that. It has nothing to do this. I mean my grandfather and uncle- we had sheep herd in Georgia. My uncle still has. He said we stayed there with Armenians. We ate together and we were in dialogue with them. We, they cooked for us. Our language comes from (this relationship), from the grandfathers of our grandfathers. But now if you ask our grandfather's grandfather, we, our generation, do not know anything about them. We do not know where our origins come from. We do not know how, when and from which place we came to Hopa. Were we always here? But they do not do research either. Well, there are some young people; we have an associate professor, Mete Cihan. He is a veterinarian in Kars. He does some research. He goes to Georgia and makes historical researches. He says that we are not Armenians but we lived in close relationship with them. But language looks like Armenian. The young says that we are Armenians. But we are not. If we were there would be evidences. For instance you go some place where Armenians lived. For example, to Kars. It is full of remnants from Armenians. We do not have here anything. I mean we went to Zil Kale, on top of the mountains. We have nothing to do with this. They say this but I reject.⁷² (Halime, 53)

⁷² *Original:*

N: bunun gibi hemşince isim koyma gibi gençlerin yeni başladığı başka şeyler var mı başka neler yapıyorlar dilin sürdürülmesi için

H: ya şimdiki gençler dilimiz kaybolmasın diye hemşince isim veriyorlar yani bi da diyo ermeniliğe yakınız değil ilgisi yok yani bizim benim dedem rahmetli bi de amcamız vardı ee gürcistanda bizim koyunumuz var halan var amcamın halan koyunu var orda gürcistanda biz kalıyoduk dedi ermenilerle biz dedi iç içeyduk dedi diyalog kurar kuruyoduk dedi hani biz onlar yemek pişiriyorlar bizim dilimiz ordan geliyo dedi dedelerimizin dedesinden yani bizim nesil ama şimdi dedenin dedesinin dedesini sor bilmiyoruz yani bilmiyoruz kökenimizin nerden geldiğini bilmiyoruz hopaya nasıl ne zaman nerden gelmişiz hep burda mıydık ama araştırmada onu da yapmıyorlar şimdiki gençler var bi tane var bizim bi doçentimiz ve ee mete cihan var şeyde karsta şeydir eee aha gitti veteriner o yapıyo biraz bişeyler uğraşıyo işte gürcistana filan gidiyo tarihçemizi bilmem ne bişeyler araştırıyorlar o da diyo ki ermeni diil ermeninin içinde hani ama dil benziyo biz ermeni şimdi diyo ki gençler biz ermeniyiz hayır değiliz olsak yani bir kanıt bir yer mesela gidiyosun ermenilerin olduğu mesela eee kars hep ermeni şeyleri yani kalıntı biz buralarda hiç bişey yok hiç bişey yok biz geçen gittik zilkaleye şeyde ayderde bi kale dağın başında yani hiç ilgisi yok diyorlar ama ben karşı çıkıyorum ona da karşıyım yani daha doğrusu

As we see in Halime's account, Hopa Hemşinlis are not an exception among the other Hemşinlis living in different regions in not having the knowledge of their past, of their origins or of the date when they settled in/around Hopa. On the contrary, while there are many remnants of monuments and monasteries and Greek, Armenian toponyms though changed, in the regions where Hemşinlis do not speak any other language from Turkish anymore, there are not any architectural remnants and no Armenian toponyms in Hopa and Kemalpaşa though Hemşinli settlers around Hopa still speak Hemşince/Homşetsnak, an Armenian dialect. The proposition of there are no Armenian toponyms in the district of Hopa, is used as an evidence for not having Armenian origins by Halime. This means that Halime looks for the evidences from the past to negotiate her ethnic origins in the present supporting Megill's claim that we remember the present but think the past (Megill, 1998, p: 51).

Although references to Armenian origins are very much frequent in the discourse of both young and elderly Hopa Hemşinlis and although most of the time without any prompt they themselves bring up this issue into the topic of our conversations, having common ethnic origins with the Armenians always creates tension in our interviews. As I will discuss in the following sections, except for some Hopa Hemşinlis who do identity politics and who are leftist socialist activists, Hopa Hemşinlis reject having Armenian origins and/or being an Armenian regardless of age and gender differences. The extract below is from 54 year-old Hemşinli man Yılmaz and shows his rejection of having Armenian origins though he has oscillations in his story.

Y: Well, Hemşince and Armenian have ten or twenty percent similarities. Well, I can speak. I mean I understand Armenian by I speak. There are many commonalities (between Hemşince and Armenian) but when you make up a sentence it should be a simple sentence so that we can communicate. Well, there are people coming from Armenia. When the border gate was opened they came here. We followed them, we got curious about it. For instance, we spoke with them. In fact, ten or twenty percent (of Armenian and Hemşince) are the same but I don't believe that we are so (Armenian).

N: Well, why did you get curious about it when they came. Were there such rumors throughout the history, the rumors of Armenianness?

Y: Yes, there is.

N: How did your grandparents and parents use to react to these rumors?

Y: Well, we did not talk about that Armenianness subject that much. I mean we

did not talk about that subject. But there was this thing. My father used to tell. He usually used to tell this. Well, he says "We in those times took an Armenian woman as a wife from the Armenians." Well, long long ago, this woman taught Hemşince- well Armenian to everybody. Well, this language remained us from her. He told such a story to us. Also, in 1970s, when my father was a tradesman, he used to go to Istanbul frequently to buy things. There were Armenian tradesmen (in Istanbul). We used to buy things from their shops. We used to speak with them. The vocabulary, some words were similar. I mean we could communicate. You know the numbers and the words were exactly the same. We were talking about these. I mean there is this dilemma of whether they are Armenians or we are Armenian. But whether this is true is a question. We don't know. Now, if you speak to an Armenian you will see that they are really the same. Then we wonder if we had broken off from them, if we had separated from them during the Ottoman times. You can find information up to a certain time in history then it is cut. When you cannot find anything, we wonder if we left them, if we were broken off. There are many questions but I don't believe we are Armenians. The thing to describe us is being Hemşinli not Armenian.⁷³(Yılmaz, 54)

⁷³ *Original:*

Y: işte hemşinceyle ermenice yüzde on yüzde yirmi yüzde on ermenilerle bizim dilimiz yaklaşıyo şimdi bi ermeniyle ben konuşabiliyorum konuşabiliyorum derken biraz ermeniler ermeniceyi kavriyoz bizim dilimizle çok yakın bi sürü şeyler var yüzde on yüzde yirmi kelime bazında koyduğun zaman cümle kurduğun zaman anlaşılamazsın basit cümle olması gerekiyor anlaşabilmemiz için işte ermenistandan gelen gidiyo geliyo işte biz burdayken onlar geldiler işte ilk kapılar açıldığı zaman ilk buraya geldiler burda konuştuk monuştuk biz de takip ettik merak ettik mesela konuştuk hakaten yüzde on yüzde yirmi kelime bazında bire bir uyuyo ama ben öyle olduğumuza inanmıyorum

N: peki geldiklerinde neden merak ettiniz böyle bi söylenti sürekli burda tarih boyunca var mıydı ermenilik söylentisi

Y: var var

N: onu sizin işte büyük babalarınız babanız anneniz nası karşılıyodu

Y: şimdi biz onlarla pek o kadar o ermenilik konusunu pek o kadar konuşmadık hani o konuyu konuşmadık da yalnız şöyle bişey vardı anlatılıyodu babam genelde bunu anlatırdı işte biz o zamanlar diyo ermeniler ermenilerden bi gelin almışız işte çok eskilerden işte o gelin işte eee bütün gelin herkese hemşince şey ermenice öğretmiş işte bu dil bize ondan kalmış felan böyle bi hikaye anlatmıştı bize bi de babam esnaflık döneminde ben yetmişli yıllarda istanbula gidip gelirdi eşya almak için orda ermeni esnaflar vardı onların dükkanlarından alırdık onlarla konuşurduk uyuyodu kelimeler bazı sözcükler kurabiliyoduk yani anlaşabiliyoduk anlaşma hani işte rakamlar birebir tutuyo konuştuğumuz rakamlar bire bir tutuyo bazı kelimeler bire bir tutuyo onların üzerine işte konuşuyoduk adamlar ya bunlar mı ermeni biz mi ermeniyiz öyle bi ikilem var ama ne kadar gerçek soru işareti bilmiyoruz şimdi bi ermeniyle konuş cümleler koyduğun zaman göreceksiniz ki hakaten uyuyor acaba diyoz biz koştuk da onlardan ayrıldık mı osmanlı döneminde bi kesik durum var bi döneme kada gidiliyo orda kesiliyo ondan sorası yok bulamıyoz onu bulamadığın zaman acaba diyoz biz mi onları terk ettik yoksa biz

When we were talking about Hemşin language, Yılmaz raised the similarities between Armenian and Hemşince. In the beginning, he states that these languages are similar to each other by only for ten or twenty percent common vocabulary. He further states that despite these common words, it is not possible to communicate since the languages are not mutually understood in fast speech. In order to provide evidences to prove that it is not possible to communicate, he states that after the border gate was opened some Armenians came to the region and Hemşinlis spoke to them since they were curious about them. It is interesting that immediately after stating this, he says that he does not believe they were Armenians. As I stated before considering the experiences of the Armenians such as the catastrophic Armenian genocide in the geography in which the Republic of Turkey was founded, a more recent event, the assassination of Hrant Dink, it is expected that even expressing a similarity between Hemşince and Armenian would create tension and a defensive attitude. Here, I think this is the reason why Yılmaz states that he does not believe Hemşinlis are Armenian immediately after mentioning the similarity between these languages. Upon my question asking why they were curious when Armenians came and if there were rumors about Hemşinlis' having Armenian origins in the past as well, he says yes adding that they were not talking much about this issue. Then he tells a story his father used to tell him explaining how it happened that Hemşinlis know Hemşin language. That this story is told frequently among the Hopa Hemşinlis shows they feel the necessity to legalize the existence of Hemşince which conflicts with their claims for not having Armenian origins. In a similar way, Yılmaz feels more comfortable to talk about the similarities between Hemşince and Armenian after legalizing the existence of Hemşince with his father's story.

However, further in his account, he states that they were working with the Armenian tradesmen in Istanbul and they could communicate and at some point he presents the common things between Hemşince and Armenian as exactly the same though at the beginning he does not construct the similarity with that much certainty. Finally, he states that it is a dilemma and whether the Hemşinlis are Armenian or the Armenians are Armenian. This statement of Yılmaz shows that he sees Hemşinlis as different than the

koparıldık mı baya baya bi soru işareti var ama ben inanmıyorum ermeni olduğumuza bizi tanımlıyacak şey hemşinliliktir ermenilik değil

Armenians but the commonality in language makes his question complicated. However, at the same time his questions indicate his affiliation to Armenians. Although there are missing pieces in history makes him get doubtful and question whether they are of Armenian origins at the end he clearly states that he does not believe they were Armenians and what describes them is not being Armenian but Hemşinli. Among the Hopa Hemşinlis in general foregrounding the Hemşinli identity rather than Armenian or Turkish is very much common. Even the ones who construct their ethnic identity as Armenian attains a special emphasis on being Hemşinli. Similar to Yılmaz, Fadime a 47-year-old Hemşinli woman strictly rejects being Armenian as we see in the excerpt below:

F: I mean from the Ottoman times on we have been speaking this Armenian language. I mean our dialect is this, but we, the Hemşinlis are not Armenian. We are Muslims but our language is compilation out of their accent. For instance, we can communicate with an Armenian but they are Christian and we are Muslim. I mean the Hemşinlis are not Armenian. We are Hemşinli and this is all.⁷⁴ (Fadime, 47)

In the excerpt above, Fadime states that they speak a dialect of Armenian but this does not mean that Hemşinlis are Armenian. She constructs the differentiation between the Armenians and Hemşinlis who speak similar languages based on the their religious difference. The final sentence she makes up stating "We are Hemşinli and this is all" shows that she clearly and strongly foregrounds being Hemşinli and having commonalities with Armenians does not create a problem for this construction. Construction of Hemşinli identity rather than Armenian or Turkish is common among the young Hemşinlis as well. A 30-year-old Hemşinli woman below presents us a good picture of how Hemşinlis generally construct their ethnic identity including references to the Hemşinlis who construct themselves as Armenian.

⁷⁴ *Original:*

F: yani osmanlıdan önce e bu şekilde ermeni lisanını konuşuyoruz biz yani lehçemiz o fakat biz ermeni değiliz hemşinliler biz müslüman olarak yaşıyoruz ama ee bizim konuştuğumuz hemşince onların ee toplama aksanıyla mesela biz bi ermeniyle konuşabiliyoruz anlaşabiliyoruz ama onlar hristiyan biz müslümanız yani hemşinliler ermeni değiliz biz hemşinliyiz o kadar

H: I learned this Hemşinli vs. Laz differentiation after coming back from Bursa, at the primary school in Hopa. At the school they asked mw whether I was a Hemşinli or Laz and asked my father at home.

N: I see. Well, did they use to talk on being Hemşinli when you were little? Did your father tell you afterwards?

H: Actually, I don't remember many things on being Hemşinli. I mean my grandfather did not accept Armenian, I mean this Armenian thing. I mean when we asked "Grandpa! Where did we come from? How did we learn this language?" He used to say "My dear, it has been like this since the old times on. Our grandfathers used to speak it. I came from us. We don't have a relation with the Armenians." He did not use to accept.

N: Well, did he use to call himself as Hemşinli?

H: Hemşinli? Yes, of course he used to say, "We are Hemşinlis". Well, I mean most of the elderly were like this. They did not use to accept this Armenian thing. I mean they see themselves as Hemşinli.

N: Were your mother's side the same?

H: Well, they are the same as well. They were not I don't know what in this Armenian subject. The new youth, how should I say it? Well, I mean the ones who are in the age of thirties now focus on this subject more now. I mean in the past they did not discourse on this subject because there were other problems in those times so that they did not ask whether we are Armenian or Hemşin. Maybe it is because of living concerns. This Armenian thing is a recent thing, recently it was researched on and yes we are Arm- For example, when I was young, I watched a movie of Adile Naşit. In the movie, a woman was counting "meg, ergus yek..." Then I said she is counting in our language. This woman was playing an Armenian role there but it was a movie of Adile Naşit and Tarık Akan. It took my attention then. I was in the middle school and I said there is Armeniannes in us. It was just the time when this Armenian topic was brought up. Before this, I don't remember any elderly talked about this Armenian topic.

N: Well, what do you think?

H: I don't say I am an Armenian if you are asking it. I don't say I am an Armenian because I have not made a research. I don't know whether I am an Armenian or not. Why should I say I am an Armenian? Should I call myself Armenian since some say they are Armenian? If you ask me whether I adhere to Turkishness I would say no, I am not but I don't say I am an Armenian either. I say I am a Hemşinli directly. When they ask me I say I am a hemşinli. They ask what Hemşinli is. I say whatever Laz, Georgian, Kurdish is I am that. I mean I say I am Hemşinli but I don't say I am Armenian. I can't say I am Armenian because I don't feel like being an Armenian. I am not in Armenian culture. Also what took my attention is- Armenian, yes. I mean we have something remained from Christianity. In our community they bury the dead in a coffin. No Muslim community buries the dead in a coffin. Only in our community they use coffin. I mean we have this culture coming from them so that we bury the dead with a coffin. And also there is this similarity in language. There is nothing more. Even if there are these then being Hemşinli means this. I mean it is not being

*Armenian.*⁷⁵ (Hatice, 30)

This account from Hatice is an intriguing example indicating how Hopa

⁷⁵ *Original:*

V: bursadan döndükten sonra işte ilkokula şeyde başladım hopada çarşıda öyle orda öğrenmiştim ben hemşin laz kavramını okulda bana sen hemşinli misin laz mısın diye sormuşlardı ben de eve gidip babama sormuştum

N: hım peki başka ıı konuşulur muydu böyle sen küçükken işte hemşinlilik üzerine falan baban anlattı mı sana sonradan

V: hemşinlilik üzerine öle hani çok şeyler hatırlamıyorum açıkçası hani böyle mesela dedem kabul etmezdi hım ermeni- hani ermeni şeyini kabul etmezdi dede biz hani nerden gelmişiz bu dili nerden öğrenmişiz diye ben hani arada bi sorduğumda kızım eskiden böyle gelmiş işte bizim dedelerimiz konuşuyodu bizden gelmiş filan ermeniyle alakamız yok diyodu dedem kabul etmiyodu mesela

N: hı hım ama hemşin diyo muydu kendine

V: hemşin mi tabi biz hemşiniz diyodu ama hani çoğu zaten hani yaşlıların çoğu ermeni şeyini kabul eden yoktur hani hemşin olarak görürler kendilerini

N: annen tarafı da mı öleydi

V: ya onlar da aynı o kadar hani ermeni konusunda şey değillerdi yeni gençlik daha çok hani nasıl diim hani mesela hani otuz şimdiki otuz otuzbeş yaşındakiler bu konuya daha çok ağırlık vermişler hani geçmişte bu konunun üzerinde çok durulmamış çünkü o dönemde başka sorunlar varmış heralde ki hani biz ermeni miyiz biz hemşin miyiz o dönemde heralde yaşam şeyinden mi ne çok da sonradan bu ermeni şeyi çıktı mesela yani araştırıldı şey yapıldı ha biz evet biz ermeni- ben mesela küçükken bi tane adile naşitin bi filmini izlemiştim orda kadın meg ergus yek diye sayıyo ermeni rolünde ben orda çok dikkatimi çekmişti küçükken o zaman yine aaa dedim hani bizim dilimizde sayıyo filan kadın orda ermeni rolünü yapıyo ama adile naşit tarık akan falan filmi orda mesela o dikkatimi çekmişti demek ki bizde ermenilik var demiştim ortaokulda filan o tam o ermeni muhabbetinin çıktığı dönemler ya ondan öncesinde hani hiç öyle bi muhabbeti hatırlamıyorum yani yaşlılarda bi de ermeni muhabbeti çok olmamıştır

N: peki sen ne düşünüyorsun

V: ben ermeniyim demiyorum hani onu soruyosan ermeniyim demiyorum ben çünkü araştırmadım gerçekten ermeni olup olmadığımı bilmiyorum neden ermeniyim diyim ki bazı kesim kendisine ermeni diyo diye ben kendime ermeni diyemem sonuçta ben he çok çok türklüğe bağlı bi insan mısın desen hayır değilim ama ben ermeniyim de demiyorum ben hemşinliyim diyorum direk olarak sen nesin dediklerinde ben hemşinliyim diyorum hemşin ne diyolar laz gürcü kürt neyse diyorum ben de oyum diyorum yani ben de hemşinliyim diyorum öyle ama ermeniyim demiyorum ermeniyim e diyemiyorum çünkü çünkü hissetmiyorum ne bilim ermeni hani tam olarak ermeniliğin için de değilim kültürünün içinde değilim ben bi de şey dikkatimi çekmişti ermeni evet hani bizim hristiyanlıktan bi yanımız var bizim bizde taputla gömüyolar hiç bi müslümanlarda taputla gömmezler bi tek bizde hemşinlilerde taputla gömüyolar o çok dikkatimi çekmişti demek ki bizde bi hani ordan bi gelme bi kültür kalmış ki biz tabutla gömüyoruz bi de dil benzerliği var başka da bişey yok bunlar olsa bile o zaman hemşinlilik bu yani ermenilik değil

Hemşinlis construct their ethnic identities. In fact, Hatice not leaving the necessity to make analysis for us, exhaustively explains what ethnic community she feels she belongs to, why she feels so, as well as how the elderly and the new generation construct their ethnic identities. Hatice starts from the times when she became aware of Hemşinli and Laz differentiation. Then I ask whether people use to talk about being Hemşinli in those times and whether her father answered her questions she came up with at the school. Upon my question, she elaborates more on being Hemşinli bringing up being Armenian into the topic as well. She states that her grandfather did not accept being an Armenian. She further states that her grandfather used to say that they had been like this; speaking this language (Hemşince) since many times ago and it does not have anything to do with the Armenians. Although later on in her account Hatice states that the discussion of Armeniannes is a recent topic, her statement that no elderly used to accept being an Armenian shows that in some way or another this topic was circulating among the Hopa Hemşinlis. This is supported by Yılmaz's account above as well. However, Hopa Hemşinlis' construction of their ethnic identity as Armenian might be a recently developing condition. As Hatice states, the researches on Hemşin past, negotiation of ethnic identity and on Hemşin language have been increasing in the recent decades and some Hopa Hemşinlis as I also noted before, construct their ethnic identity as Armenian. Upon mentioning the researches done and stating that discoursing on being Armenian is a recent condition, Hatice says "Yes, we are Arm-" but she does not finish her sentence. Most probably we see the authority of research, which brings Hatice almost to the point of declaring being an Armenian. Although she does not complete her sentence when she is almost about to state that she is an Armenian, she goes on talking about her memories making her aware of the similarities between Armenian and Hemşince.

However, similar to many Hopa Hemşinlis I had interviews with, Hatice strictly constructs her Hemşinli identity rejecting being an Armenian. We see that she is in the endeavor of keeping her distance from being an Armenian throughout her account. Her reference to being Armenian as "this Armenian thing", the unfinished declarative sentence indicates her endeavor clearly. However, we see that this endeavor is a conscious choice. That she also tells us her deductions regarding the relation between Armenians and Hemşinlis such as the numbers and burying the dead in a coffin as well as

her explanations why she would not say that she is not Armenian clearly show her conscious choice. We understand that the frequently and commonly referred similarities between Armenians and Hopa Hemşinlis the mostly referred one being Hemşince, are not enough to claim neither Armenian origins nor Armenian identity. Eliminating these frequently used similarities to construct Hemşinlis Armenian origins, Hatice constructs her Hemşinli identity and describes being Hemşinli adding these into the constituents of being a Hemşinli.

Another significant statement she makes is "*If you ask me whether I adhere to Turkishness I would say no*". Except for some few elderly no Hopa Hemşinli foregrounds Turkishness. Although Hopa Hemşinlis for years seems to have been adjusting to the social and economic conditions of Turkish modernity, as we will see in the remaining of this chapter, Turkishness as an ethnic identity is not constructed throughout the discourse of the Hopa Hemşinlis I have interviews with and according to my observations during the fieldwork.

As we see in the above excerpt, Hatice negotiates her ethnic identity via her personal memories from her childhood and her personal deductions. These memories enable her to negotiate Armenianness and being Hemşinli. When we look at the discourse of the Hopa Hemşinlis there are two events which are collectively referred to, and which are used to negotiate the origins of Hopa Hemşinlis, as well as being Hemşinli similar to Hatice's memories such as the movie she watched. These are the migration of Hopa Hemşinlis from Çamlıhemşin/Baş Hemşin to the district around Hopa and 1877/78 Russo-Turkish War. Another collectively remembered and referred process rather than event is the settlement of Hopa Hemşinlis in the Hopa town center along with the introduction of tea industry to the region, modernization and the changes brought with them such as the decrease in "yayla" practices. In the remaining of this chapter, I will analyze how these processes are remembered and historicized by the Hopa Hemşinlis and how "past" is constructed and perceived differently by different generations.

4.2. Migration to Hopa from Baş Hemşin/Rize Hemşin

It is not known how, when and from which place Hopa Hemşinlis settled in the district around Hopa and Kemalpaşa (Makrial/Makriali). Simonian states that around 10 to 15 percent of the total population of Hemşin moved to Hopa during the second half of the seventeenth century. Russian sources suggest a later date for the settlement, late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century.⁷⁶ Apart from the fact that there are no Armenian toponyms in Hopa and Kemalpaşa, but only Laz and Turkish ones, there are not any recorded documents referring to the migration of Hemşinlis to the region around Hopa. Haçikyan states that the Hemşinli settlement in the district of Hopa is considered to be as old as that of the transitional Hamşen in Rize. However, he considers this view lacking evidence and countering the written and oral sources.

⁷⁶ Simonian refers to the works of Torlakyan and Minas Gasapian as well as Russian sources; N.N. Levashov and E.K. Liuzen for this information which are not available either in Turkish or English:

(1) Minas G. Gasapian [Farhat], *Hayerx Nikomidioy Gawa"i mej* [The Armenians of the Nicomedia District] (Partizak, Turkey: Azatamart, 1913), p. 82n.

(2) Barunak Torlakyan, 'Drvagner Hamshenahayeri Patmut'yunits' ' [Episodes from the History of Hamshen Armenians], *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* [Bulletin of Erevan University] (1971), no. 2 (14), p. 199

(3) N. N. Levashov, 'Zamietka o pogranchnoi linii i zonie, na razstoianii ot berega Chernago moria do goroda Artvina (s kartoii)' [A Note on the Border Line and Zone, from the Coast of the Black Sea to the City of Artvin (with a Map)], *Izviestii Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (Tiflis, 1880), 6, no. 2, pp. 227–28

(4) E. K. Liuzen, 'Bereg Russkago Lazistana' [The Border of Russian Lazistan], translated by D. A. Levshin, *Izviestii Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (Tiflis, 1905–06), 18, no. 3, p. 170.

Another hypothesis regarding the settlement signals a possible migration of Hemşinlis to Hopa from Karadere.⁷⁷ This assertion lacks evidence and runs counter to both written and oral sources according to Haçikyan. He further states that more plausible hypothesis is that the Hemşin population of Hopa migrated to this district from the traditional Bash Hemşin/Rize Hemşin (Haçikyan, 2007, p. 151). This last assertion is supported by the accounts of our informants. Almost all of our informants, both the elderly and young, referred to a migration from Çamlıhemşin to Hopa or present their origins back to Çamlıhemşin.

In the extract below, we see that an 82 year-old Hemşinli man, Hikmet, refers to both Armenian origins of Hemşinlis and their migration from Pazar in Rize to the district around Hopa:

*N: I want to ask settled in downtown quite late, you came earlier
H: No, the Hemşinlis, if you ask it to me, I can tell. Why did they call Hemşinlis Hemşin? It is a different issue. But there is this Pazar Hemşinlis. These are the ones came from there. There are two kinds of people here in Hopa. One is Hemşinli and the other is Laz people. They are the ones converted from megreles (the Christian Mingrelians who are the ethnic cousins of the Lazi in Georgia). And Hemşinlis are the ones converted from Armenians. They are Muslims. Our grandfathers' grandfathers came here from Pazar.⁷⁸ (Hikmet, 82)*

In this account, Hikmet states that the ancestors of the Hemşinlis living in Hopa presently came from Pazar. He further states that there are two ethnicities settled in Hopa,

⁷⁷ Karadere which now the Araklı county of Trabzon is said to have been established by the Hemşin Armenians who tried to escape from forced Islamization. However, since they were caught up by religious persecution they had to further migrate to other places. See *Islamization of Hemshin* by Simonian in Simonian (2007) *The Hemshin*, pages 61-66 for further information about the Islamization of Karadere Armenians and the events in the period.

⁷⁸ *Original:*

N: şeyi sorcam hemşinliler çarşıya çok geç gelmişler siz çok erken gelmişsiniz

H: yok hemşinliler onu sorarsan bana onu da anlatırım hemşinliler hemşin niçün demişler o ayrı konu fakat bunlar pazar hemşinlileri var ordan gelmedurlar bunlar burdaki olan hemşinliler burda iki çeşit adam var hopada bir hemşinli bir las lazlar megrelden donmedur hemşinliler ermeniden donmedur muslümandırlar ııı pazardan gelmiş bizim dedelerumuzun dedesi gelmiş buralara

the Hemşinlis and the Laz people. Unlike many other informants, he states confessedly that Laz people converted from Megreles and the Hemşinlis from Armenians. This is a very much rare case among our participants. Most of the time the elderly rejects association with Armenians in terms of common ethnicity. At this point, it should be noted that Hikmet also signals that they are Muslims. This is significant because for Hikmet, that they were converted from Armenians does not create conflicts with Turkish identity because being Muslim establishes bonds among these identities. While we were on the way to Hikmet's house to meet him, his granddaughter told me that Hikmet is very conservative religious person, again a rare case among Hemşinlis.

As we have also seen in the former section, throughout our data, we see that Hopa Hemşinlis have a strong sense of community, although not all Hemşinlis share the sense of common ethnic origins with the Armenians. In the quote below from a 49 year-old Hemşinli woman, Sevim we again have references to Çamlıhemşin but this time with affiliations to the Hemşinlis:

N: Well, the name Hemşin, have you ever heard about the origin of this name, where does it come from?

S: Hemşin, there is a town called Çamlıhemşin in Rize. We know that the name comes from this place. I mean I know that Çamlıhemşin, the real center of Hemşinlis. They also say that we come from there. In fact, there is thermal baths there. When we went there we heard a few Hemşin words from a very old grandma. We thought that they were like us. I mean, they speak Turkish there but some words were similar to ours. Then we said they are like us since they spoke like us. For instance, they did not forget some words and these words were the same with ours. Well, compared to us their language is almost lost and they do not speak Hemşince. They speak Turkish but we heard some object names from the elderly. I mean some were the same with ours. They way they dressed, their manner and humor. That they are easy. The Hemşin people are very easy.⁷⁹ (Sevim, 49)

⁷⁹ *Original:*

N: hım peki hemşin kelimesi onun tarihine dair hiç konuşulduğunu duydun mu hemşin in nerden geliyo

S: hemşin hemşin olarak çamlıhemşin diye bi rizenin ilçesi var ordan gelme diye hani biliyoruz hani çamlıhemşinde hemşinlinin esas merkezi orası diye biliyorum bizim de oradan geldiğimiz söyleniyo mesela hatta biz ılıca var orda mesela sıcak termal diye oraya gittiğimizde ordaki çok yaşlı ee nineden bi kaç kelime hemşince duymuştuk haa bunlar da bizden diye hani orda türkçe konuşuyolar ama ee bi kaç kelime bize benzemişti hani dedik bunlar da bizden demiştik o zaman bizim gibi konuşuyolar diye unutulmamış

Sevim, in her account states that the Hemşin name come from the town called Çamlıhemşin and Hopa Hemşinlis came from this district. In this account she not only refers to a migration from Çamlıhemşin to Hopa but also establishes associations with the Hemşinlis in Çamlıhemşin and Hopa Hemşinlis. We see that she considers there is a relationship between the Hemşinlis in these two places presenting the hearsay migration, and similarities in language, clothing, and manner as evidences for her association.

After mentioning the characteristic features of the Hemşinlis, Sevim continues describing the ethnic identity of the Hemşinlis and elaborating on their ethnic origins.

S: In the past nobody knew Hemşinlis. When I said I was Hemşinli, they were asking whether I was Laz or Georgian. And when I said no, they were asking who I was then, which nationality I belonged to. I could not express myself. Nobody understood, nobody knew. There were even some people asking whether I was Armenian. I was telling that I was Hemşinli. "We have a language we inherited from my mother, grandfather and from my grandmother. We even speak it as a mother tongue" I was telling. They were resisting saying "No, there is nothing like that. You are either Georgian, Laz or Turk." I mean, now it has recently become known.

N: Well, what were happening when you did not know what to say?

S: Well, I never hided. Some say, "Skip it. Tell that you are from Black Sea Region. That would be enough." I was saying "No, why should say this. Yes, I am from Black Sea Region but I belong to a nation. After all, I exist. I mean I am Hemşinli. Even if they do not know." The ones who do not know were saying that they heard of it for the first time. And some said are you converts from Armenians. Sometimes they were asking whether we were Armenians.

N: Are there stories related to this. How do Hemşinli people react when it is spoken about?

S: Related to this, now people do not accept they are descendants of Armenians directly. But there is something like this that obsesses me recently. Well, there is no evidence of Armenian origins. But when you get angry with the children sometimes you swear at them. You say "You son of I don't know what". My aunt for example says "You son of the Armenian." Then if there was no Armenians, how did this people got heard of this swear? But nevertheless, our elders never ever accept this. They would say, "We are not Armenians, We are Turks." And

mesela bi kaç böle belirli kelimeler tutuyodu hani unutulmamış kelimeler hani bize göre tamamen azalmış tabi hemşince hiç konuşmuyolar türkçe konuşuyolar ama yaşlılardan ee bazı isimler cisimler misimler bazı isimler öyle yakalamıştık yani bazı kelimeler duymuştuk yaşlı teyzelerden onlar da konuşuyolar yani tutuyo bazı şeyleri e o giyimleri davranışları rahat olmaları yani hemşin insanı çok rahattır

*some say that in the past there was an Armenian woman. She married a Turk. She spoke her own language and taught this language. The language then disseminated.*⁸⁰ (Sevim, 49)

In the extract above, in fact what Sevim signals, summarizes the silenced period of the Hemşinlis in Turkey. She states that people were totally unaware the existence of a community called Hemşinlis. We see that even if she states she is Hemşinli and she speaks a language of her community, she has hard times in persuading people that she was neither Laz and Georgian, nor Turk and Armenian. Interestingly enough, when she is stating that people were asking whether she was Armenian or not, she uses the effective adverbial "hatta" (even) as if having Laz, Georgian, or Turkish origins are more natural than having Armenian origins. However, this might also be a strategy to introduce the topic of having Armenian origins to our conversation because contrary to people's efforts, she elaborates more on the possibility of having Armenian origins. She makes the

⁸⁰ *Original:*

S: önceden kimse hemşinlileri bilmiyodu hemşinliyim dediğim zaman laz mı gürcü mü değilim dediğim zaman o zaman sen nesin diyolardı nasıl bir milletsin diyolardı ben bir türlü kendimi ifade edemiyordum hiç kimse anlamıyodu bilmiyodu hatta ermeni misiniz diyenler de olmuştu çünkü yani hemşinliyiz diyodum biz hemşinliyiz bizim bi dilimiz var annemden dedemden ninemden kalan bi dilimiz var anne dili gibi de konuşuyoz hatta konuşuyoruz diyodum ben böyle anlatıyodum yok diyolardı yani öle bişey yok ya gürcüsün ya lazsın ya da türksün yani çok az şimdi şimdi hani yeni yeni duyuldu hemşin diye a biliyoruz öyle bi kültür var diye

N: peki o zaman ne diceni bilemediğin zaman ne oluyodu ne diyodun

S: yani ben ee şey yapmıyodum ben saklamadım hiç ben bazıları diyolar aman söyleme işte karadenizliyiz de geç yoo diyodum niye söyliyim ki diyodum hani karadenizliyim tamam karadeniz ama karadenizliyim ama ben bi milletim yani sonuçta ben varım hani hemşinliyim diyodum yani bilseler de bilmeseler de ben ısrarla söylüyodum yani benim bi dilim var biz konuşuyoruz yani hemşinliyiz diyodum yani ee bilmiyen bilmiyoruz ilk defa duyduk bazıları da işte siz ermeniden dönmesiniz filan işte ermeni misiniz diyenler de olmuştu zamanında öyle de bazen oluyodu

N: ona dair hikayeler var mı hemşinli insanların konuşulduğunda tepkileri filan nasıl oluyo

S: ona dair şimdi hani direkt kabul etmiyolar ermeniden geldiklerini ama şöyle bişey var benim kafama takılıyo son zamanlarda şimdi hani bu ermenilik bilinmiyosa hani insanlar çocuklara kızsın ya bazen hani eee bilmem neyin doğurduğu dersin ya çok eski bi yengem mesela ermeninin doğurduğu ama tamam da hani bu ermeni yoksa bu halk bunu bu niye duymuşlar acaba ama yine de büyüklerimiz tabi kabul etmezler asla hani biz ermeni değiliz biz türkü e bazıları da diyolar çok eskiden işte bi ermeni işte varmış evlenmiş türklere işte o kendi dilini konuşmuş öğretmiş böyle yayılmış

negotiation of Armenian ethnic origins with references to swear words in their discourse. She uses this as an evidence of the association between Hemşinlis and Armenians. We see that she does not reject Armenian origins, as strictly as she does for Georgian, Turkish, or Laz ethnicities although she is certain that the elderly is quite strict in being associated with Armenians. What she foregrounds in this account is actually the fact that there are Hemşin people, and that they have a language, Hemşince, of their own. Similar to her mention of Armenian origins, when she states that they speak this language as a mother tongue, she again uses the effective adverbial "hatta" (even). In this way, she positions Hemşince as a language worth to be a "mother tongue". However, through the end she feels the necessity of explaining the question everybody tries to answer. If Hemşinlis have no common origins with Armenians as most of the elderly strictly believe, how could the existence of Hemşince be explained? As we see in Sevim's account, the story of an Armenian woman disseminating her language through marriage is quite common in the discourse of Hemşinlis, which I believe is a strategy to legalize the Hemşin language at the same time keeping distance from possibility of having Armenian origins.

During the time I made my fieldwork, I wanted to visit Çamlıhemşin upon hearing all these stories. In Çamlıhemşin, we were having an interview with Ayfer at a cafe. When I asked Ayfer whether her brother's children speak Hemşin or not, she said, "of course, all of them speak". Then a waiter (G, below) living in Çamlıhemşin came and they started to discuss on the origins of Hemşin as well as the Hemşin language.⁸¹

A: Of course, they speak

G: Madam! Do not mislead people. Only Hopa Hemşinlis speak Hemşin.

A: Well, we are from Hopa, we don't mislead.

G: But we are also Hemşinli. Why don't we speak?

⁸¹ In fact before this conversation, while Ayfer were telling me that Hemşinlis in Çamlıhemşin do not speak Hemşin language shouted asking "Are there anybody speaking Hemşin here? Then this waiter came and they started to talk about language. However, at some point Ayfer ended conversation with him and started to talk to me again. The waiter was walking around. Although their conversation preceding the one above was about language he heard that Ayfer told me that her nephews speak Hemşin. He jumped into the conversation again. The beginning of the above conversation is given in Chapter 4.

A: *That's fine, you don't speak. Why should we forget our mother tongue?*
G: *Come on! From which place did the Hemşinlis split off?*
A: *Well, okay. We know.*
G: *Where did the Hopa Hemşinlis split off?*
A: *They split off from here. That's fine but what can we do if your ancestors did not teach Hemşin to you?*
G: *It has nothing to do with this.*
A: *But now should we forget our language. We are also Muslims. We speak Hemşin language.*
G: *Okay then. Teach us.*
A: *Okay fine. "Ayer iser joğva joğva kena meme hemişme pe xemim"*
G: *What did you say?*
A: *"Take these and bring us water so that we drink." I said.*
G: *Hemşin language has all these, you mean.*
A: *Yes, of course. Take these and bring us water so that we drink."*
G: *o kadar var hepsi yani*
A: *e tabi dedim ki tepsiyi getir hepsini birden toplar*⁸² (Ayfer, 47)

This dialogue between the two Hemşinlis from different regions is very interesting in that both Hemşinlis have the knowledge that Hopa Hemşinlis migrated from the district of Çamlıhemşin to the regions around Hopa. The waiter signals the claim that Hopa Hemşinlis split off from the regions around Çamlıhemşin so that he cannot make sense of them speaking Hemşin language. However, the fact that Hopa Hemşinlis speak Hemşin language creates tension causing this conversation to happen actually because Hemşin language exhibits similarities with Armenian and this might refer

⁸² *Original:*

A: tabi hepsi konuşuyo
G: hanım milleti yanlış yönlendirme hemşince sadece hopalılar konuşur
A: e biz hopalıyız biz ne yanlış yönlendirelim
G: ama biz de hemşinliyiz niye konuşmuyoz biz
A: e tamam konuşmayın canım biz ana dilimizi niye unutalım
G: olur mu hemşinler nerden ayrılmadı
A: e tamam biz biliyoruz
G: hopa hopa hemşinleri nerden ayrılmadı
A: burdan gitme e tamam sizin atalarınız size öğretmemişse bizim günümüz ne
G: ne alakası var
A: ama biz şimdi dilimizi unutalım mı biz de müslümanız hemşince konuşuyoruz
G: iyi o zaman bize öğretin
A: tamam ayer iser joğva joğva kena meme hemişme pe xemim
G: ne dedi
A: bunları toplar bi da taze su getir içeyim dedim

to the Armenianness of both parties both of whom accept that Hopa Hemşinlis left from Çamlıhemşin.

Ayfer agrees on this possible migration and she is also aware of the fact that she speaks Hemşin creates tension. So, she feels the necessity to express that they are also Muslims. As in the case of Hikmet, the common religion, being Muslim solves the conflicts in their identity formation and enables them to stay on the safe plane. After this dialogue Ayfer goes on talking about the origins of Hemşin people adding mythic stories of their ancestors:

A: The Hemşinlis here don't really know the language. I mean Hemşinlis in fact- I only have hearsay knowledge. I don't know for certain. Three brothers Topaloğlu, Tosunoğlu, and Gedikoğlu came to Çamlıhemşin from the Hamşen village. My family name is Topaloğlu (The son of cripple). The name comes from "topal" (cripple). Our ancestor got buried under avalanche and became crippled. So the descendants started to be called Topaloğlu. The name Tosunoğlu comes from tosun. Tosun was a very fat man. The descendants of Tosun started to be called Tosunoğlu. And finally, Gedikoğlu comes from the man who was dealing with deer a lot. So the descendants of this man started to be called Gedikoğlu. These are all brothers and we are their descendants. They settled in Çamlıhemşin and then from there, they migrated to the district of Hopa. The ones migrating to Hopa speaks the language. The ones around here (Çamlıhemşin) forgot their language. They got assimilated.

N: You know all these. Do you think other Hemşinlis know these?

A: Well, there are people who know what I know. But many people, I mean lots of people for certain I mean, well know that we are certainly not of Armenian origins. The outsiders, some other people think that we are Armenians since we speak Armenian. For example, the Laz call us Armenian since we speak Armenian. If it is so they are Megreles then.⁸³ (Ayfer, 47)

⁸³ *Original:*

A: buradaki hemşinliler gerçekten bilmiyolar dili yani hemşinler aslında benim kulaktan dolma bi şekilde ben bi bilgi net bi bilgim yok bu konuda hamşen köyünden gelip çamlıhemşine yerleşiyö üç kardeş topaloğlu tosunoğlu gedikoğlu topaloğlunun soyadının kökünün gelişi yani ben bi topaloğlu olarak topal ı karda çığ altında kalıyo dedemiz atamız yani çığ altında kalıyo ondan sora topalın oğlu şeklinde topal topal topal topaloğlu diye çıkıyo tosun da çok şişman böyle tosununoğlu tosununoğlu tosununoğlu soyadını ordan alıyo gedikoğlu da böyle çok fazla dağlarda geyiklerle uğraşiyomuş ordan kaynaklanarak gedikoğlu hepsi bunlar hepsi kardeş sonra biz ordan türeme olarak geliyolar yüksek kesim çamlıhemşine yerleşiyolar ordan işte göç ediyolar hopa tarafına hopa tarafına giden dil biliyo bu taraftakiler artık dili örseleşiyö yani unutul asimilasyon geçiriyo

N: peki sen bütün bunları biliyosun sence hemşinliler biliyolar mı genelde

The waiter's reminding of the migration of Hopa Hemşinlis triggers Ayfer to elaborate more on the origins of Hopa Hemşinlis. She first introduces the hearsay knowledge about the origins of Hemşinlis. I do not hear this mythical story from anybody else during my fieldwork and I neither read it in any of the sources on Hemşinlis. After this introduction, she states that their ancestors migrated to Hopa region from Çamlıhemşin. What is of interest in this quote is that she, after a hesitation states that what is certain is that all the Hemşinlis know that they do not have Armenian origins. She criticizes the people who attribute Armenian origins to Hemşinli because of the language they speak.

References to Çamlıhemşin are common among the young Hemşinlis as well. With Eylem, we were talking about the name Hemşin and possible stories about the origins of this name. Upon this conversation, Eylem started to talk about Çamlıhemşin as a place from which Hopa Hemşinlis migrated negotiating common origins among Hemşinlis, Çamlıhemşinlis, as well as Armenians.

E: Well, I know the Hemşinlis came from Çamlıhemşin. It is so. Well, they generally link the origins to Çamlıhemşin. I heard so. My father worked there (...)

N: I will ask something. You said you know you migrated from Çamlıhemşin. Can you go back until this date in terms of the origins?

E: Well, this seems to me an invented story to eliminate the Armenian problem. Well, this is the place name. This is Hemşin. Well, they are already Turks. When you think on it, they do not speak Hemşin language. Then they say we migrated from there; we came here. But then when you consider the women or the Hemşinlis in Çamlıhemşin, they look like us by sight, physically. They are also ruddy-cheeked, blonde. They look like us typologically. When I go to Çamlıhemşin or Ayder, I see that we really look alike. We migrated from there but they speak Turkish. So you cannot construct their links with Armenians. It has these contradictions.⁸⁴ (Eylem, 25)

A: yani benim bildiğim kadar bilen var tabii ki içersinde ama sonuçta yani birçok insan da dediğim gibi kesinlikle kendileri yani kendi kesinlikle yani bizim hemşinli kökeninin asla ermeni olmadığını biliyo yani asla bunu dışardakiler yani mesela diyelim ki başkaları hani ermenice konuştuğumuz için işte ermeni diye mesela diyelim ki lazlar ermenice konuştukları için diyolar ama kendilerine baktığında sen de megrelsin

⁸⁴ *Original:*

In this extract, Esmâ states that the Hemşinlis came from Çamlıhemşin. However, she considers this hearsay information, an invented story to discard the claims of Armenian origins of the Hemşinlis contrary to Ayfer who strictly rejects Armenian origins. She states that the people living in Çamlıhemşin are Turks speaking only Turkish. This place is called Hemşin. According to Eylem, these facts, along with the claim that Hopa Hemşinlis came from Çamlıhemşin construct Hemşinlis as Turks as well. She furthers the negotiation by presenting the similarities in physical appearance between the Hemşinlis living in Çamlıhemşin and Hopa. That they look alike but Hemşinlis in Çamlıhemşin do not speak Hemşin seems contradictory to Eylem. It is clear that she considers Hemşin language an evidence for having Armenian origins, unlike Ayfer. Therefore, Eylem rejects the hearsay knowledge of migration from Çamlıhemşin despite the similarities in physical appearance, for she cannot construct Armenian origins for Hemşinlis in Çamlıhemşin. I have to note here that Eylem is one of the activists doing identity politics and lives in Istanbul. She is learning Armenian and states that since Hemşin language is similar to Armenian, Hopa Hemşinlis should be of Armenian origins.

As we have seen, although there are no documents about the migration of Hemşinlis to the district around Hopa from the traditional Baş Hemşin, in the discourse of our informants, no matter elderly or young, we come across the mention of this migration. It seems that the memory of this migration transcends the time and the space of its original occurrence and is present in its most collective form in Hemşin community (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 189). Hopa Hemşinli informants give frequent references to Çamlıhemşin or Pazar as the place of origin. Both of these towns are in the province of

E: e hopadaki hemşinlilerin çamlıhemşinden geldiğini biliyorum öyle ya genellikle ilk şeylerine hani biraz da çamlıhemşinden de bağlıyolar ben öyle duydum babam o zaman çamlıhemşinde görev yapmış (...)

N: bi de şeyi sorcam şey dedin ya çamlıhemşinden göç ettiğimizi biliyorum tarih bakımından oraya kadar mı gidebiliyorsunuz

E: işte biraz o ermenilikten ermenilik mevzusunu kapatmak için uydurulmuş bişey gibi de geliyo bana hani hemşinliyiz işte yer adı hemşin işte zaten onlar türk hani hemşin dili bilmiyolar felan ondan sonra biz ordan göçmüşüz buraya gelmişiz işte hani baktığında mesela hemşin kadınlarna felan çamlıhemşindeki hemşinlilere işte sima olarak bizlere benziyo felan böyle işte onlar da al yanak işte sarışın felan böyle tipolojik anlamda bize benziyo felan işte biz çamlıhemşine felan aydereye gezmeye gidince gerçekten benziyo biz burdan göçmüşüz felan ama onlar türkçe konuşuyo yani hiç de böyle bir ermenilik mevzusuna dayandırılacak bişey yok kafada yani öyle bir tezatlığı da var öyle yani

today's Rize. Haçikyan states that the traditional original "Hamshen" district consists of "the watersheds of the twin branches of the Fırtına River, running on the north slopes of Barhal/Kaçkar Range, encompassing today's county of Çamlıhemşin in the Rize province"⁸⁵ (Haçikyan, 2007, p. 200). This identification comprises the county of Pazar as well. However, Çamlıhemşin is referred to more than Pazar as the place of origin. The reason for this might be that Çamlıhemşin as a name has "Hemşin" in it which the members of this community call themselves as. Hopa Hemşinlis might have the symbolic representation of this name in their collective memory.

This migration event seems to be significant not only because it is present in the collective memory of the Hopa Hemşinlis but also because it enables us to see the oldest event that is thought upon at the present by the Hemşinlis and also because it is used to negotiate ethnic origins of the Hopa Hemşinlis.

Both according to what I observed in the fieldwork and the interview recordings, only a few of the informants referred to the events such as the migration of Shapuh and his son Hamam or to the mythical city built by Hamam although these are hotly debated issues by the researchers, or by the activists doing identity politics. Most of the time all these debates focus on finding "the true origins" of the Hemşinlis, with two possible ethnic origins, Armenian or Turkish. Hence, finding out evidences for the events or facts dating further back than the ones present in the collective memories of Hemşinlis themselves carries the aim of identifying ethnic origins of Hemşinlis.

At this point we should note again that, our informants regardless of their age, profession or gender give references to Armenians or to having Armenian origins or not in one form or another in their accounts. As we have seen in the accounts of Halime and Ayfer above, even if the people strictly reject the thesis that Hemşinlis are of Armenian origins, they themselves introduce the relevant discussion with references to Armenians. We also see that in order to negotiate Armenianness they do not use the mythical stories we have introduced before. Rather, the possibility of Armenianness is remembered at the present, and everything that belongs to the present, triggers the negotiation of it. It might be Hemşin language, a story of encountering an Armenian or somebody from Çamlıhemşin, a hearsay memory of a friend with references to Turkishness or

⁸⁵ See Map 1 in the Appendix B.

Armenianness, but not the stories dating further back from the migration from Bash Hemşin such as the settlement of Hamam and Shapuh escaping from the Arab oppression.

4.3. Russo-Turkish War of 1877/78

As we have noted in the introduction, in Turkey, today there are Hemşinlis living in Rize, in Hopa and Borçka in the province of Artvin. In addition to these, there are Hemşin villages in the Akçakoca county of Düzce, and in Kocaali and Karasu counties of Sakarya who migrated west following the 1877–78 Russo-Turkish War. There is also Hemşin population living in Krasnodar in Russia, and in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakstan though very small in numbers.

Although the events causing Hemşinlis to disperse in such a large area date very back in history, Hopa Hemşinlis retain these events in their collective memory with frequent references to other Hemşinlis and to the places they live today. Among these is the scattering of Hemşinlis after the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–78, this time from the region around Hopa to the northwestern Anatolia, to today's Sakarya/Adapazarı and Düzce provinces. It is also said that there had already been Hopa Hemşinli population around this district for some Hopa Hemşinli migrated to today's Hendek county of Sakarya after the Crimean War some twenty years before the Russo-Turkish War (Simonian, 2007, p.86-87). I believe that the remembrance of this event is highly related to the construction/imagination of Hemşinlis as a community at the present time. In the excerpt below, a 27 year-old Hemşinli man signals to the Hemşinlis who separated from the Hopa Hemşinlis and settled in Düzce and Adapazarı (Sakarya).

N: I see there are Hemşinlis in Kemalpaşa and Sarp around here.
Y: Half of the population in Hopa
N: Is the other half Laz population?
Y: Of course, both in Kemalpaşa and Sarp, half of the population is Laz, and the other is Hemşinli
N: What is the number of the population of Hemşinlis?
Y: The population of the Hemşinlis is at most 30.000. The most 30.000. It cannot be higher than 40.000. Well, for example, there are the ones leaving from here. The ones settled in Düzce and Adapazarı. They have not come here for thirty or seventy years. But nevertheless they can speak Hemşince. For example, you go towards the beach (referring to the coastal area in the Black Sea region), they don't speak Hemşince but they (the ones in Adapazarı and Sakarya) speak. I mean we are relatives.
N: Are there anyone you know among them?
Y: They come here. Sometimes they come here. Sometimes we visit them. Although we have not seen each other, I see in Facebook. There are people whose family name is Akbıyık. Who is this? Then they say we are in Adapazarı and I don't know what. They say we are here. We also speak. We migrated here in the past. I ask them if they speak Hemşince. They say, "We can speak but we do not speak much."
N: When did they migrate?
Y: Well, in the past, long ago. In 1940s when the surname act was enacted. I don't know. Maybe here when the household population was too much here one brother migrated and it happened so.⁸⁶ (Yaşar, 27)

⁸⁶ Original:

N: hıım burda şimdi kemalpaşada hemşinliler var sarpta var

Y: hopa hopanın yarısı

N: yarısı da laz mı

Y: tabi kemalpaşa da yarısı laz yarısı hemşin sarpında yarısı laz yarısı hemşin

N: nüfusu kaç tanedir hemşinlilerin

Y: hemşinlilerin nüfusu en fazla otuz bindir yani otuz bin en fazla yani en az otuz bin en fazla kırk bini geçmez yani mesela bizim burdan kopmalar var hani düzce adapazarına yerleşen ya onlar hiç otuz yetmiş senedir buraya gelmemişler bak adamlar hemşince konuşmayı biliyorlar mesela şimdi gidiyosun ya kumsala doğru tamam bunlar hiç bilmiyo ama onlar biliyo yani akrabamız biz hemşince

N: tanıdıklarınız var mı içinden

Y: geliyolar arada bazı buraya geliyolar biz gittik mi orıya gidiyoz yanlarına ya iç birbirimizi görmemişiz akbıyığız mesela ben internetten feysbuktan giriyorum akbıyık çıkıyo bu kimdir bekliyo ediyo kimsin adapazarındayız bilmem ne e biz de burdayız biliyoz işte biz eskiden burıya göç etmişiz hemşince biliyo musunuz diyom biliyoz ama fazla konuşmuyoz diyorlar

N: ne zaman göçmüş onlar

Y: ya onlar eskiden çok eskiden bin dokuz yüz kırklarda filan o soyadı kanunu çıktığı zaman soyadı kanunu çıktıktan sora burda herkes artık evde nüfus kalabalıklaştı mı bi kardeş gidiyomuş o orda evlenmiş gelişmiş gitmiş işte

In this account, when we were talking about the population of Hemşinlis in Hopa, Yaşar expresses his awareness of the existence of other Hemşinlis in Sakarya and Adapazarı and that they are Hopa Hemşinlis who left Hopa long ago. However, Yaşar introduces the date of the migration as 1940s and bases the reason for the migration on large family structure, and hence on economic conditions. He might be right in what he says since Hemşinlis went on migrating from Hopa to the northwestern Anatolia, though the cities they settle for economic reasons are mostly bigger cities like Bursa, Istanbul, and Ankara.

Generally, the younger generation does not refer to the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–78 as the reason for the Hemşinli's migration to the northwestern Anatolia. However, all the elderly we interviewed, refer to this war when they mention the Hemşinlis living in Sakarya and Düzce as the extract from Lütfü below exemplifies.

L: Well, there are Hemşinlis having migrated to Adapazarı (Sakarya) from here. You know, this Russian war. The Russians entered this region. I don't know history that much but when the Russians came to this region, they went, a group of people migrated from here forever. Some came back. The ones who did not come back settled there.

N: Are there any people you see?

L: Yes, we see each other. Once they came and went back. The visits are not that frequent but they know that they migrated from here. We, the same. We know that they went. There are people having our family name there. There are having different names as well but there are the ones having our family name.⁸⁷ (Lütfü, 54)

In this excerpt, Lütfü not only states that there are Hemşinlis in Sakarya but also signals the historical context, which is Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, of their migration to that place. In Hopa Hemşinli community, family and kinship relations are still

⁸⁷ L: şey burdan adapazarına göç etmiş hemşinliler var o şey rus harbi filan vardı ya ruslar bu bölgeye girdi tarih o kadar bilmiyorum da ruslar bölgeye girdiği zaman onlar bi gittiler ordan bi bölüm burdan bi göç etti komple geri gelenler oldu gelmiyenler oriya gitti

N: var mı sizin hiç ordan görüştüğünüz insanlar

L: walla biz görüşüyoruz bi ara geldiler gittiler o kadar gidip gelmiyoruz ama orda olduklarını onların da bizim burda var olduğumuzu burdan gittiklerini biliyorlar burdan gidildiğini ve bizim aynı işte bizim sülaleden soyadımızdan var akrabalarından var başka soy adları da taşıyorlar ama yine aynı sülaleden insanlar var orda

considered very significant. There are family names, which are officially no longer relevant such as "Mustoğlu" and "Keşoğlu". However, these names are still preserved and people actively use them in addition to official family names referring to family groupings. As we see in Lütfü's account, today these names are also used to find one's relatives living in other places, and help people reveal the significant but forgotten events for their community.

Moreover, in this account, Lütfü states that Hopa Hemşinlis living in Hopa are aware of the fact that some Hemşinlis migrated to Sakarya. This means that although almost a hundred and a half of years passed, the Hopa Hemşinlis still have contact with the Hemşinlis in Sakarya and Düzce. What enable this might be the communication opportunities that Hemşinli men's occupation brings to them.

When we look at the discourse of Hopa Hemşinlis in general, encounters come out to be very significant, as we see in their approach to Kurdish people. The majority of the men in Hopa works in the transportation sector and hence, visit many places in Turkey and abroad. Almost every man working as a driver has a story of encountering a Hemşinli or an Armenian in the places where they take cargo. The excerpt below is from a 78 year-old Hemşinli man who worked as a truck driver for years, and who elaborates on the migration following the Russo-Turkish War.

Na: There are these counties of Pazar, Çamlıhemşin, and Çayeli in Rize. People there also speak this Hemşin language. On the uplands over there, there are Hemşin people. They speak. Any other place? For example, in Adapazarı, Düzce... Nowadays, Hemşinlis go everywhere. Every place is full of Hemşinlis. The places around Gebze are full of Hemşinlis. They are all Hemşinlis. There is this Adapazarı and Düzce. These are all scattered from Artvin. For example, there are Hemşinlis having migrated from here, from Pazar. God knows when they went, maybe in the times of Sultanate (in the times of Ottoman Empire).

N: We don't know this, do we?

Na: I mean I don't know if they went there before 93 migration (1877-78 War is 1293 according to the Islamic calendar). I don't know. I met them there. In the past there were a lot of acquaintances there. But now they already died. In the past the roads were passing through the city center. Now we have new roads.⁸⁸ (Nazım, 78)

⁸⁸ *Original:*

Na: bu hemşin dilini bi da rize pazar çamlıhemşin var orası da kullanur bi da çayeli var orası yüksek yerlerde orda da hemşinler var orası da kullanur başka bi yerde o mesela

In this account, Nazım were talking about Hemşin language. When he was listing the places where Hemşince is spoken, he included Sakarya and Düzce to these places. Although he is not sure when they migrated to these cities, he has the knowledge of Russo-Turkish War and the migration afterwards the war. He also adds that he met these people there, in Sakarya, which indicates that he became aware of other Hemşinlis at other places thanks to his job.

Russo-Turkish War of 1877/78 not only resulted in the migration of some Hemşinlis to the northwestern Anatolia but also the separation of many Hemşinlis from each other though they stayed where they lived. During the Ottoman period, Hopa was one of the Lazi areas and hence, always associated with Lazistan politically. During the 1870s, Hopa was a kaza, as a part of the Lazistan sancak, encompassing Arhavi and Gönnye nahiyes. After the Russo-Turkish War, the Hemşin villages around Makrial (now Kemalpaşa) in Gönnye nahiye were annexed by Russia and stayed under Russian administration untill 1918. However, Hopa remained under the Ottoman control. The Hemşinlis staying in the area which was under the Russian control finally remained within the Georgian USSR until they were deported by Stalin to Central Asia, today's Kyrgyzstan and Kazakistan in 1940s. In 1921, the border between Turkey and Soviet Union was established and Makrial was handed back and it was made into the Kemalpaşa town of the Hopa county (Hachikian, 2007, p. 144).

Our informants together with the migration to Sakarya and Düzce also refer to the separation of the Hemşinlis due to the established border after Russo-Turkish War, frequently. The excerpt below is from a 25 year-old Hemşinli woman, and despite her young age she has the knowledge of the migration to Sakarya, separation of the Hemşinlis with the annexation of Makrial, Kemalpaşa by the Russians.

nasil adapazarinde duzcede istanbula ankaraya her yere gideyilar artik her yer hemşinli gebze mebze oralar hep hemşinlidir adapazarı duzce var bunlar hep artvinden dağılmadır hemşin burdan gitme hemşin var burdan gitme pazardan gitme mesela adam zamanında taa kim bilsin ki padişahluk devrinde mi gitmiş

N: onu bilmiyoruz di mi

NA: oraya artık 93 muhacirinden daha evvel mi gitmedur bilemiyorum yani artık bilemiyom ben orda tanidim onları onu bilemiyorum oralarda eskiden hep tanıdık vardı ama şimdi rahmetine kavuştu tabi onlar eskiden hep içinden geçerdik adapazarinin içinden geçerdik şimdi yollar değişildi

E: I had a friend from Çamlıhemşin. There, the youth do not speak any word of Hemşince.

N: hı hı

E: They have been assimilated a lot there (in Çamlıhemşin). For instance, even the ones who are at the same age with my mother very rarely speak Hemşince. Anything else? From our community, for instance, there are Hemşinlis in Adapazarı.

N: hı hı

E: They were people having migrated to the regions around Adapazarı and Çorlu at our time

N: Do you know when they migrated?

E: Well, they when, well it was during the Republic period I guess but I don't know exactly. The periods when we had disturbances here. The periods when we were scattered. When there were Armenians here. When the Armenians experienced migrations. I mean (they) are generally considered Armenians

N: Who, the Hemşinlis?

E: Yes, they are considered Armenians but neither Armenians if you ask us- there are Arme- well Hemşinlis in the Georgian side in that period. There are even some recordings. We listened to it.

N: What recordings?

E: For example, they do not speak as good as we do. It is mixed with Hemşince. They had hard times to express themselves in case we do not understand. For example, they say "suretine putenim" for photograph.

N: But what recording is this? Who recorded it?

E: The ones over there. I mean the ones who could not come to this side. In this period some of their relatives remained at this side, in Turkey, and some remained at that side. There are recordings made in the past. There recordings made in that period, also the letters.

N: Have you ever listened to such recordings?

E: The woman was talking but in Hemşince

N: What does she tell? Do you remember the story?

E: I don't remember the story but she was talking about her longing. I can't tell exactly what she says but she was talking about her nostalgia for this side. She was telling that the life was bad there. There were many who wanted to come here. Yes, I know this story.⁸⁹(Esmâ, 25)

⁸⁹ *Original:*

E: benim çamlıhemşinden arkadaşım vardı onlar gençleri hiç bilmiyo hemşince

N: hı hı

E: onlarda daha çok asimileşmiş yani şey mesela annemin yaşındakiler bile çok nadir biliyomuş onlarda başka bizden mesela adapazarında da hemşinliler var

N: hı hı

E: adapazarı çorlu tarafında oraya da göç edenler olmuş bizim zamanımızda

N: ne zaman göçmüşler hiç biliyo musun

E: onlar da ne zaman bu hani şey dönemi heralde cumhuriyet bizim cumhuriyet dönemi ama ben tam olarak bilmiyorum yine bizim o karışıklıkların olduğu dönemler bizim

When we were talking about Hemşin language, Eylem introduced other Hemşinlis in Turkey, the ones in Çamlıhemşin and Adapazarı. We see that she has the knowledge of the Hemşinlis having migrated to Adapazarı though she attains the date of the migration to the Republican period. Although Eylem states that she does not know the date exactly, she describes the historical and political context of the period when some Hemşinlis left the region and some stayed behind the borders. We know that Hopa Hemşinlis were affected very much by Russo-Turkish since it resulted in migration and also since the areas inhabited by them were partly annexed to Russia afterwards. We also know that the Hemşin region underwent a great transformation during these years. Simonian explains the socio-political context during these centuries succinctly.

From the mid-seventeenth century on, a number of developments would gradually transform Hemshin from an almost entirely Christian-populated district into an overwhelmingly Muslim one. The developments which led to the Islamicization of Hemshin included, in order of appearance, the conversion of

dağıldığımız dönemler ermenilerin olduğu ermenilerin göçlerinin yaşandığı dönemler diyorlar ya genellikle ermeni olarak zaten nitelendiriliyo

N: kim hemşinliler mi?

E: evet ermeni olarak nitelendiriliyo ama ne ermeniler hani sorsan bize- hemşin şeyde de var gürcistan tarafında kalan erme- şey hemşinliler de var o dönemde hatta bazı şeyler var işte kayıtlar filan var biz dinlemiştik kadının biri

N: ne kayıt ne kaydı?

E: mesela onlar türkçeyi bizim kadar bilmiyorlar ya işte hemşinceyle karışık bize anlatmaya çalışmışlar orda biz anlamıcaz diye mesela şey diyo fotoğrafa orda suretine putenin

N: ama bu ne kaydymış kim çekmiş

E: ordakiler çekmiş ordakilerde hani gelemeyenler bu tarafa gelemeyenler o dönemden ailesinin hani akrabalarının bazıları bu tarafta türkiyede kalmış bazıları o tarafta kalmış

E: eskiden yapılan kayıtlar var işte o zamandan yapılan kayıtlar hani varmış mektuplar filan

N: sen dinledin mi hiç öle kayıt

E: kadın öle konuşuyo işte eee hemşince konuşuyo ama

N: ne anlatıyo hikayeyi hatırlıyo musun

E: hikayeyi tam anlat hatırlamıyorum ama özleminden bahsediyodu hani tam olarak böyle dillendirerek anlatamam özleminden bahsediyodu bu taraftaki özleminden yani o taraftaki yaşamın kötü olduğundan bahsediyodu onlar daha bi kötü koşuldalar çünkü

N: hı hı

E: ee biraz da orda sömürme şeyi de olmuş heralde onları türk olduklarına inandıkları için o yüzden hani bizden daha kötü durumdalardı bu tarafa gelmek isteyen çok vardı öle bi hikayeyi biliyorum

their Laz neighbors, fiscal oppression, the rise of Muslim intolerance vis-à-vis Christians following a series of Ottoman defeats at the hands of Russia, the breakdown of central authority in the late seventeenth century and the ensuing climate of anarchy when the region was at the mercy of warlords known as derebeys. As a consequence of these factors, part of the population of the old Armenian Hamshen canton converted to Islam, while another part chose to leave its homeland to preserve its Christian faith.

(Simonian, 2007, p. 88)

In line with Simonian's description, Eylem describes the period in which these migrations occurred as times of disturbances, times in which Hemşinlis split up, and scattered. She also states that before all these disturbances there were Armenians in this region. Then she hesitantly, states that Hemşinlis are seen as Armenians. Mention of Armenians, and references to Hemşinlis having Armenian origins though started by Esma, makes her feel uneasy as seen in her unfinished sentences such as "*Yes, they are considered Armenians but neither Armenians, if you ask us- There are Arme-*". At this point she starts to talk about the Hemşinlis who remained under the Russian control in Georgia. It seems that topic shifts to Hemşinlis, for Hemşinlis is a safe ground for Eylem. The story she tells regarding the sent recordings and letters by the Hemşinlis remaining in the Georgian side is a sentimental depiction of the consequences of the Russo-Turkish war.

I came across a similar account when I went to meet Hikmet Akçiçek in HADIG for our language project. Hikmet Akçiçek works at HADIG and at the same time sings Hemşin songs. He is an amateur musician. Below he tells a touchy story of an incomplete song the lost parts of which he finds in Kazakistan.

H: Many of us have heard the tragedies of the families who were separated by the established borders. Hemşin people have also taken their share of these tragedies. When the border between USSR and Turkey was set up, a few Hemşin villages remained in the USSR side of the border. Untill, 1938 the families could visit each other with a document provided by the governorship. They could even cultivate their fields and Hopa Hemşinlis took their herds to Georgia in wintertime and in the spring climb up to yaylas from Georgia. My grandfather was teaching religion to children in his sister's village, which remained at the other side of the border. Then, on the eve of the Second World War, in 1938, USSR closed the border again and mothers from their children, sisters, and relatives were separated from each other. Moreover, the Hemşinlis in Batumi were exiled to Kazakistan and Kyrgyzstan suddenly with the other Muslim peoples in Caucasia. They experienced the same fate that all exiled

people experienced. Many of them died of diseases and hunger on the way. My father's aunt was one these exiled people. After many years she came back to Turkey with her daughter, Meryem and a cousin. Meryem is the only dwarf I have seen in Hemşin society. The sister of Tantoğlu Süli from my village Üçkardeş also was one the ones who could manage to come back. She is the aunt of all of us. Poshoroğlu Nuri stayed in Turkey but his mother, father and siblings remained in the USSR and they could see each other only after 1970s. Somehow there were people going there and returning back. They used to record their relatives' voice and brought the recordings. People were sitting and listen to these recordings crying. They were recordings like "I am Nariye, the daughter of I don't know who from Gaybramoğulları. I greet my cousin Kemal in Ğhalbaşı. Now I am the bride of I don't know whose, here. Last year my mother died". After many years, while I was collecting Hemşin songs, I could not find some quadrants of one of our well-known songs "asa ander". I asked if Sergey Vardanyan who publishes a monthly journal called "The Voice of the Hemşinlis" in Armenia" if he has any quadrants that would accord our song via e-mail. He told me that he had and he would give it when I go there. In 2008, we went to Yerevan to give a concert. One evening we visited Sergey. He told me that he went to Kazakistan, he found the exiled Hemşinlis there. He compiled songs and recordings from them. They gave Sergey a recording, which had been recorded in the Çavuşlu village of Hopa and sent to the relatives in Kazakistan in the way I mentioned before. In that cassette there were two quadrants of the song I was looking for. Sergey made us listen to it. In this way, my "asa ander" was completed. "Asa ander" means, "tell me lonely/poor". Well, it is like this. Similar to our lonely and poor people our songs have been dispersed to all four sides. All our endeavor is for finding out them from back of the beyond where they would be forgotten so that our houses are not destructed, our voice does not become the last one".

Asa ander asa
Ku darded şada
Bazi bir kalesgu
Oğniver pada⁹⁰

Speak lonely speak out
So much sorrow you have
Sometimes you run up
To the hills, to the mountains (Hikmet Akçişek)

⁹⁰ Original:

Sınırların böldüğü ailelere ilişkin dramları çoğumuz duymuşuzdur hemşin halkı da bundan nasibini alan halklardan sscb ile türkiye arasındaki sınır belirlenince batuma yakın birkaç hemşin köyü de sınırın sscb tarafında kaldı 1938 yılına kadar valiliklerden alınan pasavan denem belge ile aileler birbirlerine gidip geliyor hatta tarlalarını ekip biçiyor hopalı hemşinliler sürülerini gürcistanda kışlayıp baharın oradan yaylalara çıkıyordu dedem kız kardeşinin sınırın öbür yanında kalan köyünde çocuklara din eğitimi veriyormuş sonra ikinci dünya savaşı arefesinde 1938 yılında sscb sınırı aniden kapattı ve analar çocuklarından kardeşler bacılar akrabalar birbirinden ayrı düştiler dahası 1944 ün sonbaharında kafkasyadaki diğer müslüman halklarla birlikte batumdaki hemşinliler de bir gecede ansızın kazakistan ve kırgızistana sürüldüler bütün sürgünlerin yaşadığı kaderi onlarda yaşadı bir çoğu yolda hastalık ve soğuktan öldü babamın halası da sürülenlerdendi yıllar sonra kızı meryem ki benim hemşin toplumunda gördüğüm tek

As seen in the account above, Hikmet Akçiçek has a good knowledge of the events occurring after the Russo-Turkish War. He has orally transmitted testimonies as well as relatives experiencing the separation, exile and the sorrow felt because of these. He gives us specific dates and place names which still carry significance to understand how Hikmet reacts to these events, what happened during these years, the experiences of his relatives and people from his village as well as a very good description of how the life had been before the border was established and how it became afterwards. Also note that he refers to some family names, which are used to reveal one's family history, to understand if somebody is really Hemşinli or not, and also to construct the knowledge of the past among Hemşinlis even today as well as Hemşin community.

I heard the story of Meryem and her dwarf daughter from another Hemşinli man from Kemalpaşa. The story is referred to as "Dwarf woman's story" among Hemşinlis from Kemalpaşa, including young and elderly Hemşinlis. During one of our interviews, we were sitting with an old Hemşinli and his young son. The son asked his father to tell, "dwarf woman's story" so that I also hear about it. With this account of Hikmet, who is "the dwarf woman's cousin, we understand that this is not a myth but a real story though

cücedir, bir kuzeni ile çıka geldi türkiyeye benim köyüm üçkardeşten tantoğlu süli süleymanın kız kardeşi hepimizin halası o da gelmeyi başaranlardandı poshoroğlu nurinin kendisi türkiyede annesi babası ve kardeşleri sscbde kaldılar ve ancak yetmişlerin sonlarında görebildiler birbirlerini bazen nasıl oluyorsa bir giden gelen olurdu gidenler de gelenlerde yakınlarının seslerini kasetlere kaydeder getirirlerdi insanlar oturup o kasetleri dinlerlerdi gözlerinde yaşlarla ben gaybramoğullarından falancanın kızı nariye ğhalbaşındaki amcamın oğlu kemale selam ederim burada falancaların geliniyim geçen yıl annemi yıttık gibi kayıtlar yıllar sonra ben hemşin ezgilerini derlerken bizim çok bilinen asa ander ezgisine ait fazlaca dörtlük bulamadım ermenistanda hemşinlilerin sesi adlı aylık bir gazete yayımlayan sergey vardanyana mail ile sordum albüm çalışması için bu ezgiye ait başka dörtlükler arıyorum ama bulamıyorum diye bende var buraya geldiğinde veririm dedi bana 2008 yılında vova olarak erivana konser vermeye gittik bir akşam misafiri olduk sergeyin kendisi kazakıstana gitmiş bizim sürgün hemşinlileri bulmuş onlardan kayıtlar ezgiler derlemiş hopa çavuşlu köyünden demin bahsettiğim şekilde kaydedilip kazakistandaki akrabalarına gönderilen bir kaseti orada sergeye vermişler o kasette benim aradığım ezgiye ait iki dörtlük vardı sergey bize dinletti daha başka ezgilerle birlikte böylece benim asa ander de tamamlanmış oldu asa ander hemşincede söyle garip sahipsiz anlamına gelir işte böyle sahipsiz halkımız gibi ezgilerimiz de dağılmış dörtbir yana işte bizim derdimiz de onları belki de unutulup gidecek o ucra köşelerden çekip gün yüzüne çıkarmak ocağımız sönmesin sesimiz son ses olmasın diye

it might turn into a legend in the future. Hikmet then continues with telling the story of the incomplete song. Then he makes an analogy between this song quadrants of which were scattered everywhere and the Hemşinlis who were dispersed due to borders, exiles which makes his narrative not only informative but also a very sentimental one. No story could explicate these experiences better than this story of the scattered quadrants of "Asa Ander".

In fact, as we noted before, all these events and situations are existent in the discourse of Hemşinlis even in the one of young Hemşinlis. It is a possibility that all these developments, the stories of the past are transmitted in the past from generation to generation. One of the informants, Mahir, who is 35 years old now, told that he already knew "93 harbi" (Russo-Turkish War) when he was a little boy.

However, that not all Hemşinlis tell the reasons and the date of the migration to the northwestern Anatolia necessitates us to make a further explanation. We have already stated that the transportation sector in which most of the Hemşinli men work presents opportunities of encounters with other Hemşinlis in many diverse regions. Another is the high rate of social media use in the recent years, as we see in Yaşar's account. He states that he meets new Hemşinlis with the use of his family name in Facebook. All these encounters and increase in communication create opportunities to establish new relationships among Hemşinlis in different regions, which also results in setting up the grounds of turning to the past and having the opportunities to start imagining a larger Hemşin community than Hopa Hemşinlis could thought until recent years. Especially, among the Hopa Hemşinlis who do identity politics, we see references to the small number of the Hemşinlis as an ethnic community. They state that this small number has an impact on the Hemşinlis' weak opposition to assimilation policies.

Therefore, I might claim that especially among the young Hemşinlis, past events are circulated though they transcend the time and the space of their original occurrence for they are reconstructed within the present conjectures and they are used to do negotiations of identity and Hemşinlis as an ethnic community. As I stated in the former section, the presence of the migration from Çamlıhemşin to Hopa in the collective memory of the Hopa Hemşinlis is used as a site to negotiate the ethnic origins of the Hopa Hemşinlis. This more recent but quite old event of Russo-Turkish War is

remembered because it is used to imagine a Hemşinlis as an ethnic community via affiliations with other Hemşinlis both in and out of Turkey.

4.4. Settlement in the downtown

Both the migration of Hopa Hemşinlis from Çamlıhemşin to the district around Hopa and the events following the Russo-Turkish War happened in times at least a hundred years ago. As I stated in the former sections, these events are recreated in the present time and used to negotiate the ethnic origins of the Hemşinlis and Hemşinlis as an ethnic community.

Another collectively referred process rather than an event is the migration of the Hopa Hemşinlis from the highland villages to the Hopa town center. This process is highly related to the changes in the economic subsistence of the Hopa Hemşinlis, which changed from 1950s on, animal husbandry leaving its place mainly to tea cultivation.

This section covers the processes in which Hopa Hemşinlis have been living through rather than presenting the "pasts" remaining in long far times. Furthermore, this section particularly aims to fill the gap between the hegemonic Turkish national history and the lived experiences of the Hopa Hemşinlis taking the process of change in the economic subsistence, the settlement in the Hopa town center at the center, which I believe have significant roles on the construction of Hemşinli identity today as well as on the maintenance/lost of the frequently attributed components of this identity such as Hemşin language, "yayla" practices (mountain pastures), marriage practices etc.

I believe that the analysis of this process, which is actively and commonly referred to in the discourse of the Hopa Hemşinlis enables us to understand not only the experiences of the "ordinary" Hemşinli persons throughout the modernization and industrialization processes but also the changing relationship of the Hopa Hemşinlis with

the state and state institutions and also how they contributed/opposed to the Turkish national project and how they have been affected by this process in turn.

The natural environment of the region around Hopa has a great factor determining the social and economic structure of the region. Hopa is located on the eastern Turkish Black Sea coast. The land climbs sharply from the sea level in the coastal areas up into the steep and rough mountains. The hillsides are all well watered and green with trees. The climate is mild and wet, getting warm in the summer. There is usually annual snowfall in winter. Mountain pastures known as “yaylas” occupy the open spaces above the tree line.

This natural environment played a very important role on the economic and social practices of the Hopa Hemşinlis, and on the strategies they adopted to live on. They were mostly known as pastoralists and their practice of transhumance although changed dramatically, and about to come to close. In the summer, they took their flocks to "yaylas" located around Şavşat or Ardahan.⁹¹

Since the livelihood depended upon animal husbandry and agriculture, they were settled in the highland villages of Hopa and grew the food (mostly corn, and beans) they would use to live on during the year. However, these "old subsistence-oriented economies" have been ceased to a great extent with the introduction of tea as a cash crop from 1950s on and with the developments emerged through modernization such as increasing transportation, and education (Beller-Han, 2007, p. 340). As the education rates increased, and as tea cultivation provided Hopa Hemşinlis with more income, other ways of subsistence emerged, Hopa Hemşinlis started to settle in downtown, though they still retained their houses in the villages, which they use in summer times and in tea harvest periods. 85 year-old Hemşinli man, Hüsni, describes all this process of changing life style succinctly in the excerpt below:

⁹¹ Hopa Hemşinlis go to different regions for their summer pastures. Some go to Bilbilan, Xan, Tagvet, Fatma Çayır, Zengini Yurt Yaylas around Ardahan; some go to Medzler (Büyükoba), Vayiler/Bağedak (Küçükoba), Vacoğliler, Nallıpar, Yığılı, Ardala, Susuzyurt, Sarıçayır in the region of Şavşat and some to Topaloğlu in the region of Murgul. Some yayla names take their name from the family names.

H: the grandfathers of our grandfathers came around here. In the times when there was poverty they cultivated, they herd sheep and goat. Then they clear land there, they build places for the shepherd and for themselves to stay. The Laz came and fished, they settled near the coast. The Hemşinlis, they herded sheep. Wherever they could herd the sheep. They built houses there. They established villages there. These all migrated here, Laz people, as well. Then there were many villages here. At these times a child at the age of fifteen or sixteen could not go downtown. There was brutality here. At the lower lands (downtown) there were Laz people all. At the upper lands there were Hemşinlis. Now I tell you. (The Laz) used to live around the coastline. (The Hemşinlis) used to live by shepherd at the booms of the mountains. They used to live there. Well, we could not go downtown. They (The Laz) used to beat us. Well, the Laz and Hemşinlis were very different then. The Hemşinlis did not like the Laz, and the Laz did not like the Hemşinlis. It was like that then. Now the Hemşinlis are all over the downtown. The Laz migrated. The ones who became rich left the town. Hemşinlis are all over the town now. (...) ⁹² (Hüsni, 85, Hopa)

In the above excerpt, Hüsni gives us a short summary of the economic history of Hopa Hemşinlis as well as social relations with the Laz. From his account, we understand that the main livelihood of the Hemşinlis was animal husbandry and the Hemşinlis used to live around the upper lands around Hopa. The population in the town center of Hopa was heavily comprised of Laz people while the one in the highlands of the Hemşinlis. However, this demographical structure changes over time and Hemşin people start to settle in the center of Hopa from 1945-50s on, which still continues today.

⁹² *Original:*

L: dedelerimizin dedesi gelmiş buralara gelmişler orda fakırluk zamaninde tarla ekmişler koyun koyun otamışler keçi otamışler ondan sora buyütmişler orasını tutmuşler orda keçilere orda kalacak yer yapmışler ondan sora kendilerine ev yapmışler lazlar gelmişler denizden baluk tutmuşler aşağılarda oturmuşler hemşinliler onlar koyun otamışler koyun nerde otlay ise ise orda ev yapmışler orasını köy yapmışler bunlar gelmedur hepsi lazlar da oyledur gelmedurler ahaaa ondan sora tabi bunlar burda çok köy var bi tene genç çocuk on beş on alti yaşinde on yedi yaşında çocuk köyden kalkıp da çarşıya inemeyidi burda vahşilik vardı lazlarlan bu aşağıda bu aşağıki tarafta hep laz bole usti bole hemşin aha işte sana söyledim işte baluklan yaşamışler deniz kıyısında onlar da koyunlen yaşamışler eteklerde dağlarda koyunlerlen orda kalmışlar ahaaa biz ineymeydik buraya bizi doveydiler işte hemşinle laz ayrıydı o zaman hemşinliler lazları beğenmezdi lazlar da xemşinliyi beğenmezdi ha şimdi o zaman oyle şimdi hemşinliler çarşıyı aldı lazlar samsuni geçti aşa biraz zengin olan mengin olan memleketi terketti gitti oburleri de hemşinliler doldiler moldiler çarşı oldu hemşinlinin bugün şu anda (...)ahaaa neyse sora koyverduk ordan çarşıya on alti yaşinde 1944 te çarşıye indim ben bak 44 on alti yaşinde

As we noted before, in addition to the animal husbandry, cultivation of maize was a very common activity for the means of life of Hemşinlis. In the excerpt below, an 82 year-old Hemşinli woman, Sultan describes how they were working in the maize fields.

S: In the past, during "meci"⁹³, we went to harvest maize. In these times we were singing work songs. We were frequently singing orti.⁹⁴ We were collectively work in maize fields. We were cultivating maize. In maize fields we used to sow maize, we used to grub. We were having big meci in our village. You come, your neighbor's daughter comes, this girl comes, that girl comes, this man comes, and we become thirty people there on the field. You are done on this field in a day. And tomorrow, you go on somebody else's field. We were singing "hemo". "Perge hedra inçesnoğes hedra vegannoğes" (You will lower the digger all together, you will raise the digger all together)⁹⁵

<i>Hey hey hey yamo Ağastiyi koşalum</i>	<i>... let's run through Ağasti</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo karli daği aşalum</i>	<i>...let's climb over the mountains</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo sen bulut ol ben yağmur</i>	<i>...you be the clouds and me the rain</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo yağarken kavuşalum</i>	<i>...let's meet when it's raining</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo çala çançiler ensun</i>	<i>...let the dry leaves be brought</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo axorun kapisina</i>	<i>...in front of the barn</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo kiti kiti oynasun</i>	<i>...let her dance kiti kiti</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo tarlanun ortasina</i>	<i>...in the middle of the field</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo baluk tuttum elune</i>	<i>...I caught fish for him</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo tavaladum yağile</i>	<i>...I fired the fish with oil</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo nasıl gunler geçurdum</i>	<i>...what hard days I had</i>
<i>Hey hey hey yamo dertli ağlamaile</i>	<i>...with sorrow crying</i>

(Sultan, 82)

⁹³ Collective work, "imece" in Turkish, "gor" in Hemşince, "meci" in Hemşin Turkish accent.

⁹⁴ "Orti" means child in Hemşince but it is used while Hemşinlis speak Turkish as well functioning as a discourse marker.

⁹⁵ *Original:*

S: avalde mecide şeyde xarmana gittiyduk misir misir misir o zaman da meci için turki atayirdık çok mecide çok oluyurdu orti misir mecisina gideyirduk xarman mecisine misir doldirurduk doldirurduk haydi bakalum bir meci şeyidi kazimak yapayirdılar büyük meci yapayirdılar bizum köyde tarla şimdi sen gelursin konkşinun kızisin sen gelursin sen gelursin o adam gelur bu adam gelur bu delikanlu gelur bu kız gelur boyle otuz kişi oluruz o tarlayi bir gunde biturirsun kurtarirsun ahaa yarun da sen yaparsin o oyle tarlada çalışurken hemo veriyurduk perge hedra inçesnoğes hedra vegannoğes (kazmayı birlikte indireceksin birlikte kaldıracaksın)

In her account, Sultan describes the old days with hard work after she states that they were working on the maize fields. We see that they were working collectively on the fields and help each other to finish the work earlier. Then she describes how they collectively worked. She adds that while they were working, they were singing all together. After she states that they sang hemo, she goes on in Hemşince. She states that the digger should be raised and lowered all together, so that they could proceed all together. "Hemo" is the name given to the working songs they sing. While "hey hey hey yamo" part is the repeat part the remaining sections might change. Then she sings an examplar Hemo for us.

Sultan goes on telling her life from her youth on. The accounts of the works she did, the hard working conditions structure her story. We do not observe the same patterning of life stories in younger generations. As I will present in the following sections, these days of hard work and economical difficulties turns into romanticized nostalgia in the stories of younger generations. This is highly related to the proportion of engagement in the modern way of life. In the excerpt below Sultan tells us what kind of work she and her family used to do before and after her marriage.

S: In my family's house I had very difficult days with the animal husbandry. We were always dealing with the animals. We had 12-13 cows in my family's house, a herd of goat, a herd of sheep. I don't know if you know sheep. I dealt with them; we passed the time with them. I grew up like this. With my uncle, I grazed the sheep. I herded them. I went on maize fields. I had hard day in my family's house. I came here (her husband's house) I work hard here as well. We did not have anything. We clear-cut lands, and we planted tea bushes. We earned money. We increased the tea bushes. I worked a lot orti. I used to harvest tea in the field, I used to load the tea on the donkey, and I used to hold the reign of the cow in one hand, and at the same time hump the basket. If I had not worked that hard could he (referring to her husband) work in the Alim (Tea gathering place of the state officials or private tea factories)? He was a worker at the Alim. In the mornings he used to help me a little and he used to go then. For me, tea harvesting!⁹⁶ Sultan, 82)

⁹⁶ *Original:*

S: babamun evunde onlar ilen mal ilen çektum hep mal ilen gezduk inek on iki on uç tane inek babamun evinda iki tane at bi yatak keçi bi yatak koyin bilur misin bilmem koyuni tanir misun onlarilen uğraştuk bu yaşı geçirduk o zaman ben mali malda böyümüşim bi ama benum gel kuzilari topla gel kuzilari topla heeep kuzi toplamişim keçileru şeyleri ko toplamişim gotirmişim misir kazmışim o şeyde evde ben orti babamun

In this excerpt of Sultan, we not only see that Hemşinlis were doing animal husbandry and cultivation of maize as a livelihood but also the description of the process of the transition to tea production as their economic subsistence in the region. In her account, we see that when she got married, they had not had much subsistence to live on until they made cuttings and planted tea bushes in the lands they held. In addition to the hard working conditions she had to bear, she tells us that her husband was working at the "Alim" place. This account is very significant as it shows us presents us with the short summary of the history of tea in the region and the developments tea industry brought into the region and hence the Hopa Hemşinlis' adaptation to Turkish national modernization project.

Beller Hann and Hann traces the history of tea production in the regions around Rize. The first experiments of tea production starts in 1920s in the religions around Rize. By the end of 1930s, promising results were obtained and several small-scale factories were established by the end of 1930s. In 1940, with the law the Ankara parliament passed tea cultivation developed rapidly under the state control. However, after 1950, under the newly elected Democrat Party government with liberal policies, tea production spreads rapidly throughout the region.

This date is in accordance with the years our informants estimate for the beginning of tea production in Hopa. They tell that in the beginning of 1960s there were certainly tea lands. I think that depending on the economic conditions of the families, tea production increased gradually and today it still continues. Beller Hann and Hann also state that many people converted their former maize fields to tea bushes. They planted tea bushes in the new lands they cleared. We observe the same situation in case of the Hopa Hemşinlis as we see in Sultan's account and they were cleaning new lands for tea plantation. Some families convert the small gardens near their house into tea gardens even today in Hopa.

evde çeke çeke geldum burda da çektim ben boyle çok çalışmışım bişey yoğida ortada heç bişeyimiz yoğidi tarlada çay topladum ee eşeğe bindirdum ineğun da ipini tutardum boyle gelurdum gene sepet arkamda ben cesur olmasam o alimi? olacak miydi senun babanın o alimda çalışabilecek miydi alimde işçiydi sabahlari biraz yardum edeyirdi bana gideyirdi ahaa çay toplama

Beller-Hann and Hann also signal that the state built the tea factories and trained the workforce needed to operate them by 1950s. Hence, tea industry along with the tea production income brought new opportunities, such as new labor positions at the factories to the people of the region (Beller-Hann & Hann, 2001, p. 49-50). We also observe this in Sultan's account. While she deals with the animals and the tea production, her husband works at "Alim" place. We see that tea industry provided the men of the region with new job opportunities although most of the time seasonal for tea bushes yield three or four times from May to mid September in each summer.

I think that tea industry, by providing the people of the region with the profit more favorable than the maize production had great impact on the movement of Hopa Hemşinlis down to the town center. During these decades the modernization project of the Turkish Republic was potently disseminating throughout the country having exceeded the reforms at the center (Beller-Hann & Hann, 2001, p. 38). Also influential on the movement was the spread of schools, roads, electricity, television and the developments in transportation on this movement, which in turn prepared the grounds for the assimilation of Hopa Hemşinlis. We see that settlement in the downtown Hopa not only increased the relationships with the Laz people who used to constitute the majority of the population in Hopa town center but also the relationship of the Hopa Hemşinlis with the state and state institutions. This for Hopa Hemşinlis meant to be involved more and engaged more in the Turkish modernization project highly due to the increased schooling opportunities in town center and hence change the older way of life.

Moreover, Hemşin region is known to have timber production and industry since during the early 1870s (Simonian, 2007, p. 85). One of my informants, Nazım born in 1934, was a truck driver. He states that he became an assistant driver in 1949 and got his driving license in 1951. According to his account a few Hemşin men started to work in transportation sector in 1936 transporting timber production. During that time, until 1960 there were only a handful trucks in Artvin. He further states that it was only after 1960s that truck driving became an occupation in Hopa. Hopa, being the last town before the Georgian border, serves the transit route across the mountains towards Iran. Nazım states that after 1973, transportation to Iran started. These years there was a truck in front of almost every house in Hopa. Though this statement of Nazım might seem to be an

exaggeration, that there is at least one man in each family working as a truck driver now in Hopa indicates that the number of men working as truck driver these years should have been quite high. In 1988, Sarp Border Gate at the border between Turkey and Georgia was opened. This resulted in great increase in the transportation practices to Georgia, Armenia, Kazakistan, and so. All these developments had great impact on the Hopa Hemşinli's settlement in the downtown and also being affected by it in turn. Lütfü, a 54-year-old Hemşinli man, very succinctly, describes this movement brought by the mentioned developments as well as causing them to increase in turn.

L: As I said before, the Hemşinlis came to downtown quite late in the late 1950s, in 1960s. The majority, ninety nine percent was in the villages. I mean we came to downtown gradually in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and after 1980s. (...) As we came to downtown gradually, we started to live together with the Laz. Before they prevent us coming to downtown. We had problems. The center of the town belonged to them. The villages belonged to us. I mean we had the mountains, and they had the center, the coastal line. The mountains were ours. Then we came down and down. (...) In 1980s, they started to do commerce here in Hopa with this harbor. They made importation from Europe and so in the Hopa harbor. I mean our society was herdsman. When they met this work, they left that work (animal husbandry) and started to become drivers.

N: Do they start to be drivers in the 1980s?

L: From 1970s through the 1980s, they started to be drivers. Everybody bought a truck, started to do commerce. They saw that they could not earn their lives in the mountains anymore, that this work is hard and they jumped into the city centers, to industrial society and the things it brought such as schooling, job opportunities. We came to the city in that period.

N: Being a driver is still very common no?

L: This lorry-driving period has ended. Now transportation with big trucks started. I mean now Hemşinlis are in transportation sector. Everybody started to have a job. They became drivers, small market owners, and bakers. Whoever sold their shepherd could do something else in the city. I mean in Hopa fifty percent is now Hemşinli, maybe you can say sixty percent.⁹⁷ (Lütfü, 1954)

⁹⁷ Original:

L: baya bizimkiler hopaya geç indiler işte dediğim gibi elli beş atmışlı yıllarda felan çoğunlukla hepsi yüzde doksan dokuzu köydeydi işte yavaş yavaş atmış atmış beş yetmişli yıllar seksen beşten sonra indik biz merkeze (...) öyle öyle o yetmişli yıllarda indikçe aşa burda hopada lazlarla birlikte olduk daha önce bizi indirmiyolardı işte sorunlar vardı aramızda çarşı çarşı onlarındı köyler bizimdi yani dağlar bizimdi merkez onlarındı dere deniz kıyısı onlarındı dağlar bizimdi ondan sora indik biz indik (...) şimdi seksen döneminde hopa biraz şey ticarete atıldı bu liman davasıyla ordan ithal ediyolardı

In this account of Lütfü, we see the depiction of gradual process of settlement in downtown Hopa with references to the changes in the subsistence of the people. He states that while Hemşinlis were herdsman in the mountains they got different jobs as they settled in the downtown. We also see that what Lütfü presents us with regarding the development of economic subsistence is in accordance with Nazım's story and Beller-Hann and Hann's observations.

Beller-Hann and Hann states that the major contribution of the Turkish state to the development of this region was "to transform this backward peasant economy into one in which the majority of households became prosperous through planting their land with tea bushes and selling the fresh leaves for cash, three or four times in each summer to the state" (Beller-Hann and Hann, 2001, p. 48). This observation is true for the Hemşinlis in Hopa region. However, we cannot claim that tea industry became the only means of subsistence in the region and animal husbandry in the "yaylas", peasant economy ended. The traditional patriarchal extended family structure of former times in the region and the fact that tea production necessitates work only during the summer time enabled Hopa Hemşinlis to continue animal husbandry and the men do other work such as driving in the following decades, even after the beginning of tea production. The following excerpt from Gülgün, who is a 55 year-old Hemşinli woman, describes the "yayla" practice in the past and the present as well as indicates that the traditional peasant economy and tea industry continued in a synchronized way for years.

işte avrupadan vesaire geliyodu hopa limanına işte bizim toplum çobandı o işi görünce o işi bıraktılar şoförlüğe vurdular

N: seksenlerde mi oluyo şoförlük

L: yetmişler seksenli yıllara doğru öyle şoförlüğe vurdular herkes eline bi araba aldı herkesin evinde ticarete atıldılar artık o dağlardan ekmek gelmiyeceğini artık bu işin zor olduğunu şehir merkezine doğru sanayi toplumuna doğru atılmaya başladılar bu okuluyla olsun iş hacmiyle olsun işte bu tarafa doğru yönlendiler hepsi herkes artık şehre indik o ara

N: hala şoförlük çok şey ama değil mi yaygın

L: o kamyonculuk dönemi bitti işte şimdi tır filoları ortada tır başladı tır yani nakliye sektöründe bizim toplum işte bizinkiler fırıncı oldular işte aşçı oldular yani o eskiden işte yetmişli yıllara kadar çobandık ondan sonra açıldık şoför olduk meslek eğitimi aldık hepsinin hepsi artık herkesin meslek edinmeye başladı şoför oldu fırıncı oldu işte ne bilim bakkal çakkal parası olan koyununu satan bişeyler yapabildi şehirde yani hopada yüzde ellisi hemşinlidir belki de yüzde atmış da diyebilirsiniz

G: Let me talk about the old days, about animal husbandry, yaylas. They were good. We climb up the yaylas. How do we do? For example, we take dishware, whatever we have, the mattresses, and food. We load them on the truck. There are stone houses in the yayla. We cover the ceiling, the floor is soil based. We build high wooden places to sleep in the houses. We put the mattresses on these places. Long ago there were oil lamps, then we had gas lamps. We take them to the yaylas. It is very nice in our yayla. There are sheep and cows. It is prairie there. They have houses on the prairie. They live there for two months.

N: When did you go to yayla last time?

G: It's been a long time. My mother's family went there, I could not go this year. I also want to go. I will make yayla I say. We haven't made yayla for years. Our house is destructed there. I tell Yaşar that I will make yayla.

N: Well, when do you go to yayla? Around April?

G: When June comes. In June we go. For instance, this year they had Ramazan fest there and afterwards came back. Everybody goes to yayla. Well, in the past they gave up going to yaylas for a period. Now again everybody started to like yayla. They adore yayla now. Well, it is like vacation now. Everybody, everybody. You go there, eat and drink.

N: Do the young go as well?

G: The young go by car. They eat and drink. You should eat meat in yayla. Yaylas are famous for sheep yoghurt.

N: Is your yayla close to here

G: It is not that far. If you go now by car you reach there in two hours, maybe in three hours. I am not sure. Once, my nephew in law had a fight there. There are Kurds in our yayla. On one side of the yayla we live and on the other side, the Ardahan side, Kurds live. The children had quarrel among themselves. While they were throwing stones, one hit on my mother-in-law's eye. She became blind in one eye.

N: wow, well, do they still have such things?

G: No, in the past there were a lot of fights but now there isn't any.

N: Were you in the yayla as well?

G: No, I was here. The grandma was in the yayla with the children. It was tea harvest time. We go there when we finish the tea harvest.⁹⁸ (Gülgün, 55)

⁹⁸ Original:

G: eskiden malciliktan yayladan mayladan konuşayım onlar güzel ol yaylaya çıkıyoz nasıl çıkıyoz biz mesela kap kaşuk ne varsa arabaya yüklüyöz yatağidur yiyeceğudur giyeceğudur yaylada taştan evler var onların üstünü orteruz altı toprak boyle yuksekten yatak yerlerini yapmışız boyle tahtadan oraya yatakları sereruz eskiden fitilli lamba varidi ondan sonra lukusler var onlari getururiz yaylada çok iyi bizim yaylalar koyunlar inekler boyle dumduzdür yayla çimenluk dumduz boyle duzin içinde oturuyolar iki ay oturuyolar orda

N: sen en son ne zaman gittin yaylaya

In this account, Gülgün herself offers to talk about the past. The old days for her are about animal husbandry, summer pastures. She refers to these as good events. She then describes how the movement to "yaylas" is done. She states that they take the necessary kitchenware, mattresses to sleep and some food and leave for "yayla" by lorries. She then describes the houses in "yaylas".

In "yaylas" the houses are very small covered with plastic tent on the ceiling and with soil-based floor. Usually there are two rooms; one is used for keeping the food, the other for sleeping. People take the minimal household objects to yayla houses. There is no electricity in Hemşin "yaylas". As Gülgün points out, they use gas lamps. While there are other "yayla" groups, which have electricity in recent years, Hemşinlis told me that they do not want to have electricity in their "yaylas" since without electricity yayla remains as it was. For spending their summer vacations, recently some people built modern houses in the "yaylas". Since Hemşinlis do not want electricity they use power plant only for their house.

As Gülgün states in recent years, "yaylas" became a center of interest again. Nowadays, while some Hemşinlis go to "yaylas" for spending their vacation, most of the

G: çok oldi bu sene de gidemedim annemler yaylaya gittiler ben gidemedim bu yıl bu sene de gidemedim ben da istiyom yani yapacağım diyom yaylayı kaç sendur yapmamışız yıkılmış duvarı muvarı yaşara diyom ki yapacağım yayla diyom

N: şey ne zaman yaylaya gidiyorsunuz nisan gibi mi

G: mayıs ayı bitti mi hazirana haziran ayında haziranda gidiyoz mesela bu sene ramazan bayramını yaylada yaptılar yaylada yaptılar ondan sonra geldiler herkes gider yaylaya şimdi önceden bi ara biraktiler şimdi herkes yine yaylaya tapan tapındı mesela şey tatil gibi yayla herkes herkes yaylaya gider yersin içersin N: gençler de gidiyorlar mı

G: gençler gider arabayla taksiyle yeyup içip geliyolar yaylada et yiyeceksin koyun yoğurdu meşhurdur yaylada

N: yakın mı sizin yayla buraya

G: pek uzak değil a şimdi özel arabayla iki saatte gidersin iki üç saat sürer mi bilmem bi sene orda kaynımın oğlı kavga yapıyodular da kürtler var bizum bi tarafında biz oturuyosak bi tarafında kürtler oturuyo da ardahan tarafında onlar işte çocuklar birbiriyle dalaşmış taş taşlarken kaynanamın gözüne taş gelmiş gözünü kaybetti oyle kavga mavga kaynanami aldiler geldiler gözünü kaybetti bi gözi görmüyodu

N: wooww. şey hala oluyo mu öyle çekişmeler falan

G: yok şimdi yok eskiden çok olırdı da şimdi yok şimdi yok

D: sen de yaylada mıydın

G: yok ben burdaydim dede babanne yaylaydaydı çocuklarile çay zamanıydı mesela yazın çay haricinde gidiyoz mesela çay bitiyoy yaylaya

elderly go there for fresh cool air, for they cannot stand the wet and humid warm weather conditions in Hopa.

However, some elderly still go to "yaylas" with few cows and continue to make "yayla". In fact, as we noted before, having "yayla" as its real form or not highly depends on the family population in Hopa. For instance, Gülgün states that she has not gone to "yayla" for years. The reason for this is that Gülgün's mother-in-law and father-in-law died many years ago. Mostly, when June comes and schools end, grandmas and granddads head for "yaylas" with their grandchildren. The young stay in the villages to harvest tea. The majority of the young men, who are mostly drivers, are already at work on the roads. When a family does not have the elderly, "yayla" activity directly ends for some period until, the young become older.

Gülgün's account supports this observation as well. Through the end of her account, she states that when Kurdish children threw a stone at her mother-in-law's eye, she was in the village for it was tea harvest time.⁹⁹ Therefore, we see that since for many times, at least since the start of tea production, the elderly has been going to "yayla" continuing the tradition of "yayla" with children though about to cease these days, the younger generation stays in the villages or in town center harvesting tea or working.

We see that two very different types of means of subsistence go together thanks to the large family structure of the Hemşinlis as well as since both means of subsistence are seasonal. Being very much related to the beginning of tea-production, the decrease in the "yayla" practices carries utmost significance since "yaylas" were the spaces in which Hemşin traditions were being practiced, as well as in which Hemşin children learn Hemşin language. However, we might also state that while tea industry causes the traditional peasant economy based on animal husbandry decrease on the one hand, it also

⁹⁹ In fact, this story is very interesting in terms of the relations of Hemşinli pastors with Kurdish pastors. The yayla where Gülgün's family go is Tagvet in Bilbilan Yaylaları, which very close to Ardahan. In the past, Hemşinli and Kurdish pastors had conflicts in sharing the yayla lands and the issue was even taken to the gendarme and then to the courts. Finally, the conflict was solved and presently a natural border, a water stream, separates Tagvet and Qızetemel Yaylas. While Kurds continue their yaylas as their basic economic subsistence, Hemşinlis who go to yayla have a few cows, which provide them little dairy products. Therefore, presently Hemşinlis buy dairy products for winter from the Kurds. In some cases, they exchange tea with cheese, or butter.

presents the grounds for the continuation of it though small in proportion. It might be proposed that tea production with the developments it brought and as an industrial practice would lead to an end in the pastoral practices, and peasant life. However, because of the very position of this industry, which are the village's tea production functions as a binder between the peasant life and modern industrial economy and life. Many Hopa Hemşinlis, especially the young generation whose grandparents still live in Hopa, who settled in the town center or who migrated to big cities like Bursa, Kocaeli, Istanbul, Eskişehir, and Ankara for educational or economic reasons go back to Hopa in the tea harvest season.

We have stated that yayla practices decreased a lot among Hemşinlis and people mostly go to yaylas for vocational reasons. However, this is true only when we make a generalization statistically. There are still families who go to yaylas regularly, although they also have tea lands and men working in transportation sector. The excerpt below from a 72-year old Hemşinli woman, Şariye supports this claim as well as presenting us with an extensive description of the yayla practices from her young age on and how this past is perceived by her and her generation generally.

Ş: Well, orti. What hard days we have experienced. We used to go to yayla. We used to go by van to the yayla. At night we could not go on travelling and we stayed on the road at night. Then the following day we used to reach the yayla. It is like this.

N: Were you going to the yayla by van?

Ş: Yes, we used to go by van. There was a place. We used to stop there. There were horses. The horses came. We used to ride the horses and go to the yayla. We used to have animals. My father had animals and these (referring to her husband's family) had so. We were working very hard. We always work. What else should I tell?

N: Do you still have a house in the village? Do you go to yayla now also?

Ş: Kaspazi!¹⁰⁰We have a house in the village. Would not we? We still climb up the yayla. We still climb. Now I climb. Now I am comfortable. I only have one cow. We sold our herd. When you have herd you have a lot of work. Milk, cheese; these are good but you have to take care of the animals, there is a lot work. I have a cow. I go to the yayla. There I make sixty kilos of dairy production. Have you eaten my cheese? It is so good. I will give you some. Eat.

N: Okay.

¹⁰⁰ Kaspazi (Ka-Aspats, Woman-God), Hemşince: surprise exclamation.

Ş: Yes I go to the yayla and I like it. The children do not come anymore. I go there with my husband. I also buy everything we need. I buy twenty-five kilos of butter. We also buy some milk. We buy them from the neighbor yayla. We make yoghurt with this milk. We call it "polama". You don't know "polama"?

N: Is it tulum cheese?¹⁰¹

Ş: We also make tulum cheese. But "polama" is different. We boil ewe milk and mix it at the same time. It is solidified. Then we add bread pieces, maize bread. It is delicious. Now, my cow is very nice. God bless my cow. It is a good cow. Last year we milked it a lot. This year we could not. But in yayla we made three bins of tulum cheese. Yes, we have lived like this erti.¹⁰² (Şariye, 72)

For Şariye, the past when they used to earn their lives through animal husbandry is associated with hard-working and hard life conditions similar to Sultan whose life history is structured with the hard work they used to do. Şariye states that they used to be

¹⁰¹ A very sharp and salty cheese wrapped in goatskin.

¹⁰² Original:

Ş: e erti neler çekmişüz yaylaya gideyurdik arabayla gideyirdük yaylaya gece yolda kaliyurdik arabeyle ondan sonra obur gün yaylaya ulaşıyurdik ya oyle işte

N: yaylaya arabayla mı gidiyodunuz

Ş: he gideyurdik yaylaya arabeyle orda bi yer varidi orda ineyirdük ordan atlar geliyurdi atlar yayladan geliyurdi biz atlara binip geideyurdik yaylaya malumuz varidi o zaman babamın da malı varidi bunların da mali varidi çalışmak da çok varidi işte ço çalışıyurdük daha ne diyeyim

N: köyde eviniz var mı hala yaylaya gene çıkıyo musunuz

Ş: kaspazi köyde evimiz var ya ne çıkayruz çıkayruz hala çıkayruz şimdi çıkayrum şimdi rahatım da malum bi ineğüm var malum yok malumizi sattuk gitti o malun işi çok çekilür şey suti güzeldür da peyniri da güzeldür çok şey o bakmak lazım iş çok var bi ineğüm var gideyirüm orda bak atmış kilo katik yapayirüm bi inekten benim katuğumi yemiş misun o kadar güzeldür ki bigün ye bi tabağilen vereyim ye

N: tamam

Ş: aha işte gideyirüm yaylaya da rahat oluyorum çocuklar da gelmeyi şimdi ben ihtiyarlen gideyrum ihtiyarla alıyirüm ne ki lazım oluyo alıyirüm yirmi beş kilo tereyağı alıyirüz biraz da sut alıyurüz sut da satayılar komşu yayladan alayirüz yoğurt koyarüz polama deyirüz polama bilmeyisun

N: tulum peyniri mi

Ş: tulum peyniri da yapayirüz o polama suti koyun suti aha böyle karıştiryurüz karıştiryurüz işte o ki o biraz katılır mi ekmeği doğrayirüz misir ekmeğini çok güzel olur

Ş: koyun sutuni böyle ateşin üstüne koyarüz böyle tencereyle böyle karıştıruruyurüz biraz kati olur o zaman o misir un ı ekmeği doğrarüz içine yerüz şimdi çok güzeldür benim ineğim allah razi olsun çok iyi inek geçen sene çok sağduk bu sene az sağildi gene gittük i tulum doldurdük üç bidon doldurdük ah oldi gitti işte yetti bize oyle niyapayim oyle böyle işte geldük bu ana erti

able to climb up the "yaylas" in at least two days. To my question if they had a house in the village, she gets very surprised and states that of course they had a house. This might mean that not having a house in the village is still not a common thing among Hopa Hemşinlis. In Şariye's account we also see that although going to "yayla" is no longer a significant source of economic subsistence, it still continues providing the Hemşinlis with some of their dairy needs such as cheese and butter for the winter.

We have seen that the natural environment in the regions around Hopa sets up the socio-economic structures for Hopa Hemşinlis. Settled in the higher lands around the region, Hopa Hemşinlis basically did animal husbandry. Summer pastures and cultivation of maize were the main means of life for Hopa Hemşinlis in the past. With the developments brought by modernization, transportation industry and tea production the economic and social structure of the region has been transformed though in a way specific to the region. I have also claimed that family structure had great impact on this specific way of transformation. Meanwhile, Hopa Hemşinlis who were settled in the higher lands of the coastal Hopa, moved to downtown Hopa as their economic condition allowed them to do. The settlement in the downtown set the grounds for more schooling and hence more engagement in Turkish modernization. The families that have houses in the village, in the yayla, and in the town center live in these houses seasonally. In winter period when the schools are open, they live in the downtown, in tea harvest time during the summer the younger generation spend most of the time in the village while the elderly with children live in the yaylas. As for the Hemşinlis who still live in the villages, they desire to settle in the downtown Hopa with aspirations for a more comfortable life and better schooling opportunities for their children.

All the accounts and descriptions presented above depicts us the changes and transformations in Hemşin way of life and how Hopa Hemşinlis reacted to the Turkish modernization project. We see that while Hopa Hemşinlis have been engaged into the life modernization and industrialization brought into their community and adopted this way of life by cancelling or at least decreasing many of their cultural practices as well as speaking Hemşin language, thanks to the very form of tea industry they still have the bounds with these "older" way of life practices. However, decrease in former way of life does not mean that Hopa Hemşinlis have totally been assimilated. This is a process rather

than an abrupt change and whether these "older" practices will be continued or not highly depends on how Hopa Hemşinlis will react to these changes. As I have stated in the former chapters, the fear of losing Hemşinli traditions, language, "yayla" practices is already felt by many Hopa Hemşinlis and identity politics has been increasing among the young Hemşinlis. What they will do will be determining how this process will go on.

For this section we have generally presented the accounts of the older generations. However, most probably thanks to the extended family structure, and since all these transformations happened gradually in the last fifty years and since the process still continues, most of the young Hemşinlis depict the same picture in their accounts as their grandparents. Below is an intriguing narration of these developments as well as the current picture by a young Hemşinli man, Yaşar.

N: Can you talk about your life a little? For instance, your father's grandfather. Do you know his name? How they were living? Do you have stories told to you?

Y: Well, all of them in our village, our village is Başoba (Xigoba). We were born in Başoba village. My grandfather was born in there also. My grand grandfather's name is Şükrü Akbıyık. He was doing animal husbandry there. In the past there was only, according to what my father told, maize. They were producing maize and they were doing animal husbandry. The tea lands we have today were not there. All the lands were maize fields. Everybody was cultivating maize, and selling maize. It is downtown here. They came here and sold maize. They were making living out of this. They were doing animal husbandry. They were going even to Batumi, they were staying there to graze the animals. When it was very dry here and since everywhere there was maize, they could not graze the animals here. They were taking them to "inside" (Hopa Hemşinlis call Georgia "inside"). For instance, here when may comes everybody climbs up the yaylas. In yaylas they graze sheep. As life changed animal husbandry decreased, they started to do lorry driving. In 1990s there was this transportation thing to Iran. Yes, lorry driving, animal husbandry, maize and after that tea. Maize had gone. Corn bread had gone, white bread came. They started to produce tea. Well, in the past, imagine that I have three brothers. I get married. I leave home. There was not something like that. Now, if I marry I leave home. My father does not have brothers. But my grand grandfather had two brothers. Three brothers, my father's uncle, his sons, all of them lived in the same house. I mean thirty forty people were living in the same house. When you marry you don't leave the house and have your own. People didn't have houses in the downtown anyway. Nobody could go downtown. Everybody was in the villages. Thirty forty people were living in the same house like my grand grandfather. Afterwards, after thirty forty years everybody started to leave their father's home. They shared the

tea lands. Well, for example, if my tea land is here I build my house near the land. Since my uncle's land is far he went there taking his children to build his house. Well, in the past it wasn't like this. Now you get married you have a separate house. In the past nobody got education, there was nothing. Animal husbandry, lorry driving. The worst thing of those years was maize. In all the villages, there was maize. Here, in Başoba, in Kemalpaşa, even in Sarp, there were maize fields. Even we had maize field in Sarp. I mean from here to Sarp they used to go to cultivate maize. Their only means of life was maize. My grandmother tells, she says now there is money, you earn money. I ask my father what they used to do, how they earned their lives. Their only subsistence was a bag of maize. Can you imagine? They brought this bag here to downtown and sold it. This was the money all the family had. It was not like at the present. Nobody used to buy goods from the market. In the villages they had cucumbers, beans that they produced themselves. In the yaylas they prepared the things for winter. When summer comes as I said they were doing animal husbandry. They had cows, chicken, and hence milk, eggs, they had everything. So, the Hemşinlis did not need to come downtown to buy something. They didn't come to downtown. Twenty thirty years ago, it was like ruins here. For the last twenty years, it has developed that much. It was only after transportation companies were opened and after the (border) gate was opened that the town roused up. I mean before that everybody was in the villages. Even in my childhood, everybody was living in the villages. We went to school in the village. And the schools in the villages were crowded. I went to school in the village until second grade. I mean then there were five classrooms in the school. There were two hundred students at the school. Now it is not even twenty.

N: I see everybody is in the town now

Y: Well, yes. Now, people do not work hard for the tea production either. In the past, it was more like there was not any road. For example, we carry the tea harvest with donkeys and horses. Now as the society develops people, the peasants catch up. Now roads have been built, the peasants catch up. In the past everybody had a donkey or a horse and they carried the tea with these. No roads no nothing. There were even places where donkey could not go. People carried the tea on their backs for two-kilometer-way. Now, everywhere there is road. People give the half of the harvest to other people so that they do not work during the harvest period. Nobody works hard. They hire Georgian workers. The workers do the harvest. The contacts with the villages have been quite decreased nowadays. For instance, in summer time the village gets very crowded. When you go there in the winter, there is nobody.¹⁰³ (Yaşar, 27, Hopa)

¹⁰³ Original:

N: yaşamından biraz bahseder misin aیلenden mesela babanın büyükbabası en azından isimlerini biliyo musun nasıl yaşıyolardı hikayeler sana aktarılan

Y: ya hepsi şimdi bizim köyde şimdi biz başoba köylüyüz başoba köyünde doğmuşuz orda doğdu dedem de en büyük dedem adı şükrü akbıyık orda hep hayvancılıklarla uğraşıyordu önce hep şey vardı babamın anlattığına göre şey vardı sadece mısır ürettiyomuşlar bi hayvancılık şimdiki çay bahçeleri yokmuş hepsi mısır oluyomuş herkes

mısır ekiyomuş mısır satıyomuşlar çarşı burası tabi buraya gelip mısır satıyomuşlar ondan geçim yapıyomuş hayvancılık yapmışlar burdan batuma bile gidiyomuşlar hayvan orda bile kalıyomuşlar yani çoğu şey o bizimkiler içeri gidiyomuş orda mesela hayvancılık yapıyomuşlar orda hayvanlar bura mesela kurak olur burası hep mısır olduğu için hayvanlara burda bakamıyomuşlar içeri götürüyomuşlar içerde kalıyomuş mesela şimdi biz burda mayıs oldu mu herkes yaylaya çıkıyo yaylada koyunlara bakıyolar orda otlatıyolar şey yaşam değıştikçe hayvancılık azalmış kamyonculuk başlamış bi hani şeyde bu doksanlarda filan kamyonculuk irana yük taşıma şeyleri vardı öyle yani kamyonculuk hayvancılık mısır ondan sora çay mısır kalkmış mısır ekmeđi gitmiş beyaz ekmeđ gelmiş yani çay yapmaya başlamışlar şimdi eskiden biz şimdi mesela mesela üç kardeşim ben şimdi evlendim ben ayrılcam mesela ben evlendim ayrılcaksın o zaman öle bişi yokmuş ki mesela benim babam tek kardeş ama de dedem büyük dedem üç kardeşmiş üç kardeş babamın amcası oğulları hepsi bi evde yaşamışlar bizim köyde böyle büyük bi ev var böyle büyük herkes orda yaşıyomuş yani otuz kırk kişi bi evde olmuş öyle evlendin ayrılma yok ya çarşıda zaten kimsenin evi yoktu kimse çarşıya inemiyodu herkes köydeydi köyde de bi tane evde otuz kırk kişi yaşıyomuş mesela en büyük dedemler gibi ondan sora işte böyle otuz kırk sene sora herkes ayrılmaya başlamış yani çayları bölüşmüşler şimdi mesela atıyorum bizim bizim evin olduğu yerde bizim tarla orda amcamınki uzakta olduğu için o gitmiş orda ev yapmış o çocukları almış orıya gitmiş o orda yapmış he eskiden öle şey yok yokmuş ya şimdi evlendin ayrılıyosun kimse okumuyomuş bişey yokmuş hayvancılık kamyonculuk hayvancılık o zamanki şey hani ilk en kötü şey mısır mısır bütün köylerde mısır herkes mısır yapıyomuş burda mesela biz başobada kemalpaşa sarp oraya bile mısır tarlaları varmış bizim bile orda vardı mısır tarlamız şimdi yani ta burdan oraya bile gidip mısır ekiyomuşlar sadece mısırla geçim yapıyomuşlar babaannem anlatıyo babaannem diyo şimdi para var mesela para kazanıyosun baba diyorum napıyodunuz nası geçim yapıyodunuz bi çuval mısırla geçimlerini sağlarmış düşün işte ha o mısırı getirip burda çarşıda satıyomuşlar onunla bütün aile geçiniyomuş yani aile geçimi nası şimdiki gibi hani bakkaldan onu bunu kimse almıyodu ki evde bütün şeyler köyde var salatası fasulyesi herkes o kış şeyleri birikim yapıyomuşlar yaylada filan yazın oldu mu dediđim gibi hayvancılıkla uğraşıyomuşlar inek vardı zaten şey var tavuk süt var yođurt var yumurta var o yüzden köy köy bizim bu hemşinlilerin çarşıya inmesi gerekmiyodu inmiyodular yirmi otuz sene yani yirmi otuz sene öncesi burası şeydi yani harabe gibiydi bu yirmi senedir bu bu kadar geliştii yani bu tır şirketleri oluştuktan sonra bu kapı açıldıktan sonra burası canlandı yani ondan önce herkes köydeydi benim çocukluđumda bile herkes köyde oturuyodu biz köyde okuduk ilk okulu bi de doluydu ben ilkokul ikiye kadar köyde okudum o zaman yani beş tane sınıf vardı iki yüz kişi köyde okuyoduk biz şimdi git yirmi kişi yok

N: hıım herkes şehirleri tercih ediyö artık

Y: yani evet herkes ya kimse o kadar çayla da uğraşmıyo şimdi eskiden daha çok yani çay daha çok şeydi yol yoktu eskiden biz mesela atlarla eşeklerle çay taşıyoduk şimdi artık herkes toplum geliştikçe köylüler ayak uyduruyo ona şimdi yol yaptırılmış eskiden herkesin atı vardı eşegi vardı çayı bunlarla taşırlardı yol yok bişey yok eşek bile taşıyabilce yerden gidiyodu insanlar sırtıyla iki kilometre yol çay taşıyolardı e şimdi herkes şey yol yapmış şey yapmış bakıyom adamın çayı var onu da yarılığa veriyo ona toplatıyolar yarısı onun oluyo yarısı onun oluyo kimse fazla uğraşmıyo gürcü işi tutuyo

My sequential questions asking many things at one time should have triggered Yaşar to talk about his life since his birthday as far as he remembers. Yaşar states that his grandfather was doing animal husbandry. He states that in the past they were cultivating maize and beans. In addition, he states that there had not been tea lands before. Yaşar even has the knowledge of how in the past his grandparents were doing animal husbandry using the lands in Batumi. He then starts to talk about "yaylas" and states that all this way of life changed in time. He signals the transmission to transportation industry from animal husbandry. He describes this process very succinctly as "*Yes, lorry driving, animal husbandry, maize and after that tea. Maize had gone. Corn bread had gone, white bread came.*" Yaşar then also describes patriarchal extended family structure of the Hopa Hemşinlis, which in some families continue even today.

Yaşar describes the poverty of his ancestors during the period when they used to produce maize. He then compares these times with today presenting the developments and changes, which make people's lives easier. I think what her grandparents told him are transferred into this story directly without any romanticization of the past. What makes this account very significant and interesting is Yaşar's perception and presentation of the past in a similar way with the elderly.

Very common among the young, especially among the Hemşinlis I had interview in Istanbul is the presentation of the past as a period with good old days and the presentation of nature, pastoral life, Hemşin language and cultural practices as nice as to provide happiness to the people. How past is remembered and represented by the elderly and by the young shows a great difference, especially in the representation of agricultural activities and "yayla" practices. Most of the elderly, if not all, women start telling their life stories, stating that they used work a lot having hard times in maize fields, tea lands and yaylas. For example, in the past the use of shears for tea harvest was not allowed. All of them state their content when they allowed the use of shears and how their job became much easier. No elderly state that they miss for these days when they were working on the fields. The most commonly uttered sentence by the elderly women is "Orti, çok çekmişim" (I have worked a lot my dear!). Similarly, the marriage experiences are

ona toplatıyorlar köyde köyle alaka yani baya bi azaldı yani şimdi mesela yazın köyün her tarafı dolu oluyo kışın mesela git şimdi kimse olmuyo

remembered differently by the older and younger generations. Most of the elderly complain that they saw their husbands on the first day after they get married. However, the young represent this same past with compliments. For example, the elderly states that they had many hard days working on the fields. Moreover they start talking about their lives with depiction of these hard days. Below is the story by a 74-years-old Hemşinli woman, Peruze.

N: Can you talk about your life a little bit?

P: My father was a shepherd. He was doing animal husbandry. He used to go to yaylas. And we grew up as such. We used to cultivate maize. We were cutting prunus laurocerasus branches and carry them for the sheep to eat. Later I got married. My husband used to work in the tea factory. He is retired now. We used to work. Now it is much better than those times. We were always working and working in those times. The present time is much better than those times.

N: It is comfortable

P: Comfortable. We were drying the maize. We were working. We took the maize to the mill. We were going to the mill. We were coming back. We were always carrying woods. We were humping woods. We were making fire. Smoke was puffing. It is not like that now. Now we like "çarşı ekmeği" (market bread). There was not something like buying. We had no money. Now we live in abundance. What can I say more?

N: Did it become like this after the tea?

P: We used to pick up the tea with our hands. Now we have shears. We harvest the tea with these shears now. We hire workers. Our daughters-in-law hire workers.

(...)

N: How did you get marry

P: They took me on foot then. We went on foot. Well, one morning we walked through thorn bushes. It was a far away from our place. Now I go by car.

P: How did they find you in Başoba from Kemalpaşa.

P: It is like this. They met them and gave me. My father gave me and I went.

N: Did you get marry without knowing him?

P: I did not know him at all. I was engaged. After this he came. I used to come afterwards. I saw him at the wedding. And he used to come for seeing "nişanlı".¹⁰⁴ (Peruze, 74)

¹⁰⁴ Nişanlı görme: I will add this later. Before marriage the engaged men visit the woman secretly.

Original:

N: bana biraz hayatından bahseder misin?

P: e babam koyunculuk malcılık yapardı yaylaya gideyirdi biz da oyle buyümüşüz oyle misir kazıyirduk boyle keser taşıyirduk arkamızda karayemiş getiriyorduk koyunler için boyle ipler asayırduk ondan sora işte ben gittum evlendum beyim fabrikada çalışiyur

As we see in the account above, Peruze directly starts to talk about the work they were doing in the past. Hard work marks her story. She compares the conditions in the past and the present and states that life is much easier and better in the present. All the work in the maize fields, tea lands, animal husbandry, preparing woods and carrying them are listed by her. However, now they do not do most of these works and the works they still do are done in an easier way as we see in tea harvest. They both use shears instead of naked hands and they hire workers. Even the change of the bread they eat symbolically depicts all these changes through time. While the process of making corn bread necessitates one to cultivate maize, drying it, taking it to the mill and cooking it on the fire which is made with the wood prepared and then taken to the house eating market bread only necessitates one to go to market and buy the bread. Of course for Peruze, eating market bread is much better.

While corn bread symbolizes the older way of life, market bread, which is "white" symbolizes the modern urban life. For the older generation who are aware of the hard process of making "corn bread", "white bread" is an aspiration. For the younger generation who are born into a life style in which "white bread" is no longer difficult to

emekli oldi e biz da çalıřıyırık iřte misir řimdi o zamanki zaman řimdiki zamani daha gzel o zaman biz hep çalıřmaylen iřte çalıřmaylen çalıřmaylen bu zamana gelduk řimdiki zaman o zamandan daha gzeldur

N: rahat

P: rahat rahattur biz misir kurutuyosun çalıř deęermene gideyirduk deęirmenden geliyurduk arkamızda hep arkamızda odun tařıyurduk orda yakayurduk duman çıkayırdu řimdi oyle midur řimdi sobali aha boyle firunda ekmeęi piřurip çarşı ekmeęi seveyirduk almak para yoęudi řimdi ortaluk dolmiřtur daha ne deyim

N: çAysun sora mı byle oldu

P: çay toplayruz řimdi çay toplayruz elimizlen toplayruz elimuz da řey olirdi řimdi makas geldi o makalen toplayruz iřçi tutayırler gelinler iřçi tutayiler iřçiyle yaparuk

(...)

N: sen nası evlendin

P: beni o zaman beni ayaęilen gturdiler ayaęilen gittuk iřte bi sabah ki yurduk dikenlede uęrařtuk uzaęiduk biz uzaęuz da řimdi arabaylen gideyrum

N: nası bulmuřlar taa kemalpařadan bařobayı da seni vermiřler

P: e oyle iřte tanidiler verdiler iřte babam verdi gittum

N: sen hiç tanımadan evlendin o zaman

P: hiç tanımadan ben niřan oldum ondan sora o geldi iřte gelurdi iřte dugunda grurdum bi da gece gelurdi niřanlı grd gideyirdi

obtain, "corn bread" becomes an aspiration with all its nostalgia. As we will understand better when we see the attitudes of the elderly towards Hemşin language and Turkish, older generation is the one who appreciates what modernity and industrialization along with assimilation policies brought into Hemşinli way of life. Contrary to the older generations who are seen as the most knowledgeable ones about the Hemşin culture and language but who welcome the changes brought by modernity and industrialization such as living in the downtown, schooling, easier agricultural practices, the younger generation, born into the modern life are in the endeavor of preserving the older way of life, language and traditional cultural practices. The significant increase in the identity politics mentioned in former chapters has a role on this desire of the younger generations as well as not having experiencing the hard life conditions that their grandparents went through.

The extract below exemplifies the younger generations perception of the "same past" that their grandparents are not content with. When we compare how Peruze tells the old days with the extract below which has references to the past Peruze describes, we see that the past, which is full of hard work is romanticized and depicted as much better than present time.

D: I mean when the elderly tells the old things, the old things sound to me much more romantic much more sentimental. When I compare these with the generation of today I mean the relation with the fields, lands. We are a society the people of which like to cultivate and harvest because we obtained the food for our lives most of the time from the healthy food our grandparents cultivated. I mean, our attachment to the village, to the yayla, Well our weddings and the things we do in the weddings they are all very nice. My mother's friends say that the love we feel is not the real one. In the old days it was experienced in secret but it was more beautiful. That's why old things are better.¹⁰⁵ (Duru, 23)

¹⁰⁵ Original:

D: yani eskiler anlatınca eski şeyleri eskiler daha güzel daha romantik daha duygusal geliyo mesela anlattıkları zaman şimdiki nesille karşılaştırdığımda yani e işte toprakla olan bağımız ekip biçmeyi seven bi toplumuz çünkü besinimi çoğu yani sağlıklı hayatımızın büyük bi bölümünde dedelerimiz babaannelerimiz kendi ektiği biçtikleri besinlerle ee gıdalarını temin etmişler ya işte köye olan bağlılığımız yaylaya olan bağlılığımız işte düğünlerimiz düğünlerde yaptığımız şeyler hani çok güzel hani eski mesela derler ki mesela annemin arkadaşları falan sizin yaşadığınız sevgi aşk mıdır falan

As we see, in Duru's account, there are references to old days. The old days Peruze tells become romantic and sentimental in Duru's perception. The food Peruze obtains with arduous work becomes healthy food in Duru's account. The hard work on the field becomes attachment to lands and liking of cultivation. The romanticized wedding ceremonies and the relation between partners are much more different than what Peruze experiences, marrying without knowing her husband. The knowledge of the past of Peruze includes the experiences she had in the past, and her representation is shaped according to these experiences. As for Duru, she has the representation of the past, which she does not construct depending on her own past experiences but rather on the present context in which identity politics necessitates one to know one's past as well as to preserve the traditions which are about to cease in the modern life. The extract from a 45 year-old Hemşinli man, Erhan below, refers to some people who are worried about losing Hemşince and Hemşin culture and elaborates on the grounds why different people have different representations of past.

N: Well, you said you used to go to Istanbul frequently when you were young. Did this help you getting aware of your different ethnicity and language?

E: No, from our childhood on we knew we had another language. We knew we are a different society. We knew that. I think these people who live outside (of Hopa), I think when they come here, there are such people, who live in Kars for example. They don't speak Hemşince. They don't know they are Hemşinlis. We have such relatives. It is weird. They come and say we had a language, like Hemşince and so on. They are worried about losing the language. They tell this to us. We have grown up here. We were born in here. Since we know, we don't get worried. There isn't anything we are worried about the past, I mean about the language, about the yaylas.¹⁰⁶(Erhan, 45)

filan derler biz eskide hani gizli gizliydi ama daha güzeldi da o yüzden yani eski şeyler daha iyi

¹⁰⁶ Original:

N: peki istanbula gidip geliyomuşsunuz siz onu hatırlıyor musunuz haaa bizim de başka bi dilimiz varmış farklı bi etnik grupmuşuz falan

E: yok biz kendimizi bildik bileli biz başka bi dilimiz olduğunu başka bi toplum olduğumuzu biliyoduk yani onu biliyoduk işte bizde o sanırım dışarda bu işi dışarda oturanlar buraya geldiğinde öleleri var öleleri var şimdi karsta oturmuş hiç bilmiyor hemşinceyi hiç bilmiyor hemşinli olduğunu bilmiyo öyle akrabalarımız var onlara acayip

In this excerpt, Erhan states that some people are worried about losing Hemşin language and the traditional practices, and "yayla" practices. He states that these people are the ones who do not live in Hopa, and maybe who were not born in Hopa. He further states that since he was born in Hopa and grew up there he is not worried about these since he already experienced all these practices. What is significant here for us, as we see in the comparison of Peruze and Duru, the past is remembered and represented differently when it is experienced and might have totally different representation by the ones who don't experience it. Another reason for these different representations of the older traditional way of life between generations is that while older generations were in the endeavor of adjusting themselves in the Turkish national project, and of creating a position in the new way of life, the younger generations who are already born into modern times do not have such a concern.

However, modernization along with the social changes it brings is a process and Hopa Hemşinlis experience this process in their own way still preserving traditional way of life in scrutiny with modern life. The preservation of "yayla" practices though as a much more rare practice and in some cases in compliance with modern life, Hemşin language, the preserved bond with peasant way of life along with the life in downtown in an engagement with the state institutions with the state language, Turkish dominating Hemşince supports the claim that modernization is a process experienced differently in different societies as well as depicts a summary picture of how this process is in Hopa Hemşinli community.

geliyo işte dilimiz varmış hemşince falan filan sonradan onlar ah ediyorlar kaybediyoruz diyolar bizde biz burda büyüdük burda doğduk burda bildiğimiz için öyle bişey ah ettiğimiz bişey olmadı yani geçmişten yani dil konusunda yaylalar konusunda

4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on ethnic identity formation of Hopa Hemşinlis, how Hopa Hemşinlis as a community collectively remember the past and how they perceive their history. I tried to depict ethnic affiliations of Hopa Hemşinlis as well as the collectively remembered past events, experiences and how they reacted to Turkish modernization project and the "developments" it brought to their lives with a focus on the economic and social transformations.

I have shown that having Armenian origins or the im/possibility of being Armenian is always a question raised by Hopa Hemşinlis. I stated the reasons for this as the increasing interest in identity politics among Hopa Hemşinlis and having conflicting characteristics such as speaking Hemşince with the description of Turkish citizen described in the Turkish national project. I have also shown that having common ethnic origins with the Armenians always creates tension among the Hopa Hemşinlis and is rejected and/or cancelled with hearsay mythic stories circulating through generations, except for Hopa Hemşinlis who do identity politics and who are leftist socialist activists. It has also been indicated that Hopa Hemşinlis construct a strong sense of being Hemşinli rather than Armenian and Turkish eliminating frequently used determinants of ethnic identity such as common language in the case of Armenianness and written common history and all the hegemonic Turkish nationalism in the case of Turkishness.

Moreover, this chapter depicted the collectively remembered past events with a focus on how Hopa Hemşinlis use them at the present to negotiate their ethnic identity and Hemşinlis as an ethnic community. I showed that the oldest collectively remembered/constructed event is the migration of Hopa Hemşinlis from the district of traditional Baş Hemşin to the regions around Hopa. It has also been indicated that this

event not only constructs common backgrounds between the Turkish speaking Hemşinlis in the regions living around Çamlıhemşin today and Hemşince speaking Hopa Hemşinlis but also sets the grounds for the negotiation of ethnic origins of both groups with references to possible Armenian origins. Furthermore, I showed that regardless of generation differences there are references to this migration Çamlıhemşin indicating the symbolic memory of Çamlıhemşin and the migration, which transcends the time and the space of its original occurrence and is present in its most collective form in Hemşin community. This chapter also significantly showed that this event the oldest event that is remembered collectively by Hopa Hemşinlis. The nationalist constructions of the Hemşin history dating back to the periods of Oghuz Turks and the homogenous historical constructions dating back to Armenian Princes Hamam and Shapuh are not present in the discourse of Hopa Hemşinlis.

Another collectively remembered event by the Hopa Hemşinlis, has been shown to be the 1877–78 Russo-Turkish War followed by the dispersion of Hopa Hemşinlis to the Western Anatolia as well as to the Russian territories in that period. I have also showed that this event at the present is used to construct the relations of Hopa Hemşinlis with other Hemşinlis living in the other places claiming that the remembrance of this event is highly related to the construction/imagination of Hemşinlis as a community at the present time.

In this chapter, I also depicted the process of settlement in the downtown Hopa the process of which started with the introduction of tea industry into region. It has been shown that this in turn started to transform pastoral peasant way of life into a modern life. It has been shown that the social and economic changes included newly occurring job opportunities such as in the transportation sector and tea factories, and increasing schooling, exposure to national media indicating closer relationships with the modern Turkish state. It was claimed that this transformation is a process which still continues resulting in different perceptions of past between generations. It has been shown that tea-production accelerating the settlement in the downtown Hopa have had significant impact on the traditional life of the Hopa Hemşinlis which are even today used to define Hemşin culture, marriage practices, and "yayla" practices which were places where Hemşin children are exposed to Hemşince most. Along with higher rates of schooling, the

decrease and change in pastoral way of life has had tremendous affect on also the use of Hemşince and Hopa Hemşinlis' attitudes towards Hemşince, which will be focused on the following chapter.

CHAPTER V: HEMŞİNCE: HISTORY, LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND PRESENT STATUS

Hemşince even preserved by Hopa Hemşinlis until today and spoken actively by many Hemşinlis today is in the danger of being lost. The adjustment of Hopa Hemşinlis to the Turkish modernization project has a great role on this danger. In this chapter, I will analyze the history of Hemşince focusing on how it has been preserved while Baş Hemşinlis lost their language hundred years ago, what processes Hemşince went through the modernization period, the language ideologies of Hopa Hemşinlis and how they affected the use of Hemşince as well as the spaces Hemşince has been used and evolvement of Hemşince as these spaces decreased.

5.1.How is it there is a language called "Hemşince"?

In an unknown, undetermined period and circumstances with estimations ranging from the mid-seventeenth century to the early nineteenth, some of the Hemşinlis migrated eastward to the Hopa area from the traditional Baş Hemşin. This migration led to the

separation of the Hemşin into two communities not only by territory but also by language and culture. The Hemşinlis who remained in the traditional Baş Hemşin have been Turkish speaking since around the second half of the nineteenth century. The other community, who migrated from Baş Hemşin and settled in Hopa and Borçka counties of Artvin now have maintained speaking Homşetsnak/Hemşince (Simonian, 2009, p.377-378).

The following conversation among three Hemşinlis; two of whom are Hopa Hemşinli women Ayfer and Hatice, and one of whom is Baş Hemşinli waiter (G below) support the above description by Simonian and my observations as well. This conversation is very significant not only since it depicts the present map of Hemşin language but also since it shows the endeavors of Hopa Hemşinlis to show that they have a language and they speak it as their mother tongue.

A: Hey! Is there anybody who can speak Hemşin here?
W: Hemşince? What is that?
A: What do you mean by "What is that"?
W: I say "What it is that? I mean what is Hemşince?"
A: It is a language, a language. I ask, "Are there anybody speaking Hemşin language?"
W: There is not a language called Hemşince.
H: There is.
W: I am a Hemşinli. There is nothing like this.
H: We are also Hemşinli. We know.
W: Where are you from?
H: We are Hopa Hemşinlis.
W: Hopa Hemşinlis speak. It is true but I don't know anybody speaking it here.
H: Don't you speak it?
W: No, I am also Hemşinli.
A: Yes, you are also Hemşinli but don't you speak Hemşin language.
W: There is no language like this.
H: There is. How is it there isn't? We speak it.
W: Then speak it among you so that I see.
A: inç kenes inç beses
H: (...)
A: What do you call "soba" here?
W: "pilita"
A: "pilita"?
W: Yes, "pilita"
H: What do you call "maşa"?
W: "maşa"

H: No you say something else?

W: We say "eciş".

H: "aciş"

W: No it is not "aciş". It is "eciş".

H: We say "eciş".

A: As you do not speak, in this way, you have forgotten your language. We also say "aciş". You have forgotten your language (The waiter leaves here). But for example, there is a cafe over there. Just like we say they call fire "giyak". I mean they speak our language but they don't make up sentences. They speak one by one, only the words.

N: I guess, they don't accept they speak it here.

A: Yes, they don't. As I said the ones who can speak (Hemşin language) are in Hopa, Borçka, Kemalpaşa. They are the ones who speak the mother tongue of Hemşin. The other Hemşinlis in Pazarhemşin, Çamlıhemşin, they don't speak language like us. It is only our culture that has the language.¹⁰⁷ (Ayfer, Hatice, a waiter)

¹⁰⁷ A: bakar mısınız burda hemşince bilen var mı

G: hemşince mi o ne (laughs)

A: nası o ne

G: o ne yani hemşince ne

A: dil dil hemşince dili bilen var mı diyorum

G: hemşince diye bi dil yoktur ki

D: vaar

G: ben hemşinliyim öle bişi yok

H: biz de hemşinliyiz biliyoruz

G: siz nerelisiniz

H: hopa hemşinliyiz

G: hopa hemşinliler konuşuyor doğru burda konuştuklarımı ben bilmiyorum ama

H: siz konuşmuyo musunuz

G: hayır ben de hemşinliyim

A: siz de hemşinlisiniz ama hemşin dili konuşmuyo musunuz

G: öyle bi dil yok

H: var nası yok biz konuşuyoruz

G: bi konuşun bakalım aranızda bi

A: inç kenes inç beses

H: (...)

A: siz burda sobaya ne diyosunuz

G: pilita

A: pilita mı

G: pilita pilita

H: maşaya maşaya ne diyosunuz

G: maşa

H: başka başka

G: egiş egiş

H: agiş

This conversation shows that today while the Hemşinlis living in Çamlıhemşin do not speak Hemşin language, Hopa Hemşinlis still speak it. It also depicts the approaches of these Hemşinlis from different places to Hemşince. In Chapter 3, I have focused on what "reality" and "fact" is in detail, and we have seen that they are created and recreated, or lose their "fact" value depending on the "present" conditions and discourse of people. I have cited Trouillot and stated that when there is conflict between reality and deeply held beliefs, people might interpret, adjust, and change this reality according to these beliefs (Trouillot, 1995, p.72). However, this conversation goes beyond of even these discussions. When an event happens, people conceptualize it differently depending on their beliefs, and the context of the event. Time passes over the event and the event is reinterpreted. So far, we see that between the fact and its interpretation there might be huge differences. However, in this conversation above, we see that the waiter strictly rejects the existence of Hemşin language although he sees it spoken and he witnesses that. He foregrounds his being Hemşinli to convince the others that there is no language like Hemşin language. However, the people he tries to convince are also Hemşinli who claim they speak this language. The waiter then asks the other woman to speak Hemşince so that everybody sees whether there exists such a language or not. When the women speak in Hemşince he remains silent, but his endeavors to reject the existence of Hemşin language continues; this time he tries to set up difference and hence distance between Rize Hemşinlis and Hopa Hemşinlis. He emphasizes that they call "maşa" (tongs) "acış" but not "eciş".

The relation between Hemşinlis in Çamlıhemşin and Hopa Hemşinlis is quite interesting and significant in terms of understanding identity politics in Turkey in general

G: aciş değil eciş eciş

H: biz de aciş diyoruz

A: siz hemşince konuşmaya konuşmaya unutmuşsunuz biz de aciş diyoruz

siz unutmuşsunuz dilinizi bu dili konuşmaya konuşmaya ama mesela şurda bi kafe var aynı bizim dediğimiz gibi biz ateşe giyak diyoruz yani bizim dilimizi konuştuğumuz cümleleri cümle hAlinde konuşmuyolar da tek tek olarak he kelime hAlinde konuşuyolar

N: burda konuşanlar da kabul etmiyomuş gAliba

A: ha kabul etmiyolar evet sadece dediğim gibi anadili olarak konuşabilen hopa borçka kemalpaşa onlar hemşinin anadilini konuşan kişiler onun dışındakiler hemşin olarak mesela pazarhemşin çamlıhemşin onlar bizim gibi dil konuşmuyolar dili taşıyan kültür sadece biziz

as well as identity constructions of both Hemşinlis though it deserves a separate study, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. As it is seen in the former chapters, Çamlıhemşin is considered the traditional Hemşinli settlement by the Hopa Hemşinlis. They commonly refer to this place as their hometown before migration to Hopa. However, contrary to our expectations, the leaving ones continue speaking the language while the ones living in the traditional Baş Hemşin forget their language. In addition to this, they become forerunners of construction of Hemşinlis as Turkish. While Hopa Hemşinlis negotiate their origins, and Hemşin identity they refer to Çamlıhemşin. However, the original place they refer to foregrounds their Turkishness rather than Hemşinli, which constructs Hopa Hemşinlis Turkish indirectly. It seems that that is why the waiter rejects the existence of Hemşin language, which by its very existence creates conflicts with the waiter's positioning of Hopa Hemşinlis as Turkish. Ayfer quite knowledgeable about who speaks Hemşin language and to what extent, states that the Hemşinlis in Çamlıhemşin know only some words remaining from their forgotten language while Hopa Hemşinlis and some from Borçka keep speaking Hemşin language.

The Turkish nationalist historians, as well as the local Hemşinli researchers should have felt the same tension in the above conversation due to the existence of Hemşin language creating conflicts with the desired homogenous ethnic and linguistic structure of the Republic of Turkey, so that they have paid special attention to prove the non-existence of Hemşince. When they cannot prove the non-existence of Hemşince, they have tried to apply the "adulteration" formula, I proposed for the Turkish nationalist writers of the Hemşin history, to Hemşince as well, so that it is dispossessed from its features as a language and seems to be a mixed code composed of trivial words. For instance, for the Hemşin language, Kırzioğlu in his article on Hemşinlis states that

Hamşenlis do not speak any language other than Turkish. We see that their Turkish accords with Oghuz dialect in which they add "H" or "Kh" to the beginning of the words starting with a vowel and n/kng sounds change into nğ. We also see that some sheepmen and pastoral Hemşinlis are in relation with a dialect, which is a mixture of Old-Armenian and Old-Oghuz dialects but their

number is not even one out of ten.¹⁰⁸

(Kırzioğlu, 1974: 4103)

As we have seen in Kırzioğlu's history writing, similar to Hemşin history Hemşin language is tried to be silenced, banalized as well as adulterated. He first states that Hemşinlis do not speak any language other than Turkish. Even the structure of his sentence indicates that there is at least the question of whether Hemşinlis speak a language other than Turkish or not. With this sentence, we see his endeavor of applying formulas of erasure. In the following lines, he describes some phonological differences in Hemşinlis' dialect, which accords with Oghuz dialect. Finally, he states that there are some pastoral Hemşinlis and they have a relation with a dialect which is a mixture of old-Armenian and old-Oghuz. Although we do not know what it would mean to be in a relation with a dialect for the people apart from speaking it, Kırzioğlu in these lines in a way accepts that Hemşince has similarities with old-Armenian. However, immediately after this, he states that such speakers are very few in number. One may think that he only refers to Rize Hemşinlis in this work but considering his other works where he writes on Hopa Hemşinlis, his silence regarding Hemşin language shows that he is in the endeavor of erasing the existence of Hemşince if possible, if not he adulterates it in addition to trivializing and banalizing it. In the end, Hemşince, if exists at all, is presented as a dialect which is a mixture of old-Armenian and old-Oghuz dialects. As I have stated before, since Kırzioğlu proves Turkish origins of Armenians as well, he should not have considered referring to Armenian features in Hemşin language dangerous. Below is another quote from a local Hemşinli researcher who follows Kırzioğlu with his endeavors for presenting Hemşince as an "eggy peggy" language:

The linguistic features of the Hopa Hemşinlis show a lot of differences

¹⁰⁸ Turkish original:

Hemşenliler, türkçeden başka dil bilmezler. Türkçeleri de sesli ile başlayan birtakım sözlerin başına "H" veya "Kh" (...) ekleyen Oğuz-ağzına göre olduğu; sert n/kng sesinin nğ ye dönüşüp, arada eridiği (...) görülür. Birtakım koyuncu ve yaylacı Hemşenliler'in eski-Ermenice karışığı Eski-Oğuz ağzı ile görüşükleri de vardır; bunların sayısı onda biri bulmaz.

from the Western Hemşinli group. While there are not any foreign borrowed words in the Turkish Western Hemşinlis use, in the language of the Eastern Hemşinli Group, we see that a collection mixed language was created with the words from Armenian, Abkhasian and Circassian languages. The common thing among the few researches done on this language is the existence of Armenian words in this language for 20% (...) The reason for the existence of Armenian, Abkhasian and Circassian words in the language of Eastern Hemşinli group should be seen as the social life this group lived through. It resulted from a necessity. However, this language is not based on any mother tongue groups (not categorized as a mother tongue?). It is one of the languages linguists call "special language" or group language. This language is more like a language (Hopa Hemşinlis) develop, so that the language they speak among themselves is not understood by others. It is similar to the "eggy peggy" language as people call it (...) In all the nomad societies the necessity for a language they speak for private things has been more than the other societies. That is why the Armenian, Abkhasian and Circassian words which are not known by anybody in the interior regions, have been used by the Hemşinlis among themselves (...) As a result, although many words in the dialect of Eastern Hemşinlis are from Armenian, Abkhasian and Circassian, this adaptation resulted from an obligation, a need and the need for secret speaking which many nomads experience.¹⁰⁹

(Gündüz, 2002: 87-88)

As seen in the quote from Gündüz, he never uses the word Hemşince or Homşetsnak for the language Hopa Hemşinlis speak. It seems that he uses the word

¹⁰⁹ Turkish Original:

Hopa Hemşinliğinin dil özellikleri Batı Hemşin grubundan çok farklılık göstermektedir. Batı Hemşinlilerin konuştukları Türkçe'de yabancı kökenli kelime hemen hiç yokken Doğu Grubu Hemşinlilerin konuştukları dilde Ermenice, Abaza ve Çerkez dillerinden toplama bir dil yaratıldığını görüyoruz. Bu dil üzerinde yapılan sınırlı sayıda ki araştırmaların ortak noktası olarak %20 dolayında bu dilde Ermenice kelimenin varlığıdır (...) Doğu grubu Hemşin dilinde Ermenice, Abaza ve Çerkez dillerinde kelimelerin korunmasının sebebini büyük ölçüde bu grubun yaşadığı sosyal hayatta görmek lazımdır. Bir ihtiyaçtan kaynaklanmıştır. Ancak bu dil Anadil gruplarına dayandırılmamaktadır. Dilbilimcilerin "özel dil" yada grup dili adını verdikleri dillerdendir. Bu dil daha çok kendi aralarında konuştukları özel konuların başkaları tarafından anlaşılmasında için geliştirdikleri bir dildir. Halk arasında kuş dili denilen dilin bir benzeridir (...) Tüm konar göçerlerde bu göç sırasında özel konuları konuştukları bir dil ihtiyacı her zaman diğer toplumlardan fazla olmuştur. Bu yüzden iç kesimlerde hiç bilinmeyen Ermenice, Çerkezce ve Abaza dillerinden kelimeler Hemşinlilerin kendi aralarında konuşmalarında her zaman kullanılmıştır (...) Sonuç olarak Doğu Hemşin ağzında bir çok kelime Ermeni, Abaza, Çerkez dillerinden alıntı olsa da bu alıntı zorunluluktan, bir ihtiyaçtan, bir çok konar göçerin yaşadığı gizli konuşma ihtiyacından kaynaklanmıştır.

language since he cannot find any other word to refer to the "created" and "collection" language Eastern Hemşinlis speak. Gündüz constructs Hemşince as a language which is a collection of words, a special mixed code Eastern pastoral Hemşinlis made up to be able to speak in secret from the peoples they come across on the way to the pastors. It seems that he is unaware of the fact that if a created code is transmitted to new generations and hence, becomes nativized, it becomes a language no matter it is a created language or not as in the case of pidgins and creoles (Siegel, 2008:1-3).¹¹⁰

Note also that he deprives Hemşince of the status it has as a language stating that the linguists do not categorize this language as a mother tongue. As in the case of the creation of Hemşin history by Turkish nationalistic, he refers to researchers, linguists to make his claims appear scientific, and hence as an authority, but never cites these researchers. Writers like Gündüz take language as composed of words disregarding all its syntactic, morphological features. This should be because they can do more manipulations on the words to prove the "Turkishness" of Hemşin language. That should be why such writers never mention syntactic or morphological features of Hemşince, which shows a great difference from Turkish and which would attain a "language status" to Hemşince.

Another work I want to refer is a much more recent one by a Hemşinli researcher, Yılmaz. Compared to other researchers, Yılmaz is an active facebook user and disseminates his ideas on being Hemşinli, Hemşin language and history on Hemşin pages in facebook. Yılmaz carries the works of Kırzioğlu and Gündüz to a more extreme point blaming Armenians for assimilating Hemşin language as seen in the quote below:

In order to assimilate a society, it is necessary to erase its identity. As for erasing an identity, it is necessary to change first one's language, then the traditions and life style. In this context, Hemşince, the mixed language was erased 50% by the Armenians (Hays) but belonging to Hemşin community could not have been erased.¹¹¹ (Yılmaz, 2012:35)

¹¹¹ Turkish original:

Bir toplumu asimile etmek için onun kimliğini yok etmek gerekir. Bir kimliğin yok edilmesi için de önce dilinin, sonra da gelenek göreneklerinin ve yaşam tarzlarının değiştirilmesi gerekir. Bu bağlamda, asimilasyon aşamalarından; Ermeni (Hay)ler

When we read this quote, we think that Yılmaz considers Hemşince as a language and criticizes Armenians for assimilating Hemşin language. However, as we read through his book we see that he is in the endeavor of proving that Hemşinlis do not have common origins with Armenians and the commonalities between Armenian and Hemşince is due to contact with Armenians and expected since Hemşince is a mixed collected language containing words even from English. The following quote from Yılmaz depicts his endeavors for disclaiming common origins with Armenians.

This people who are claimed to have common ancestors with Armenians based on the similarities between this language and Armenian, does not have any relation to the Armenians (Hays). The elderly among the Hemşinlis today who are all bilinguals were polyglot in the past. Also, in the description of a community, language is not *sina -qua- non* component.¹¹²

(Yılmaz, 2012: 9)

Yılmaz, follows from the borrowed English words in Hemşince such as "emedeni" (immediately) and then showing such borrowings for legalizing Armenian words in Hemşince, he continues to tell the history of evolvement of Hemşince and Turkish in Hemşin community. I would like to focus more on how he determines the common words in English and Hemşince; however, it is beyond the scope of my thesis. According to Yılmaz, the Hopa Hemşinlis were influenced by the Hays throughout the migration roads and since they were neighbors to Armenians, they have not been able to get rid of this affect. Since they used Hemşince as a common language in the community and since they are a closed community they have not forgotten Hemşince since their settlement in Hopa until the Republican times. So far, what Yılmaz states might be accepted but then he goes on telling us why Hopa Hemşinlis' Turkish is so weak

tarafından Hemşince karma dili, yarı yarıya yok edilmiş, ancak Hemşinlilik aidiyeti yok edilememiştir.

¹¹² Turkish original:

Bu dildeki Ermenice ile benzerlikler esas alınarak, Ermenilerle soydaş oldukları iddia edilen bu halkın, ırk olarak Ermeniler (Haylar) ile hiç bir ilgileri yoktur. Bugün hepsi iki dilli (bilingual) olan Hemşinlilerin, yaşlıları, eskiden çok dilli (Poliglot) idi. Diğer yandan, bir etnisitenin tanımında dil, olmazsa olmaz bir koşul da değildir

compared to their competence in Hemşince. He then explicates the reason for why Hopa Hemşinlis understand Turkish but they have difficulty in speaking it. He states that Turkish lost its function since it was behind the doors language (Yılmaz, 2013: 41). One wonders when and in which place through the geography Turkish Republic was founded on, Turkish was behind the doors language. Finally, I would like to present Yılmaz's description of Hemşin language below for then it seems more explicitly that he follows Kırzioğlu tradition in practicing the silencing formulas I have mentioned:

The language spoken around Hopa today, however it is described as Hemşince, is not a language. There is no language that we can call Hemşince since there is not a language with all its constituents (...) Hemşince continues to live as an oral mixed language since it does not have a written form. It would be more correct to state that it is a dead language since it is not spoken without the help of Armenian in Christian Hemşinli community and without the help of Turkish in Muslim Hemşinli community.¹¹³

(Yılmaz, 2012: 42)

In short, Yılmaz presents us with a conflicting picture of the origins of Hemşin language as well as pseudo scientific knowledge on the status of Hemşin language. While he states that Hemşin people are bad in expressing themselves in Turkish since Turkish is the behind the door language he also states that it is not possible to speak Hemşince without the help of Turkish. He does not base his arguments on any observation or document regarding the use of Hemşin language. It is true that Hemşin language was enlisted among the endangered languages by UNESCO. However, it is still not a dead language since there are many speakers of Hemşince who fluently speak Hemşince and since code mixing is not a sign for a language to die. Multilingual speakers do code-mix in varying contexts even the languages they speak have thousands of speakers. For

¹¹³ Turkish original:

Bugün Hopa civarında konuşulan dil, her ne kadar Hemşince diye tanımlansa da, şu anda başlı başına Hemşince diyebileceğimiz bütün öğeleriyle tamam bir dil mevcut değildir (...)Yazı dili olmadığından sözlü ve karma bir dil olarak yaşamaya devam eden Hemşince Hristiyan Hemşinlilerde Ermenicenin, Müslüman Hemşinlilerde ise Türkçenin desteği olmadan konuşulmadığından, bu dile ölü bir dil demek daha doğru olur.

instance, Muysken and Adelaar studies code mixing of English and Spanish bilinguals (Adelaar and Muysken, 2004). None of these languages are endangered though their speakers do code-mix between these languages. I see this description by Yılmaz as an endeavor to deprive Hemşince of its status as a language since Yılmaz has Turkish nationalistic aims and Hemşince as a language exhibiting similarities with Armenian structurally and in terms of common vocabulary.

We see that all these three researchers among others refer Hemşince as a mixed language by looking at the etimologies of the words in Hemşince. In fact, in language contact literature, we have a terminology of "mixed languages". Language contact linguists, Matras and Bakker state that all languages in some way or another are influenced by other languages employing some structure or form the language they are influenced by. However, the widely accepted definition of a mixed language includes "varieties that emerged in situations of community bilingualism, and whose structures show an etymological split that is not marginal, but dominant, so that it is difficult to define the variety's linguistic parentage as involving just one ancestor language" (Matras and Bakker, 2003, p.1). According to this definition a mixed language should have combination of structures from both etymological sources, some morphological suffixes from one language, some from the other one; verb inflection from one language, noun inflection from the other for instance. There is not much study on Hemşin grammar. As I mentioned in the introduction, with two other linguists we are studying on Hemşin grammar and we have almost finished data collection process of our study. Although I cannot make any claims on Hemşin grammar since we have not finished the analysis process yet, I might state that I have not observed such mixed structures in Hemşince. When a language borrows words from other languages, this does not mean that it is a mixed language. English borrowed 50% of the 1000 frequently used words in modern English from Latin or French.¹¹⁴ Nobody would claim English to be a mixed language. As in the case of history, which Trouillot considers as "the fruit of power", language is a dialect of power. According to a very famous saying in linguistics, which is anonymous language is defined as a dialect that has an army and a navy. Since Hemşince does not have a state with an army, it is frequently deprived of its characteristics as a language

¹¹⁴ <http://blog.oxforddictionaries.com/2014/03/borrowed-words/>

both by researchers as cited above and even by some of its speakers. One of my informants asked me how I could study Hemşince since it is not a language and does not have a grammar during my fieldwork.

As we see, the existence of Hemşin language in the Hopa Hemşinli's community is generally considered a question to be answered both by the researchers and by the Hemşinlis themselves in conformation with Sakai stating that the existence as a language with a status of a discrete entity is highly related to a discursive project rather than a fact (Sakai, 1991). However, when we disregard the "discursive project" of these researchers we still have a question: While Baş Hemşinlis have forgotten their language how is it that Hopa Hemşinlis have not forgotten it if Hopa Hemşinlis had not made up an "eggy peggy" language on the migration roads to speak in secret?

Simonian states that the factors accounting for the survival of Hemşin language among Hopa Hemşinlis but not Baş Hemşinlis relate to the Hopa Hemşinli not having participated in the social developments enjoyed by the Baş Hemşinlis beginning in the 1850s and their lesser degree of integration compared to the Baş Hemşinlis in Ottoman society. He further states that Hopa Hemşinlis were under less pressure and hence had fewer reasons to abandon their mother tongue (Simonian, 2009, p.382).

While Simonian goes through the roots of Hemşin identity during the Ottoman period, he signals very important factors explaining the language lost among the Baş Hemşinlis. These are significant in understanding why and how Hopa Hemşinlis maintained their language. Simonian refers to the "millet" (community) concept in the Ottoman Empire. He states that during that time people identified themselves in terms of belonging to a particular religious community. The association of Armenian with Christian and Turkish with Muslim was a quite common practice observed during this era. Hence, being an Armenian at that time meant being a member of Armenian Apostolic Church. Leaving the Armenian Church, in turn meant, leaving being a part of Armenian "nation". He cites German Botanist Karl Koch who hears people referring to "Franks" living around the region. Karl Koch was surprised that Europeans were living in this region. When he realized that the people referred to as "Frank" were in fact Armenian members of Catholic Church.

Moreover, some Muslims of the Artvin region speaking "Georgian Christian" told

Koch that they knew that they committed a sin since they used "a language of gours which, however, they had received from God with their mother's milk." We see that in these times rather than language and ethnicity association as in the nation states, religion and language association was quite strict (Simonian, 2009, p. 394-396). According to Tumayian and Haykuni, as cited in Simonian (2007) a campaign was launched against the use of the Armenian language. The mullahs declared that speaking Armenian was a sin and 'seven Armenian words were an insult for a Muslim' (Simonian, 2007, p. 77). It seems that the impact of this discourse has continued to the Republican period in Turkey as well. In 1960s, a local Turkish peasant told the historian Bryer during his fieldwork that the Greek people who spoke Christian used to live in Trabzon once upon a time (Bryer, 1970, p.45).

Linguistic Anthropologists Irvine and Gal observe a similar case in nineteenth-century Macedonia. This region was a multilingual region, hence in which language use did not map with the ethnic boundaries. Regarding the religion ethnicity association they state that

(...) the Ottoman millet system (often mistranslated as "nationality"), which categorized and administered populations according to religious affiliation irrespective of territorial location, ethnic provenance, or language. Moslems counted as "Turks," while Orthodox Christians, including people who spoke various forms of Slavic, Romance, Albanian, and Greek, were counted as "Greeks."

(Irvine and Gal, 2000: 65-66)

Therefore, in such a system Baş Hemşinlis who were integrated more into the Ottoman system would not continue constructed as Christian by speaking Armenian. According to Simonian, the survival of "Armenian" language among the Hopa Hemşinlis was provided by their marginal existence as pastoralists. Possibly, the provincial secular and religious authorities, Russian officials for some period, were not aware of the fact that there was an "Armenian" speaking Muslim community there. Some even believed that they were Kurdish (Simonian, 2009, p. 399). For the explication of the maintenance of Hemşin language, this determination is significant. The relationship between the state, the modernization process and Hemşin community deserves to be signaled for it plays

crucial role on the use of Hemşin language since after the foundation of Republic of Turkey as well. In the excerpt below, a 42-year old Hemşinli man Ali elaborates on the relationship between the state and its institutions and Hemşin community.

A: Being a Hemşinli- regarding the assimilation- fear- you have to- if you do the reverse you cannot live on. What can you do? You have to adjust. You are just a small group. There is this conversion from the self -identity. However, language has not been forgotten since Hemşinlis were living at the highlands. Since they lived in small places and at the highlands. They have spoken this language always. This also relates to the establishment of education in the Republic. It relates to the fact that the state could construct itself late. It relates to the late accession of Turkification issue and assimilation policies to this place.¹¹⁵ (Ali, 42)

Among the Hopa Hemşinlis I talked, references to being a small group, especially in comparison to Kurdish people, is quite common. Ali, as well, referring to the number of the Hemşinlis, states that there is no choice but adjusting though you change your identity. He states that language is still preserved in Hemşin community because Hemşinlis were living at the highlands, which is beyond the reach of the state and the state apparatuses such as education.

We have already dwelled on the settlement of the Hemşinlis in the downtown after 1950s. This late engagement with the town life of course one of the main factors helping the survival of the language. We know that urban life is always associated with modernization and the things brought by modernization, such as education, transportation, and media. Being beyond the reach of these state apparatuses provided grounds for the use and continuation of Hemşin language.

In the former chapters I stated that Hopa Hemşinlis are pastoralists. I also stated

¹¹⁵ *Original:*

A: hemşinlilik aimilasyonla ilgili korku el mecbur tersini yaparsan yaşıyamıcağsın ne yapabilirsin dolayısıyla uyacaksın küçük bi topluluksun ı dönme hali var yani özünden dönme hali var ama dil hemşinliler yükseklerde yaşadığı için unutulmamış küçük yerlerde ve yükseklerde yaşadığı için unutulmamış aslında hep kullanmışlar bu dili bu birazcık cumhuriyetin eğitimin gecikmesiyle de alakalı bişey ya da işte devletin kendini oluştura geç oluşturabilmesiyle de alakalı bişey türkleştirme mevzuunun asimilasyon politikasının belki burya buralara geç sirayet etmesiyle de alakalı bişey

that the elderly, grandparents go to the "yaylas" with the children while the young stays in the villages for tea harvest. It is seen that this practice has utmost importance in the continuation of Hemşin language despite Turkish language, which has a wider space of usage in the modern life. The significance of "yayla" practices in the maintenance of Hemşin language is exemplified by the excerpt below from 54 -year -old Hemşinli man Lütfü.

L: To the yayla, the children go with their grandparents. We used to speak Hemşince in yaylas mostly. The elderly used to speak Hemşince very much. And we also did together with them. Well, during the school time-We used to go to yayla and we used to forget Turkish. We used to come here (to Hopa); we used to forget Hemşince at the school. It was like that. I mean like that.¹¹⁶ (Lütfü, 54)

In this excerpt, Lütfü indicates that "yaylas" was very significant in the survival of Hemşin language since grandparents take children with them to the "yaylas". Since the elderly speak Hemşin language more compared to the younger generations, and since "yaylas" are far away from the state institutions, and from everything brought with modernization, "yaylas" help the language maintained. However, note that although this excerpt describes the function of "yaylas" in language maintenance succinctly, use of Hemşince and Turkish as all or none depending on the space cannot be to the extent he states. Most probably, what he means by they used to forget Turkish in the "yaylas", and Hemşince at the school is proportional degree of usage rather than forgetting it totally. According to the accounts from the elderly who are in the age of 80s, we know that even their grandparents could speak Turkish in addition to Hemşin language.

However, Lütfü's mapping of languages and spaces in terms of their usage carries a lot of importance, since this mapping has changed through modernization and hegemonic policies of Turkish Republic making the spaces Hemşince has been used erased, as we will present in the following sections. As traditional way of life changes with modernization and Hemşinlis become more in relation with city life and hence with

¹¹⁶ *Original:*

L: yaylaya dedeyle babanneyle çocuklar gider yaylaya biz orda konuşuyoduk en çok yaşlılar hemşinceyi çok kullanırdılar biz de onlarla beraber hemşinceyi işte okul döneminde yaylaya giderdik türkçeyi unutturduk türkçeyi unutturduk buraya gelirdik hemşinceyi unutturduk okulda öyle olurdu öyle oluyodu

the state institutions, new spaces occur in their lives and languages they speak are dispersed to these spaces.

Another factor having an impact on the preservation of Hemşin language up to today might be the tradition of endogamy among the Hopa Hemşinlis. All the people who are not Hemşinli are called "yabancı" (foreigner) in Hemşin community. During my fieldwork, I observed that many Hemşinli married their close relatives such as cousins. Marrying somebody known is always preferred over marrying somebody who does not know the culture, the traditions and Hemşin language. One of the informants I had interview with, Mahir states that marrying a Hemşinli was a norm up until 1980s. This idea is not restricted to the elderly. Although in recent decades marrying "yabancı" has been increasing in correlation with having education in big cities such as Istanbul, even the young people I had interviews with, told me that they are not against marrying a "yabancı" but they would prefer to marry a Hemşinli since s/he would be from the same culture, hence with more understanding. Therefore we see that Hemşin community until the last decades had been a closed society, which is another factor setting grounds for the preservation of Hemşin language. This is exemplified with Erhan's account below with the description of Hemşin community:

E: In our community this extended family structure is very important. There is solidarity within the family and there is solidarity within the Hemşin community. When you go out of Hopa, a Hemşinli is a Hemşinli, and then family is not important. When we go out we are Hemşinlis but when we come here we are families. I have Aksu family name. (He has) Yılmaz etc. We have family solidarity. In our community even marriages are done within the families. When I say within the families I mean within the Hemşin community. Even today we still do not marry Laz people. It is only five or ten years that Hemşinlis marry "yabancı" (foreigners).¹¹⁷ (Erhan, 45)

¹¹⁷ *Original:*

E: bizde o sülale kavramı çok önemli çok var böyle sülale içi dayanışma var bi de hemşin dayanışması var içerde sülale dayanışması var dışarıya çıktığın zaman hemşinli hopadan dışarıya çıktığın zaman hemşinli hemşinlidir sülale olmazlar dışarıya çıktığımızda hemşinliyiz ama buraya geldik mi işte sülaleyiz ben aksuyum yılmazdır bilmem nedir sülale şeyi var yani yakınlaşması var bizde evlilikler bile sülale içinde olur içinde derken sülaleler içinde hemşin toplumunda hala bugün biz burda lazlarla mazlarla evlenmek yok beş on senedir yeni yeni yani dışarıya doğru daha yenidir yani hemşinliler yabancıyla evleniyor

As we see in the extract above from Erhan, Hemşin community is a closed community in which tradition of endogamy still continues though it is not as strict as in the past times. Similarly, extended family structure and family names still practiced. Family names preserving their importance determine marriages as well people preferring marrying a known person rather than a foreigner, which in turn helped the preservation of Hemşin language.

In this section, we have seen that while traditional Baş Hemşinlis lost their Hemşin language, Hopa Hemşinlis still preserve Hemşince. However, the existence of Hemşince with all its features that make it a language, is still taken under scrutiny by Baş Hemşinlis, by Turkish nationalist researchers as well as Hopa Hemşinlis themselves especially in attaining a "language" status to Hemşince. In this section, I have demonstrated that Turkish nationalist historians have tried to apply the same formulas of silencing they practiced for Hemşin history to the Hemşin language as well since Hemşince is a site in which the ethnic origins of Hemşinlis which possibly have common ethnic origins with Armenians which are seen as "dangerous" for the single, homogeneous structure of the Republic of Turkey. I have also demonstrated that such approaches to Hemşince represent it as a made up "mixed code", "dead language", "collection" and "insufficient" "eggy peggy" language. In all these endeavors we see that language descriptions are another way of history making. Rejecting these descriptions and histories constructed for Hemşin language, I presented the historical grounds, which enabled Hemşin language to be preserved until today. One of these is the pastoral way of life in Hemşin community, which delayed the adjustment of Hopa Hemşinlis to the Turkish modernity project and hence their relation to the state and all the state apparatuses. The other ground is stated to be the fact that Hopa Hemşinlis was a closed community in which endogamy was practiced though both have started to changed in the modernization process. In chapter 4, I have presented the settlement of the Hopa Hemşinlis downtown Hopa upon their transition from a pastoral peasant economy to tea industry and thus their engagement with Turkish modernization project. The following section focuses on the use of Hemşince in the process of Hopa Hemşinlis adjustment to modernization.

5.2. Hemşince since after the Republic of Turkey

Since its foundation, the Republic of Turkey pursued a monolithic nation state model recognizing only Turkish language restricting and even banning the public use of non-Turkish languages of the different ethnicities living in Turkey. All the other ethnicities having a non-Turkish language were expected to speak Turkish being deprived of speaking their languages publicly with campaigns such as "Citizens, Speak Turkish" (Çağatay, 2005, p. 95). These different ethnicities were claimed to be proto-Turks who lost their original Turkish languages by Turkish nationalist researchers like Kırzioğlu in accord with the policy of the Turkish state aiming to practice forced assimilation of non-Turkish Muslims. Forced assimilation included linguistic assimilation policies as well. Banning non-Turkish languages in public places (Yıldız, 2001), Surname Law prohibiting last names referring to non-Turkic ethnic origins or languages (Bayar, 2011), changes in the toponyms having non-Turkish names (Nişanyan, 2011) are only some of the practices within the scope of linguistic assimilation projects of the Turkish state.

The Kurdish people in terms of identity politics is differentiated from all the other ethnicities living in Turkey. Starting from the early decades of the Republic, to be accelerated after 1980, Kurdish people have many recorded conflicts with the Turkish Republic. The Kurdish resistance included the struggle for the recognition of Kurdish language and having education in Kurdish as well. However, as in the case of many ethnicities small in number compared to Kurdish people, there is no records of any conflict of the Hemşinlis with the Turkish state based on their ethnicity although this does not mean that Hemşinlis among with other ethnicities different than Turkish have not been exposed to assimilation policies. However, the process of assimilation and the

situation of language depending on these have been experienced differently in Hemşin community.

Hopa Hemşinlis are generally known to be leftists and socialists and their opposition to the state relates to the political system rather than democratization or recognition of and freedom for their ethnic identities. In the accounts of the leftists of 1970s, we see the importance they gave to education, enlightenment and progress. Modernization and the things brought by it were seen as positive developments. Therefore, their approach to Hemşin language, to developments occurring in the region has even helped the state practicing its assimilation projects.

However, it seems that the socialist generation of the 1970s nowadays questions the state policies from a different angle reinterpreting their opposition to the state, taking ethnic identity into consideration in the construction of which language plays a great role in this century. This provides us with many accounts in which Hemşinlis themselves present the description of the processes of modernization and assimilation. Furthermore, they also tell us how language use is shaped under these processes. The account below from a 48 year old Hemşinli man, Harun describes us how, when, and to what extent the assimilation policies of the Turkish state have influenced the use of hemşin language.

H: Look! Well, for example Turkish became widespread especially after 1980s. The assimilation policies of the hundred year state tradition to make ethnic languages forgotten did not work with the Hemşinlis since they used to live in the highland villages. It did not work with the Kurdish people as well. Hemşin people did not have many relations with the state in those years. However, this policy has been influential since the 1970s. The mothers, especially the mothers, what they call as the family want their children to speak Turkish. They do not want their children to speak Hemşince, (since they think) it is a shame to speak Hemşince, and it is backwardness. The media has a great role on this. Secondly, Hemşinlis became town-dwellers. The town makes the language forgotten. The relations with the neighbors, social life, and street life make language forgotten. Well, when Laz, this and that and Hemşinlis come together Turkish becomes the common language and it becomes the dominant language. The mother tongue cannot be spoken there, it is forgotten. Children can understand the language but they cannot speak it. A weird thing like this has started to develop. I mean, as if to speak one's mother tongue was a shame. I mean this is not the case only for Hemşinlis; this is the case for Laz and Georgians as well. I mean to read in Turkish, learning Turkish but forgetting the other is a state policy. For a Turkish nationalist it does not matter whether it

*is Hemşince, Laz or Georgian. What matters is, Turkish and its usage. This has a role. This is important. However, urbanization, settlement in the downtown, remaining away from the village, not staying in the small environment the village life creates, not being in contact with other people have a role. When fathers and mothers adopt city life, it makes this influence on the children.*¹¹⁸ (Harun, 48)

In this excerpt, Harun states that the assimilation policies of the Turkish state did not work up until 1970s thanks to the peasant and pastoral life conditions the Hemşinlis were practicing. He further states that Hemşinlis did not have many relations with the ethnicities other than Hemşinlis and the state. He sets the grounds for assimilation as settlement in the downtown, which brought new relations with new non-Hemşinli people and a break up with the village life. He adds that media also was quite influential in assimilating the Hemşin people. Although we will present the Hemşinlis' attitudes towards Hemşin and Turkish languages in the following sections, the attributes Harun presents regarding the Hemşin language here also refer to development and progress. He states that mothers think that it is a "shame"; "backward" to speak Hemşince and it belongs to peasant way of life. In fact, this explanation, though correct, is not sufficient

¹¹⁸ *Original:*

H: bakın şimdi mesela türkçe özellikle yetmiş sonrası yaygınlaştı etnik dillerin yani aslında yüz yıllık bi devlet geleneği açısından teşkilatı mahsusa politikası açısından dillerin unutulması asimilasyon mevzuu mesela hemşinlilerde çok tutmamış dağ köylerinde yaşadığı için kürtlerde de tutmamış Hemşinlilerin o zamanlarda devletle ilişkilenmesi azdı ama şimdi şimdi bu asimilasyon politikası seksen sonrasından itibaren etkili anneler ı özellikle anneler aile denilen zümre çocuklarının hemşince konuşmamasını lazca konuşmamasını bunun ayıp bişey olduğunu geri olduğunu köylülüğe ait görüyorlar türkçe konuşmasını istiyorlar aslında bunun televiz medyanında bunda büyük payı var ikincisi kentli oldu bu hemşinliler de kent dili unutturuyor ya komşu ilişkisi o toplumsal hayat sokak ı laz çocuğu hemşinli ya da şunu bunu yan yana getirdiği zaman ortak dil türkçe oluyo ve türkçe egemen olmaya başlıyor anadil orda konuşulamıyor orda unutuluyor çocuklar bile aslında anlıyorlar dili ama konuşamıyorlar böyle bir tuhaf şey gelişmeye başladı yani anadili bilmek ayıp bişeymiş gibi türkçe konuşmamak hatta aslında niye yani bu sadece hemşinliler için diildir lazlar açısından da aynı şey gürcüler açısından da aynı şey geçerlidir yani türkçenin okunması öğretilmesi e diğerinin unutulması bi politika devlet açısından yani bir milliyetçi açısından türk milliyetçisi açısından hemşince laz vs gürcü fark etmez gürcücenin bilinmesi önemli değil türkçenin bilinmesi önemlidir bunun etkisi var bu da önemlidir ama daha çok kentleşme kente inme köyden uzak kalma o köyün yaratmış olduğu küçük alanda olmama daha geniş bi alanda olma ve daha farklı farklı ee insanlarla temas etme rol oynuyor baba ve annenin de o kent hayatını benimsemesi çocuğa öyle etki yapıyor e y

for a whole description of the process of assimilation in the Hemşin community.

The approach of the Hemşinlis themselves, to modernization, and progress was influential as much as the new living conditions and newly set up relations with new people as well as to the state institutions in the downtown.

We see that all these developments presented in Harun's account had been regarded as positive commonly among the socialist Hopa Hemşinli leftists. The excerpt below from a 56-year old Hemşinli man, Yaşar provides us with the data to make these claims.

Y: Well, now it seems that we are like losing our own identity. We have this feeling. I am not sure if I should call this racism. While we say we should protect our identity- they also, our Laz friends have their own traditions. Due to our leftist ideas, at some time, we were against this racism. Racism is not good. But we are losing our identity. We are questioning this as well. We ask it to ourselves. I don't know. It is our dilemma. As for the language, do not go without seeing Harun. I do not recommend you go without seeing him. It is better you see him. He has some work. We don't have any. It seems that we have been assimilated. We have been integrated. We have forgotten a lot. It has been forgotten. When I say forgotten, it is our fault. We have not given importance to it.

N: Yes, but your generation both understand and speak Hemşince.

Y: Our generation speaks. The generations after us learned it later. The children did not understand. We are also faulty. We did not speak.

N: Were not you speaking?

Y: Well, as for the reason we did not speak- well, during these schooling years, they were speaking Turkish so that children can read Turkish, for them to be able to integrate to the school, to the classroom. It is the official language, they spoke Turkish for children get used to Turkish. ¹¹⁹ (Yaşar, 54)

¹¹⁹ *Original:*

Y: şimdi biz kendimizi kendi kimliğimizi biraz kaybediyö gibiyiz ö his var onun verdiđi hisler artık biraz ırkçılık mı diyelim nasıl diyelim bilmiyorum artık biz kimliğimizi koruyalım derken onların da işte laz arkadaşlarımızın da kendi örf ve adetleri kendilerine göre biz bi ara bu solculuklan bu ırkçılığa karşıyız istemiyoruz ö doğru diil ama işte kendi kimliğimizi kaybediyoruz niye kaybediyoruz onu da sorguluyoruz kendi kendimize soruyoruz bu da ikili mesele ikili bi mesele bilmiyorum dille ilgili de bizim harunla görüşmeden gitme bence onun çalışmaları var onla görüşmeden gitme onun var onla görüşmeden gitmeni tavsiye etmiyorum ben onla görüşsen daha iyi olur ö onun bi uğraşları var bazı şeylerde onun uğraşları bizim bişey yok biz biz böyle asimile olduk gibi geliyo entegre olduk ya ö kadar bizim ö kadar şey ya biz çok unutmuşuz unutulmuş unutulmuş derken hata da bizde üzerinde durmadık

N: hı hı gene sizin kuşak konuşuyo hemşince anlıyo da

As we see, older generation of leftists see ethnic identity politics as "racism". The struggle for ethnic identities conflict with their idea of international solidarity of working class on the one hand, while the lost of it creates anxiety on the other. While this idea indirectly helps assimilation of the Hemşinlis, more significant is the role socialist leftists assumed for themselves, which is to educate the working class, the peasant and backward Hemşinlis in our case. In the following lines Yaşar presents his views regarding Hemşin language. He states that he and his generation are also faulty since they did not speak Hemşin language to their children for they thought it was better for the children to integrate better to the school system. Schooling, reading was also the tools used by the leftists to disseminate their "enlightened viewpoints" emphasizing development and progress.

I also had an interview with Yaşar's daughter, Dilek. She explicitly states that her father prevented her speaking Hemşince when she was a child. Below is a conversation from some Hemşinli women. These women are among the first Hemşinli women who were educated and got jobs in state institutions. Dilek tells her account upon Saime's comments on speaking Hemşince.

S: (...) Well, in the past, there was not electricity, people visited their neighbors and they always spoke Hemşince. Now, after I got retired I entered into our community. I am done with Turkish now I always speak Hemşince. Now, I have some friends. When I say something in Hemşince, they show reactions with surprise. They say, "You are educated, do you speak Hemşince?"

D: Yes, there are many people like this. For example, my father-

S: It is not a shame to speak Hemşince.

D: When I was a child, we went to some place. There was an old woman. My father asked where I was coming from. I was a child. I was six years old then.

I said, "I am coming from Momi's house." My father got angry. He said, "It is not momi, it is nine (grandma). From this time on I did not utter a word in Hemşince. I got educated. Now I can't speak. I want to speak (Hemşince) a lot now. I mean I understand but (...)"¹²⁰ (Saime, 53; Dilek, 28)

Y: bizim kuşak konuşuyo bizden çok sonraki kuşaklar sonradan öğrendiler çocuklar anlamıyodular yani bizim de hatamız var tabi biz konuşmadık

N: siz konuşmuyo muydunuz

Y: konuşmama sebebimiz de şey yani işte o o işte okullu yıllarda işte çocuklar türkçe okuyabilsin işte bu okulda sınıfta derse entegre olabilsin diye türkçe konuşuyo ya resmi ona alışabilsin diye öyle bi şey oluyodu işte

¹²⁰ *Original:*

The excerpt above starts with Saime's account comparing the usage of Hemşince in the past days when there was not even electricity. We see that people used to speak Hemşince more in those days. However, Saime was not included in those people up until she got retired since she was working in a state institution and lived in Hopa town center. Saime explicitly depicts the relation between one's education level and speaking Turkish or Hemşin accordingly. She states that when she speaks Hemşince her friends react to that assuming that the ones who have been educated should not speak Hemşince. Here, it is explicitly demonstrated that Hemşince is associated with peasant way of life and hence should not be spoken by the educated ones who are assumed to have made progress.

Moreover, this account demonstrates that Dilek's father, Yaşar considers Hemşince belongs to peasant and backwards way of life similar to Saime's friends. As seen in Dilek's account, he gets angry when Dilek utters a word in Hemşince preventing her speak Hemşince. Dilek states that once her father shouted at her when she said "momi". "Momi" means grandmother in Hemşin language. She states that from that day on she got afraid of speaking Hemşince and never said "momi" again up until the last years during which she tries to learn Hemşin language.

What Yaşar's account together with the conversation among Saime and Dilek signals is that although the claim that Hemşinlis had not been undergoing assimilation thanks to their way of life up until they started to go downtown and hence exposed to modern life is true to some extent, but it does not explicate this process sufficiently. The auto-control of the Hemşinlis themselves regarding the language use already cancels any potential conflict with the state and hence oppression by the state forces. In short, it is not

S: (...) e önceden elektrik yoktu komşu komşuya giderdi hep hemşince konuşurlardı şimdi emekli olduktan sora ben bu şeye girdim da bizim millete girdim türkçe bitti hep hemşince konuşuyorum şimdi bazen bizim arkadaşlar var da bi bakıyorum ki hemşince söylemişim heey sen okumuşsun hemşince mi konuşuyosun

D: yani çok var babamda da mesela

S: hemşince konuşmak ayıp diil

D: küçükken mesela bi yere gitmiştik yaşlı bi teyze vardı babam sordu nerden geliyosun çocuğum ben altı yaşındayım dedim mominin yanından geliyorum dedim babam kızdı o momi diil nine dedi ben ondan sora i hiç ağzıma hemşince kelime almadım eğitildim şimdi de çeviremiyorum yani dilim dönmüyo o kadar konuşmak istiyorum ki hani anlıyorum çok iyi anlıyorum ama (...)

only that Hemşinlis did not have relations with the state as Harun states, but also Hemşinlis with their auto control and small number had not been a threat for the Turkish Republic because the Hemşinlis who are leftists themselves had the hegemonic view of modernization emphasizing development and progress complying with the state ideology. It seems that that is why we do not come across "sad school experiences" regarding the use of a language other than Turkish commonly among the Hopa Hemşinlis differing from the case of Kurdish people.

I had interview with fifty-two Hemşinlis, thirty-two of whom are above the age of 40s. Among these, I have only three accounts, which mentions ban on Hemşin language at the schools. The excerpt below is from a 49 year-old Hemşinli woman, Sevim, who has a memory of ban on Hemşin language in her primary school years.

N: Do you have any other memories from the school like this?

S: From the school- well in the fourth grade, in those years it was like- well, pre school-. Our teacher banned to speak Hemşince so that we speak Turkish better at the school. There was a widespread idea about this issue like you learn in an easier way, you can learn reading and writing in an easier way and faster. Well, at the fourth grade the teacher chose me as class president. S/he told me to write down the ones speaking Hemşince. Everyday, I used to write down the ones speaking Hemşince during the breaks. I used to tell the teacher that they spoke Hemşince. We did not use to speak our own language. It was like that in that period.¹²¹ (Sevim, 49)

In this account, Sevim states that her teacher chose her as the class president to note the Hemşince speaking students during the breaks. She further states that the teacher banned to speak Hemşince because there was a widespread belief that if students speak Hemşince they would be less successful at the school since they learn later in this case.

¹²¹ Original:

N: peki okuldan başka anıların var mı böyle

S: okuldan işte eee dördüncü sınıfta o zamanlar şeydi okuma işte ee okul öncesi okulda daha düzgün türkçe konuşsun diye hemşince konuşmayı yasaklamıştı öğretmenimiz köyde de işte okul öncesi çocuklarla türkçe konuşsun diye bi yaygın o konuda şey vardı daha rahat edersin daha okuma yazmaya kolay geçerler diye dördüncü sınıfta işte öğretmen beni başkan seçmişti işte hemşince konuşanları yazıcaksın demişti ben de hergün tenefüste sınıfta konuşanları yazıyodum öğretmene söylüyodum öğretmenim hemşince konuştular diye ki kendi dilimizi işte konuşmuyoduk öyle bi şey vardı o dönemde

54-year-old Lütfü also states that in his primary school years there was something like informing the teacher against the ones speaking Hemşince. "They were banning the Hemşin language. It was a ban for the children, so that they could read in Turkish better. It was not an obvious oppression," he says. As we see Lütfü does not consider this ban on Hemşince as a way of oppression. The following account as well presents the ban on the use of Hemşince as "catching up with the time" as well as signals the hegemony of the Turkish state on Hopa Hemşinlis.

N: Well, before you started school did you used to speak Turkish or Hemşince?

A: Well, in our age we mostly used to speak Hemşince but they were forcing us to speak Turkish. In that time, the teacher I mentioned as well told us to speak Turkish. Although Hemşince was his language also, he used to say "You will not speak Hemşince even at home." I mean, more precisely, he was trying to make us adjust to the age.

N: Did you have difficulty in getting used to Turkish when you started the school?

A: We did not have much difficulty. We had already been speaking Turkish. The elderly used to speak as well. Our village was not much like backward. It was open to the age. It was an open village. Our elderly are as well foreseeing. I mean it was not that bad.

N: Well, then which language do you speak most with your mother and father? Hemşince or Turkish?

A: I speak both of them.¹²² (Abdullah, 48)

In Abdullah's account we see that the use of Hemşince at the school and even at home was forbidden by the schoolteacher. What is significant for us here is that the

¹²² *Original:*

N: peki şey okula başlamadan önce annenle babanla daha çok türkçe mi konuşuyodun hemşince mi

A: şimdi bizim çağımızda çoğu zaman hemşince konuşurduk ama türkçe de zorluyodular o zaman hani o dediğim öğretmen de türkçe konuşun diyodu tabi ya türkçeyi konuşun diyodu kendisinin de zaten hemşince kendisinin de dili olduğu halde bize hemşinceyi evde dahi hemşince konuşmicaksınız diyodu yani çağa alıştırmaya çalışıyodu daha doğrusu

N: okula gittiğinde zorlandın mı türkçeye alışmak konusunda

A: pek fazla da zorlanmadık ben zaten konuşuyoduk büyükler de konuşuyodu bizim köy pek fazla şey değildi yani geride kalmış bi köy değildi şeye açıktı yani çağa açık bi köydü büyüklerimiz de ileri görüşlü bişeydi yani fazla şey değildi kötü

N: peki sen şimdi annenle babanla en çok hangisini konuşuyosun hemşince mi türkçe mi

A: her türlü konuşuyorum

teacher himself is Hemşinli and he bans the use of his own mother tongue. In addition, this ban on Hemşince is seen as an endeavor for development, catching up with the time rather than oppression as we see in Lütfü's account. It seems that how Hemşinlis approached to such a condition has a great impact on who can speak Hemşince today, on the use of Hemşin and Turkish languages, the former in time having been limited to a narrower space day by day while the latter gaining prominence and a larger space of usage since such approaches continue to be commonly held today. In the next section, I will focus on the language ideologies of Hopa Hemşinlis as well as spaces of usage of Hemşince and Turkish and how these spaces changed in the modernization period.

5.3. Present Status of Hemşince: Space and Function

As I have pointed out in the former section, today the use of Hemşince is getting less and less to the extent that some young adults understand but do not speak it while some children neither understands nor speaks it. This decrease in the use of Hemşin language and in the spaces it is spoken by the elderly depends very much on the attitudes the Hemşinli speakers themselves attained in the process of modernization. The excerpt below is from a dialogue I had with a 42 -year- old Hemşinli woman, Birsen and her mother-in-law, Emine depicting clearly who speaks Hemşince with whom today as well as some spaces it is used.

N: How many grandchildren do you have?

E: I have never counted orti.

B: She has four (counting) eight eleven twelve thirteen fourteen or fifteen grandchildren

N: How old is the youngest one?

B: Of the grandchildren, of boys or girls?

N: It doesn't matter.

B: Seyhan's is seven years old. S/he goes to the first grade.

N: Do speak in Hemşince with the youngest one.

E: No, children do not speak Hemşince

N: Don't they

E: Hı hı

N: Don't they understand?

E: I speak.

B: The children understand but they don't give answers. I mean they understand but do not give answers in Hemşince.

E: I speak Hemşince.

N: Yes, you speak.

B: This grandma speaks. She speaks but my elder son, when I speak Hemşince he shouts at me. He says "Speak correctly, answer me clearly". I mean the child neither understands nor nothing. So we do not speak that much Hemşince. For example, I say "sparte" he says, "Speak correctly". I don't say anything. The child does not understand and behaves like this.

N: But you speak Hemşince among yourselves, no?

B: We? No. We have new daughter in laws now. We speak Hemşince with these elderly now. When we are with friends we speak Turkish. We speak Hemşince with grandmothers and grandfathers. When we work, when we are at the tea lands, we speak Hemşince.

N: I see, when you work.

B: Yes, for example at work. When we have tea (we) work then.¹²³ (Birsen, 42; Emine, 67)

¹²³ Original:

N: kaç torunun var

E: ortı saymadum

B: dort sekiz on bir oniki on üç tane torini var on dört on beş tane

N: en küçüğü kaç yaşında

B: torunların mi erkek kız?

N: fark etmez

B: eee seyhanınki yedi yaşında birinci sınıfa gidiyo

N: en küçüğüyle hemşince konuşuyo musun

E: yok yok hemşince konuşmaylar ki çocuklar

N: konuşmuyolar mı

E: ı ı

N: anlamıyolar mı

E: ben konuşuyom konuşuyom

B: çocuklar kendileri anlıyo da konuşmuyolar cevap vermiyolar yani anlamaya anlıyolar da hemşince cevap vermiyolar

E: ben konuşuyrum hemşince

N: sen konuşuyosun evet

B: bu konuşuyo babaanne da büyük oğlum mesela hemşince konuştım mi başından yukarı bağıriyor doğru konuş doğru cevap ver bana der çocuk yani ne anlıyo ne bişey

Through this dialogue, it is seen that Hemşince is used by the elderly most. The middle-aged generation speaks to the elderly in Hemşince while they speak in Turkish to their children. Based on my observations and people's accounts we can claim that to the children elderly as well prefers to speak in Turkish. What we see in this excerpt, the children mostly understand Hemşince but answer in Turkish. However, Birsen's child neither understands Hemşince nor speaks it. Added to this, he does not want his mother to speak Hemşince. This attitude of Birsen's child towards Hemşince, when Hemşince is spoken to him/her is quite significant to note. Birsen states that when she speaks Hemşince, her child shouts at her warning her to speak correctly. More interesting than this is Birsen's justification of the child's attitude. The grounds for this is that Turkish is the prestigious language in Turkey the attainment of which provides people with progress in life such as success at school, reading books in Turkish as referred to by many middle-aged Hemşinli women.

Moreover, through this dialogue we also see that Hemşince is used among the elderly and middle-aged women. Birsen states that among friends they do not speak Hemşin. I had chance to observe mostly the women in Çavuşlu, which is quite close to the town center. Based on my observations in Çavuşlu, I can claim that when women come together they always prefer to speak in Hemşin since they find it more enjoyable. They even complain when there is somebody who does not speak Hemşin among them for they have to speak Turkish then. However, Çavuşlu is a village. In Birsen's case, it might be different since they live in the town center.

Another thing is that Hemşince is used when women work, when they are at the tea lands during the harvest time. Birsen states that they speak Hemşince while working at tea harvest time. That Hemşince is spoken in this space, tea lands, accords with Harun's claim that Hemşince belongs to village life, and the town center is the host for Turkish.

konuşmuyoruz biz de o kadar ben hemşince mesela sparte derim doğru konuş der bişey
deyeyrum çocuk kendisi anlamayr o kadar tersinesini yapıyo
N: ama siz aranızda galiba hemşince konuşuyosunuz de mi
N: hımm işte güçte
B: hı hı mesela çalışmakta bizim çay işimiz ne zaman ki var o zaman

The attitude of Birsen's child towards Hemşince is very significant to elaborate more on since it directly relates to the relation between speaker attitudes and language maintenance. Dilek whose father gets angry when she says "momi" is now 28 years old. She is trying to learn Hemşince and negotiates language lost with her parents blaming them for not speaking Hemşince to her when she was a child. However, when we look at her mother's account we see the same attitude that Birsen's child exhibits. I had an interview with Dilek's mother as well. Probably because of these negotiations and discussions Dilek's mother after the first mention of her daughter, started to talk about language in our conversation.

H: Well, we worked and worked. We grew up the girls. We have sent them to schools. Now they don't know how to harvest tea.

N: Don't they know?

H: Very little. For example, we did not make them get used to Hemşince. We always spoke Turkish to them. Now they cannot speak. They cannot speak our language.

N: But you speak, right?

H: I speak. Her father knows as well. But we always spoke Turkish with them to prevent them getting used to (Hemşince), in case it affects their studies.

N: You spoke to them Turkish for they to have education?

H: Yes, for example, for while they go to school- for their Turkish gets bad we did not speak (Hemşince) at home. My husband was born in the town center. I grew up in the town center. He still does not speak (Hemşince). I mean when I spoke (Hemşince) he used to say "Don't speak Hemşince to the child". And Dilek said "Mom what were you talking? "Haca huca" Speak correctly! Why are you speaking two languages?"¹²⁴ (Hayriye, 50)

¹²⁴ Original:

H: işte çalıştık ettik kızları büyüttük okuttuk şimdi çay var şimdiki kızlar bizim kızlar çayı bilmiyolar

N: bilmiyolar mı çayı

H: az işte az mesela hemşince konuşturmaya alıştırmaduk hep türkçe konuştuk şimdi de konuşamıyorlar anlitorlar dilumizi konuşamıyorlar

N: ama sen konuşuyosun di mi

H: ben konuşuyom babası da biliyo ama kendileri alışmasın diye o zaman okumaları etkilenmesin diye biz konuşmaduk yanlarında hep türkçe konuştuk

N: okusunlar diye türkçe konuştunuz

H: he mesela okula giderken mesela türkçesi şey olur kötü olur diye diye evde konuşmadık beyim mesela çarşide doğdumuştü o çarşide büyümişti o da hala daha konuşmuyo yani dileğinen konuştum mi çocukla hemşince konuşma diyodu dilek de anne ne konuşuyodun hacahuca e doğru konuşsana diydu niye iki dil konuşuyosun diyodu

In this excerpt, we see that Hayriye and her husband always spoke Turkish to their children for the same reasons, which is for their children to be more successful at school. What is interesting in this extract is that Dilek who was scorned since she uttered a word in Hemşince, "momi", learned not to speak Hemşince and imitating her father and taking his role warns her mother not to speak Hemşince when she was a child.

Considering my observations, I can claim that women generally have the same experience with Dilek. While they seem to be the vigorous advocates of the idea that children should be spoken to in Turkish so that they become successful at school, they are at the same time the ones who speak Hemşince more and in wider contexts and who are frequently scorned at by their husbands since they speak Hemşince. In the data, I have numerous accounts of women stating that they spoke Hemşince before they get married. Especially, after having children they are forced to speak Turkish by their husbands. This continues up until a new daughter-in-law comes to the house who is expected to speak Turkish saving her mother-in-law from speaking Turkish forcibly. Moreover, this seems to be the case without any generation differences, both the elderly women and middle aged women have accounts of their being warned by the men, the former having more difficulty in speaking Turkish with the impact of having no education etc. The account below is from an 82-year-old woman, Sultan and exemplifies the above-mentioned condition.

N: One more thing I want to ask relates to Hemşince. Did your parents speak Turkish or Hemşince mostly?

S: They were speaking as I do. We speak Hemşilce. I mean we know Turkish as well. We go downtown. There are Laz people. You do shopping or something in Turkish. I Turkish-these children- I knew Turkish as well when I was in my father's house but it was not that much. When I sent the children to the school, they liked me here and I settled, then with the children I started (to speak Turkish). And Niyazi used to tell me "With the children speak Turkish. With the children speak Turkish. Let the children study well. They become so good and such good. And now I can speak better. I know both Turkish and Hemşilce. Thanks God. When my daughter-in-law came to the house I did not speak (Turkish) that much. The girls also grew up.

N: Were speaking more Hemşince when you were in your father's house?

S: I used to speak Hemşilce. Why should I tell a lie?

N: Well, do you get tired when you speak Turkish?

S: No I don't get tired. I feel easy. But I mix the mother tongue (to Turkish) when somebody comes and I mix (codes) the children say well what was Sevim saying? When I spoke to somebody. Well, she said, "You switched to the other channel". She used to say and laughed.

N: Which one do you like more?

S: Both of them are the same for me. But my own language is sweet for me, my mother tongue. I use it more.¹²⁵ (Sultan, 82)

As an answer to the question if her parents speak Turkish or Hemşince, Sultan states that her parents were speaking like her, speaking "Hemşilce". Then she adds Turkish. She presents us with the spaces where she speaks Turkish. Contrary to younger generations who speak Turkish more, as we see in Birsen's case above, the spaces in which Sultan speaks Hemşince is more than the ones she speaks Turkish. She states that they speak Turkish only when they go to downtown, while shopping with the Laz etc. This means that when there is no "yabancı" around they speak Hemşince. Afterwards, the children come. Sultan states that she spoke Hemşince more when she was in her father's house. But when she settled in her husband's house and had children her husband told her to speak Turkish. Although she states that she does not get tired, as most of the elderly claims, when she speaks Turkish, she tells us she stopped Turkish when a daughter-in-

¹²⁵ *Original:*

N: bi de hemşinceyi sorucam senin annen baban daha çok hemşince mi konuşuyodu türkçe mi

S: onlar da benim gibi konuşur hemşilce konuşuyuz yani yahu türkçeyi a biliruz ıı çarşıya eneyiruz çarşıda lazlar türkçe aluşveruş bişey yaparsın da ben türkçeyi bu çocuklar türkçeyi da biliyurdum ama babamun evinde da ama bu kadar değildi çocuklar ki okula verdum burda beendular yerleştim o zaman çocukle başladum niyazi de deyirdi ki bana çocuklarla türkçe konuş çocuklarla türkçe konuş çocuklar eyi okusunlar eyi boyle olsunlar eyi şöyle olsunlar şimdi da arturdum artudum türkçeyi da biliyorum ama hemşilceyi de biliyorum allama şukur ne zaman ki gelun geldu o kadar konuşmadum, kızlar da boyuduler

N: baba evinde daha çok hemşince mi konuşuyodun

S: hemşince konuşuyodum niye yalan deyim hemşince konuşuyordum

N: peki sen türkçe konuşurken yoruluyor musun

S: bişey da yorulmayrum rahatım ama gene anadili arada katayırım çocuklar deyiler anne birisi gelse katsam anne anne anne şey ne deyirdiler sevgi ne derdi birisiylen konuşmaynen ha oteki kanala geçtun anne anne oteki kanala geçtun derdi gülmeylen

N: sen hangisini daha çok seviyorsun

N: ikisi da birdur benimki dilim gene benim için tatlıdır ya benim dilim ana dilimi kullanayırım çok

law came to their house. The duty of speaking Turkish to the children so that they become successful at school is transmitted to the daughter-in-law or the grown up young people at home. Among the elderly, frequent code-switches are observed. It seems that their competence in Hemşince is more compared to Turkish. Also note that in the end, Sultan states that her mother tongue is sweeter for her and she uses it more. I observed such affiliations to Hemşin language only among the elderly. Similar to Sultan, 84-year-old Hemşinli woman Cemile states that they used to speak Turkish rarely, only when they visited downtown contrary to the generation of her children who always speak Turkish.

N: Do you speak Turkish or Hemşince with the grandpa?

C: Of course Hemşince, was there Turkish in those times? Was there? We used to speak Turkish rarely when we went downtown.

N: But now you also speak Turkish?

C: We learned it. We knew it but we did not use to speak it. We were already Hemşinli and were speaking Hemşince.

N: Did you always use to speak Hemşince at home?

C: Of course.

N: Now, which language your children speak more in their houses?

*C: They are also Hemşinli but they are educated. I mean they always speak Turkish. The daughters-in-law as well, they all speak Turkish always.¹²⁶
(Cemile, 84)*

This excerpt from Cemile above shows us the spaces in which Hemşince and Turkish used to be spoken by the Hopa Hemşinlis. Cemile states that they used to speak Turkish only when they went downtown. However, her children and their generation

¹²⁶ *Original:*

N: sen dedeyle türkçe mi konuşuyodun hemşince mi konuşuyodun

C: tabi hemşince o zaman türkçe var mıydı ka var mıydı türkçe çarşıya enduk mi oyle işte arada konuşuyurduk da

N: e şimdi türkçeyi de konuşuyosun

C: e öğrendük da biliyorduk ama konuşmaydık zaten oyle hemşinliyduk o ki hemşince konuşup gideyurdük

N evde hep hemşince mi konuşuyodunuz

C: tabi

N: şimdi senin çocuklarının evlerinde daha çok ne konuşuyolar

C: bunlar da hemşinli ama okumuş o ki ler yani hep türkçe konuşirler gelinler çoğu hep türkçe konuşuyor

always speak Turkish. Cemile states that they are also Hemşinli but they are educated. We again see the association between being educated and Turkish.

We have seen that schooling, the idea that Hemşince causes difficulties in learning at school is very common among the Hopa Hemşinlis. However, this idea changes according to where the school is. If the school is at the town center, speaking Turkish with the children gains an utmost importance. If the school is at a village where the majority is Hemşinli, speaking Turkish is not considered indispensable. The excerpt below from Fatma, a 51 year-old Hemşinli woman depicts this condition clearly.

N: Well, you said your husband does not speak Hemşince. Before you got married, had you spoken Hemşince always?

F: Well, at this time we were speaking Hemşince but we also knew Turkish. But people like my mother are different. They are like they are backward. They don't know Turkish that much. But we knew. When we went to school we already knew Turkish.

N: You went to school right?

F: Yes, I finished fifth grade. In our time, they did not use to send us to the middle school. It was not like today.

N: Well, you said you spoke Turkish to your children so that they don't face difficulty at school. When you went to school did you have a difficulty? Do you remember?

F: No, I knew (Turkish). It was not bad at that time. Then we were at the village. For example, if we had had education at the town center it would have been a problem. For example, the schools at the village are different. The schools at the town center are more different.

N: How? Why it is a problem when you are at the town center?

F: The schools at the village were not that much a problem. That's why. I mean the ones living in the town center knew Turkish. I mean they knew more. For example, they did not speak Hemşince. More modern, kinder. Ours (Hemşinlis) spoke Hemşince very much. We, for example, at the school learned a lot.¹²⁷ (Fatma, 51)

¹²⁷ *Original:*

N: peki şey beyim konuşmuyo dedin sen kendi annenlerle hep hemşince mi konuşuyodun evlenmeden önce

F: ya biz o zaman hemşince konuşuyoduk ama türkçe de biliyoduk da mesela annem onlar fark biraz onlar şeydi geride onlar bilmiyolar türkçeyi o kadar biz biliyoduk mesela biz okula gidince konuşuyoduk da türkçe

N: sen okula gittin di mi

In this account, Fatma states that they could speak both Turkish and Hemşince before she married. She states that her mother did not speak Turkish. She associates this condition with being backward. Fatma stated that she did not speak Hemşince to her children for she wants them to be successful at school. Upon this I asked her if she had difficulty at the school. To my deduction at that time, since her mother did not speak Turkish, and if one has difficulty at school when she speaks Hemşince, Fatma as well should have difficulty at school. As an answer to these questions, she states that the schools at the village and at the town center are different. At the schools in villages, it is not that problematic if one also speaks Hemşince. However, at the schools in the downtown it is a problem because there are many people who speak good Turkish in the town center. Moreover, she presents the ones in the town center as more modern (civilized), and kind people. This indicates that for the use of Turkish rather than Hemşince the place of the school as a state institution is significant. When the state institution is in the down center there is no space for Hemşince.

Therefore, we see a mapping between spaces and languages, which are associated with different affiliations. Hemşince "belongs to village", it is "backward", not modern, and "rude" as opposed to Turkish, which belongs to town center, it is or the speakers of it are "modern" and "kind". Hence, if you go to school in the village having competence in Hemşince does not matter since all the other students are Hemşinlis as well. In the town center this is not the case, there are Laz speakers, and many good speakers of Turkish. To go to the schools there, one should attain good competence in Turkish, which makes families stop speaking Hemşince to their children.

F: evet beşinci sınıfı bitirdim o zaman bizim zamanımızda orta okutmazdılar şimdiki gibi nerde

N: peki şey sen okurken hani şimdi okulda zorlanmasınlar diye türkçe konuşmuşsun ya çocuklarıyla sen okurken hemşincenin zararını gördün mü hatırlar mısın hani sence kötü oldu mu

F: yoo biz biliyoduk o zaman kötü olmadı o zaman köyde mesela çarşıda okusaydık olurdu mesela köydeki okullar farklı çarşıdaki okullar daha farklı mesela daha

N: nasıl çarşıda niye hemşince bilince olmuyo

F: köydeki okullar o kadar olmazdı sorun o zaman o yüzden yani çarşıdakiler çarşıda oturanlar türkçe bilirdi yani daha fazla mesela hemşince konuşmazdiler daha moderen daha nazik bizimkiler hep hemşince çok konuşuyodular biz mesela okula gittuk mi okulda öğrenduk çok

The association of Turkish with being "nazik" (kind), "sosyete" (leisured), and "havalı" (stylish) is quite common among the Hemşinlis, especially the women. The account below is from a Hemşinli woman describing the spaces of the use of Hemşin language as well as attitudes towards Hemşince and Turkish.

N: Well, you speak Hemşince, right?

Ş: Yes.

N: When you were a child?

Ş: When I was a child, yes of course we were speaking Hemşince. My mother and father were speaking Hemşince. Nobody spoke Turkish. We always spoke Hemşince. Only when we went to school we spoke Turkish. It was like this. Only when we went to school we used to speak Turkish.

N: Was not it difficult to speak Turkish at the school?

Ş: Did we have difficulty at the school? At the school we were speaking Turkish to the teachers. When we come back home after the school we used to speak Hemşince with our mothers, fathers, grandfathers. We did not have elderly who spoke Turkish so that they could speak Turkish to us. There weren't people who went to universities at those times so that they would speak Turkish to us. It was like that.

N: Well, now with your children -

Ş: I speak Turkish to my children now. Their father already- once I spoke Hemşin. Their father gets angry with me. He says, "Why are you speaking with the children like that. Speak Turkish to the children." I sometimes speak Hemşince. He says, "How do you speak like that? Speak correctly!" He gets angry with me. (Laughs) I don't understand. Me, these our family. The ones here always speak Turkish.

N: The family in-law?

Ş: Yes, from the grandmother to grandfather. All of the even my husband speak Turkish. I don't remember my husband's speaking Hemşince.

N: And your family?

Ş: My family speaks Hemşince more. I was also speaking Hemşince always there. I did not use to speak Turkish. After I came here, I used to it. Now if I speak Hemşince sometimes my husband gets angry with me. He asks why I speak like this.

N: Why is it so? In case children do not learn Turkish?

Ş: Well, it is not only because of the children. He asks, "Why are you speaking Hemşince?" I don't know they don't like speaking. I don't know. They are like

N: What

Ş: Laughs. They are like this.

N: How? Do they consider Hemşince bad?

Ş: Not bad but they are like arrogant. They call it kind. Well, it is stylish. Well, you got it? To speak Turkish is more stylish. Well, it is like this. They are leisured (laughs).

But I don't speak with the children. Never. I mean Hemşince; I don't speak Hemşince with them.

N: What if they don't learn (Hemşince)?

Ş: But children also know. They know everything. When I speak, they understand. It does not depend on us. When they go out they all speak. They already know Hemşince. And I don't say, "You will not speak Hemşince". Certainly, they can speak. They can get used to it. What would happen if they do?

N: Well, then how does Hemşince sound to you?

Ş: Since our mother tongue is Turkish we do not stop speaking Hemşince. I speak I mean. I always speak.

N: Which one do you speak more easily?

Ş: I speak Hemşince in an easier way. I really, well, what would happen? Are not we all Hemşinlis? Of course we will speak Hemşince.

N: Who speaks Hemşince more here?

Ş: Here, our elderly speak Hemşince. I mean our old mothers, fathers, well our grandfathers, grandmothers speak. I mean the young do not speak. Among the young some speak.¹²⁸ (Şükriye, 38, Hopa)

¹²⁸ *Original:*

N: peki şeyi sorcam sen hemşince konuşuyosun di mi

Ş: hı hı

N: küçükken ?

Ş: küçüken tabi ki hemşince konuşuyoduk ki annem babam hemşince konuşuyodu kimse türkçe konuşmuyodu ki biz de hemşince konuşuyoduk öyle okul bi okula gitseydik öle türkçe konuşuyoduk

N: okulda zor oluyo muydu türkçe konuşmak

Ş: okulda zorlanıyo muyduk e okulda öğretmenlerle konuşuyoduk işte işte orda türkçeyi okuldan çıktıktan sora yine eve gelseydik dedemizle baban annemizle babamızla onlarla hemşince konuşuyoduk büyüklerimiz yoktu ki onlar türkçe konuşsaydı o zaman da hoş şimdi universteye giden liseye giden kısım yoktu ki bizle türkçe konuşsaydı öyle yani ben şimdi çocuklarımla türkçe konuşuyorum babası zaten ben arada hemşince konuştum babası kızıyo bana niye çocuklarla öle konuşuyosun çocuklarla türkçe konuş diyo ben arada hemşince konuşuyorum ya sen nası konuşuyosun diyo bana doğru konuşsana diyo işte bana kızıyo ben de arada hemşince konuşuyorum ya bana kızıyo (laughs) nası anlamıyorum ben bunlar bizim aile burdakiler hep türkçe konuşuyolar

N: evlendiğin aile

Ş: evlendiğim aile babaanneden tut dedeye de hepsi eşim bile türkçe hiç hemşince konuştuğunu ben bilmem eşimin

N: senin ailen ?

Ş: ya sadece çocuklardan değil de niye sen öyle hemşince konuşuyosun diyo işte ne bilim sevmiyolar işte hemşince konuşmayı ne biliyim biraz şeyler ya

N: neler

Ş: laughs öyle işte

N: nasıl şey kötü mü görüyo hemşinceyi

In this account, Şükriye states that they were always speaking Hemşince except the times they were at the school. Depending on the common idea of having difficulty at the school if one speaks Hemşince; I ask if it was difficult for her to speak Turkish at the school. Then what Şükriye says is significant for us to understand how Turkish and Hemşince considered among the Hemşinlis. She states that in her time, there were not elderly and educated people who could speak Turkish with them. She presents this as if they had less opportunities in the past stating that now she speaks Turkish to her children. Hence, her children having an elderly who speaks Turkish are luckier than her. Then we see the same approach to Hemşince by her husband who gets angry with her when she speaks Hemşince to the children. Şükriye compares her family and her husband's family. She states that contrary to her family, who always used to speak Hemşince her husband and his family never speak Hemşince. She states the reasons for her husband's not speaking Hemşince hesitantly as their being "kibirli" (arrogant), "nazik" (polite), and "havalı" (stylish). Although she seems to be criticizing her husband and his family for being leisured and for not speaking Hemşince, it is clear that she also associates speaking Turkish with being educated emphasizing that she does not speak Hemşince with the children. However, she does not consider speaking Hemşince as something bad, either. Contrary to her husband, she states she would not tell her children not to speak Turkish.

Ş: kötü değil de işte biraz şey gibiler işte kibir nazik diyolar ya işte öyle yani havalı yani anladın? Türkçe konuşmak daha havalı öyle işte sosyete sayılıyo bunlar çok (laughs) ama çocuklarla ben konuşmam kesinlikle hemşince yani hemşince konuşmam

N: peki öğrenemezlerse

Ş: ama çocuklar da biliyolar herşeyi biliyolar ben konuştum mu hemen anlıyolar çocuk da zaten bizim dediğimizle olmaz ki sokağa çıktı mi zaten çocuklar hepsi konuşuyo da hemşinceyi yani biliyolar çocuklar hemşinceyi konuşmıyacaksın da demem ben kesinlikle konuşunlar da alışsınlar da çocuklar ne olacak hoş.

N: peki sende sana nası geliyo hemşince nası geliyo

Ş: bizim anadilimiz türkçedir diye hoş hemşince de konuşuyoz da ben konuşuyom yani her zaman konuşuyorum

N: sen daha rahat hangisinde konuşuyosun

Ş: daha rahat hemşinceyi konuşurum ben geçekten yani ne olacak hemşince hemşinli değil miyiz biz hemşinceyi de konuşacağız da

N: burda kimler daha çok hemşince konuşuyo

Ş: burda kim yaşlılarımız hemşince konuşuyo yaşlı annemiz babamız işte dedelerimiz babaannelerimiz bunlar konuşur yani gençlerimiz konuşmuyo gençler de bazıları hemşince konuşur yani

She further states that Turkish might be their mother tongue but that does not mean they should stop speaking Hemşince. Moreover, although she states her children could learn Hemşince as they go out even if she does not speak Hemşince with them, she also states that mostly the young does not speak Hemşince in their village. Only the elderly speak Hemşince. I believe that in that the language ideologies of the speakers of Hemşince do have a great role on this situation.

Language ideologies have various definitions depending on different disciplines approaching language from different perspectives. In its most broad definition, language ideologies are "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (Rumsey 1990: 346). Silverstein emphasizing the linguistic structure and the activist nature of ideology defines linguistic ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979:193). Other definitions of language ideologies emphasize the social aspects refer to the link between the language ideologies and the speakers of the relevant language as a community. According to Heath, for example, language ideologies are "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (Heath 1989:53). Finally, Irvine focusing more on social relationships defines language ideologies as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine, 1989:255). Although these definitions of language ideologies emphasize different aspects of the term ideology per se and of language, all relate to the data I present in this chapter since I focus on both explicit and overt contestation of language ideologies and implicit indicators of these ideologies in language use and how they affect the language use.

I have already noted that with the increase in settlement in town center, schooling, and decrease in pastoral as well as peasant way of life, and the belief that Hemşince prevents success at school, the spaces Hemşince is spoken in, has decreased and hence, Hemşince has been reduced to performative gatherings, tea lands in the harvest period, and private contexts. We have seen that defining the spaces in which Hemşince is spoken is impossible since Hemşince is now has only some functions of usage. We have also seen how influential has been the belief that Hemşince prevents learning at the school and

how it cancelled the use of Hemşince. The positioning of Turkish as the prestigious language with references such as "modern", "polite" and "leisured language" in addition to school language guaranteeing success at school legalized the use of Turkish towards children resulting in incompetence in Hemşince. I have also frequently noted that attitudes towards Hemşince and Turkish carry utmost importance in determining the use of these languages. My claim is also supported by what linguist and topologist Woolard states: "The attribution of social, moral, and political meanings to specific language varieties and the erasure of contradictions and variation affect patterns of language acquisition, style-switching, and shift (...)" (Woolard, 1998: p.19). Considered in Hemşin context, in this chapter I mainly focus on such attributes to Hemşin language and Turkish would affect how these languages are used and to what extent. I believe that such attitudes towards and evaluations of Hemşince, which I might also call language ideologies of Hemşince and Turkish have been playing significant role on the use of Hemşin language.

Woolard further states that ideologies have effects in the sense of having undesired effects and are consequential for both social and linguistic process, although not always consequential in the way its practitioners might envision (Woolard, 1998: p. 9-19) In line with this view of ideologies, we see that despite all the mentioned changes, the most important is being the fact that most young Hemşinlis do not speak Hemşince, even if they understand, and despite the fact that almost all the Hemşinlis are aware of this, they do not envision a consequence for Hemşin language as it will end.¹²⁹ Below is a dialogue between two Hemşinli women in which they discuss the future of Hemşince.

N: Well, the new generation does not speak Hemşince. Do you think Hopa Hemşinlis forget their language?

A: No, no, no. It is not possible that Hopa Hemşinlis forget Hemşince. They never forget.

H: But let's not think for short terms.

A: They never forget, never forget. Now even five years old children speak Hemşince.

H: They don't speak. They don't speak but they don't forget because they understand.

¹²⁹ We should exclude the educated leftist Hemşinlis who are activists of identity politics here.

A: They would speak. They would speak. They would speak. They never forget because think on this. Think of in which generation we are. You can think of yourselves. Your mother.

H: But my sister is married a man from Samsun.

A: But since she is married a "yabancı", the mother cannot find anybody to speak Hemşince. With whom would she speak? Her husband doesn't speak. She cannot speak with him. She comes to the hometown from summer to summer for ten days. How could her child know? Maybe in this case (the child) would not know. But the others apart from this would know. The ones who marry in the village in the hometown would know.¹³⁰

In this dialogue we see that Ayfer does not believe that Hopa Hemşinlis would forget Hemşince. She states that even five-year-old children speak Hemşince but Hatice corrects her stating that they do not speak. However, they then agree that Hemşince would not be forgotten since these children understand the language. Ayfer thinks that since the language has lived until their generation it would not die after now either. She states that Hatice should look at herself her mother but Hatice does not speak Hemşince either though she understands. Then they refer to endogamy and exogamy, which I also believe very significant in preserving language. Ayfer is right in saying that if people marry within the village or hometown then the children would speak Hemşince. What she misses is that even in the villages the spaces and contexts of speaking Hemşince diminish. This belief of Ayfer relates to her attitude towards Hemşince, which we present below.

¹³⁰ *Original:*

N: peki ee genç kuşak çok fazla hemşince konuşmuyo sizce hopa hemşinleri de unutmuyor mu dilini

A: hayır hayır hayır hopa hemşinin hemşinceyi unutması mümkün değil asla unutmaz çünkü

H: ama kısa zamanı düşünmiyelim ya

A: unutmaz kesinlikle unutmaz şuanda beş yaşındaki bi çocuk bile hemşinceyi konuşuyo

H: konuşmaz konuşmaz konuşmuyo ama unutmaz anlıyo

A: konuşur konuşur konuşur kesinlikle kesinlikle unutmaz çünkü biz kaçınıcı kuşaz yani düşünün siz kendinizden pay biçin anneannenizden sora sizden kendinizden pay biçin

H: ama şöyle bişey var mesela benim ablam samsuna evli

A: ama dışarıya evli mesela diyelim ki bi yabancıya evli olduğu için anne hemşince konuşacak kimseyi bulamıyo e kimle konuşsun eşi bilmiyo sadece memlekete yazdan yaza geliyo on günlüğüne geliyo onun çocuğu nerden bilecek o zaman bilemiyebilir onun dışındakiler hepsi bilir köy içersinde memleket içinde evlenen asla unutmaz

N: Do you speak Hemşince?

A: Of course. It is very wrong to forget one's language. I mean it is good to teach your language, your dialect to the future generations. Of course you should teach it with your cultural practice. You should teach it in a democratic and system and in a modern life. In a modern life you can retain you essence protecting your generation but at the same time you can be educated and cultured. To speak your dialect is not a bad thing. You can speak anywhere and I do so. (Ayfer, 45)¹³¹

In this excerpt Ayfer states that one should teach her dialect, language to the future generations. She also adds that it is possible to lead a modern life, to be educated and cultured and at the same time speak one's dialect. This statement indicates that to speak Hemşince and to be educated and cultured at the same time is not a common view among Hemşinlis. This is what we observe in Hopa as well. The children of the people who are educated in 1970s and 1980s do not speak Hemşince now although they try to learn Hemşince now. Among my informants at least six young Hemşinlis do not speak any word of Hemşince and their parents are educated. Moreover, modernization with the things it brought narrowed down the spaces Hemşince is spoken in. While up to present this was the case, what Ayfer states is discussed among the activist Hemşinlis in Istanbul. They are aware of the fact that modern life cancels the contexts in which Hemşince is spoken. They always state that they should create living spaces for Hemşince in modern life.

The dialogue below is interesting since it is between a grandmother, Şariye and her granddaughter Tuçe. In this excerpt we talk about whether Hemşince would end among the next generations.

¹³¹ N: sen hemşince konuşuyo musun

A: tabii ki hemşince yani gerçeğini anadilini unutmak çok bence yanlış bişeydir yani gelecek nesillere de dilini öğretmek lehçeni öğretmek çok güzel bişey tabii ki bunu kültürünle birlikte öğreteceksin ve demokratik bi sistem içersinde yaşarken e moderen bi yaşam içersinde ee moderen bi yaşam içersinde hem kendi aslını neslini koruyarak hem de moderen bi yaşam içersinde çok eğitilmiş kültürlü bi insan olarak olabilirsin yani bu lehçeni konuşmak kötü anlamına gelmiyo her yerde konuşabilirsin ve ben de konuşuyorum

Ş: Everybody tries to do something, to study, to work.
T: Nowadays even the university graduates cannot find jobs. For this reason everybody should study here. And for this reason we speak with children not in Hemşince but in Turkish. Among ourselves- the elderly already speak Hemşince among themselves independent from their will because "they can't get their tongue around??" I mean they hardly speak Turkish.
N: Well, you always speak Turkish. What if Hemşince gets lost?
Ş: They know, although they don't speak, they understand every word.
T: And they, I guess from the childhood on, they are used to it because it (Hemşince) is spoken at home independent of our will. Then even newly born child when s/he grows up knows Hemşince. I mean even if s/he cannot speak s/he understands what we say but they cannot speak.
N: Then their children will not speak it
Ş: Yes, they will not speak.
T: They will not speak because they are grown up in Ankara, in a big city. I mean they come here, they learn a few words here. When they go back they forget it.
N: Then Hemşince is getting lost slowly
Ş: Yes, it is.
N: Do you get sad for this?
Ş: No, what would happen? It will be Turkish. Both are our language. It does not matter.
T: Is it? I don't think so
Ş: When the elderly dies maybe it will get lost. I don't know but if the young does not speak it will get lost, no other way.¹³² (Şariye, 72; Tuçe, 23)

¹³² Original:

Ş: herkes yani uğraşiyor okuyalım iş yapalım
T: şimdi yani lise diploması olmıyan da üniversteyi bitiren bile iş bulamıyo o yüzden herkes okumak zorunda kalıyo burda biz de o yüzden çocuklara hemşince değil yani türkçe konuşuyoruz kendi aramızda da zaten yaşlılar yine kendi aralarında mesela bi ortama girince yine ister istememz hemşince konuşuyolar çünkü türkçeye dilleri dönmüyo bunların yani türkçeyi zor konuşuyolar
N: peki şey olursa onlarla hep türkçe konuşuyosunuz ya azalırsa hemşince
Ş: biliyolar hep yani konuşamaları da her kelimeyi anlıyolar
T: bi de doğuştan heralde alışıyolar çünkü ister istemez evde konuşuluyo o zaman yeni doğmuş bi çocuk bile artık büyüyünce hemşinceyi biliyo hani konuş ne kadar konuşamasa da yine de biliyo konuştuğumuzu anlıyolar konuşamıyolar kendileri
N: o zaman onların çocukları hiç konuşmicak
Ş: haa konuşmıyacaklar onlar
T: konuşmicaklar onlar çünkü hep ankarada büyüdü büyük şehirde büyüdü hani burda geliyolar bi kaç kelime filan kapıyolar orıya gidince unutuyolar daha yani
N: o zaman yavaş yavaş hemşince kayboluyo
Ş: he kalkıyo kaybolur
N: buna üzülüyo musunuz

In the beginning of our conversation, Şariye sets the topic as life conditions, which include studying and working. Then Tuçe takes the turn and states that since everybody should study to work they speak Turkish with the children. She then states that only the elderly speaks Hemşince. That she uses the adverb unavoidably might mean that she does not consider the use of Hemşince as legalized as Turkish. In addition, she states that they speak Hemşince because they cannot "get their tongue around". This idiom is generally used for the young who cannot speak Hemşince. Even this signals that the use of this idiom for these generations is transversal regarding Turkish and Hemşince. While the competence of the elderly in Hemşince is better than the young, the competence of the young in Turkish is better than the elderly. This relation might be cancelled in the near future Turkish remaining the only language. As in the accounts of many other Hemşinlis, these two women resist the possibility of language lost. The claim that since children can understand Hemşince the language will not get lost. However, upon my further questions Şariye sees the point that the generation whose competence is limited to perception only will not be able to provide any input to their children. Therefore, as the elderly dies the language would die with them. However, even if Şariye accepts this threat she states that since they also have Turkish nothing matters.

The following excerpt describes the same competence levels of the elderly and the children although they are from different villages in Hopa. The conversation below between two generations of Hemşinlis also describes the approach of many Hopa Hemşinlis to speaking Turkish with the children. Nazım who is 78 years old is Songül's father in-law.

N: Then you speak Turkish to your grandchildren?

Na: Yes, of course

N: Songül, do you speak Hemşince with the children, you can speak hemşince.

S: Yes, we speak. We only speak Turkish with the children.

N: What will happen if the children do not learn Hemşince finally? Do they learn?

Ş: hiç bişey ne ne olacak hemşince olacak türkçe olacak ikisi de bizum dilimizdir ne olursa olsun hani fark etmez

T: kalkar mı ki kalkmaz ki

Ş: yani yaşlılar bitince belki da kalkacak heralda kalkar bilmiyorum da genç bilmiyosa ne olacak kalkacak

S: They know.

N: Do they speak?

S: No, they don't speak. They speak as if they spoke English.

N: Don't you get sorry when they don't speak Hemşince?

S: Why should I get sorry? They all know but if they want to speak they cannot speak.

N: Well, then don't you get sorry when they can't speak?

S: But when we speak they understand everything.

Na: The children understand everything but they can't speak since their pronunciation is bad. They ask us what we say, what we say means.

S: They don't know some things.¹³³ (Songül, 42; Nazım, 78)

In this conversation, we see that both Nazım and Songül speak Turkish to the children. Songül's children are thirteen year old now. They cannot speak Hemşince. It seems that they never think about the possibility of the case their children will not speak Hemşince. Among the Hopa Hemşinlis there is a common phrase. "Anlıyorlar da dilleri dönmüyo" (They understand but they can't get their tongue around). Even for the young who are 25 years old they utter the same description. They think that one day their children will speak. To my insistent questions, Songül's response is always "The children know Hemşince". What she means by "know" is in fact, understanding. In the extract below we see the same condition. Birgül, the mother does not speak Hemşince with her children. Therefore the children speak only Turkish.

¹³³ *Original:*

N: Sen o zaman şimdi torunlarla türkçe konuşuyosun

Na: he tabi ole

N: Songül sen konuşuyo musun hemşince çocuklarla siz hemşince konuşuyosunuz

S: konuşuyoz konuşuyoz biz sadece çocuklarla türkçe konuşuyoz

N: çocuklar hemşince öğrenmezlerse ne olacak sonunda öğreniyorlar mı

S: biliyolar ki

N: konuşuyolar mı

S: tıh konuşmuyolar da boyle mesela ingilizce konuşuyo gibi

N: siz üzölmüyo musunuz onlar hemşince konuşmuyolar diye

S: niye üzöleyim ki çocuklar biliyolar ki şimdi hepsi biliyo konuşsa konuşamaz

N: e üzölmüyo musunuz konuşamıyolar diye

S: e biz konuşuyoz ama anlıyolar herşeyi anlıyolar

Na: çocuklar hemşince anlıyolar ama dil bazı dilleri donmüyo donmiyo dilleri donmüyor bize sorarlar ki ne dedunuz bu ne demektur

S: bazı şeyleri bilmezler

*N: I see your children do not speak Hemşince either.
B: No, no, they do not speak. They always speak Turkish.
N: Well, Do you get sorry since the use of Hemşince is ending?
B: No, I never get sorry. In fact, speaking Turkish is good for children to develop, to read books. I mean why should I get sad? Nothing like this. Why should I get sorry? The child makes a progress. In the end it will be good for his/her reading books. It would be good I mean.¹³⁴ (Birgül, 46)*

Most significant for us in this excerpt is Birgül's answer to my question whether she gets sorry for the use of Hemşince is getting over. She states that she never gets sorry. On the contrary she seems to be happy since she thinks that Turkish is good for her children's progress in reading.

Untill now, I have presented the attitudes of the Hemşinlis who are above their 40s and who have children. We have seen that they do not speak Turkish to their children since they believe Hemşince prevents learning at school. We have also seen that men are like the watchmen of this practice. We have also noted that although Hemşinlis see the result of their practice, which is that children and most of the young cannot speak Hemşince, they are not aware of the fact that their children will not be able to speak Hemşince as their native tongue. They see "understanding" enough for language competence. Moreover, even if they accept the possibility of Hemşince being lost, they do not care about this since they consider Turkish as sufficient.

As for the young generation, who speaks Hemşince little or who only understands it we see the same approaches towards Hemşince. The attitudes of the young frequently have the reflections from the elderly people's approaches. The conversation below from a 72 year-old women and 20 years-old young Hemşinli depicts how the young approach Hemşince.

¹³⁴ N: anladım senin çocukların da konuşmuyo zaten
B: yok yok konuşmuyolar devamlı yani türkçe konuşuyolar
N: sen üzülüyo musun peki artık kalkıyo yavaş yavaş diye
B: yok hiç üzülmiyom aslında çok iyi türkçe konuşmak çocukların gelişmesi için kitap okumak için hiç yani üzülme oyle bişe olmaz niye üzüleyim ki çocuk yani kendini geliştiriyo öğrenci sonuçta kitap okumasında iyi olur öyle yani

N: Do you ever discuss about Turkish and Hemşince among yourselves?
P: No we don't discuss.
D: We don't because the elderly already speak Hemşince among themselves.
P: Yes, we speak Hemşince much.
D: And we speak Turkish among ourselves.
P: The young speaks Turkish. There is no young speaking Hemşince.
D: In fact, it is better that children do not speak Hemşince. They have difficulty at the school then. When children always speak Hemşince they cannot understand the language at the school. I mean in between the two languages, and cultural practices etc. they forget Turkish. Then since they know Hemşince they mix up the words. They think that they speak Turkish but in fact they speak Hemşince. I mean that is why we try to speak Turkish among us for the children do not have difficulty at the school. Also it (Maybe the children) becomes rude. Then the child starts to write as s/he speaks. And this time s/he does not write (according to the rules of) Turkish. In fact, for example "geliyom" (I come). S/he pronounces it dwelling on it, rolling it since our own language is like that.
P: The children of today speak Turkish. In the past, we did not speak any Turkish, any of it. I did not go to school but the ones who went could never study well because of the Hemşinli language. Because of Hemşin language the children did not study. Until they get used to it, they start the fifth grade. Then what remains? And that is why we always speak Turkish to the children now.
N: But many people here study well.
P: There are many who studied well. All the young people in the village have studied.¹³⁵ (Pembe, 72; Didem, 20, Hopa)

¹³⁵ Original:

N: hiç aranızda tartışıyo musunuz hemşince böle türkçe böle

P: hayır biz öle tartışmıyoz

D: bizde öle bişey yok çünkü zaten yaşlılar genelde kendi aralarında hemşince konuşurlar

P: he biz hemşince fazla konuşuruz

D: biz de türkçe konuşuyoruz kendi aramızda

P: gençler hep türkçe konuşur hemşince konuşan yok

D: çocukların aslında bilmemesi daha iyi çünkü okulda çok zorlanıyolar o zaman bizim mesela küçük çocuklar hep hemşince konuşmaya başlayınca okuldaki dili anlaşıyorlar yani iki dilin arasında biraz da kültür şu bu bakımından türkçeyi unutuyolar bu sefer hani hemşince konuştukları için karıştırıyorlar bazı kelimeleri türkçe söylediğini zannediyo ama çocuk bazen hemşince bile konuşmuş oluyo yani o yüzden biz kendi aramızda genelde türkçe konuşmaya çalışıyoruz çocuklar zorlanmasın diye okulda sora konuşurken kaba oluyo yazarken de konuştuğu gibi yazmaya başlıyo bu sefer o da yani türkçe gibi yazmıyo aslında geliyom mesela böyle uzatarak yuvarlıyarak filan konuşmaya başlıyo kendi dilimiz böyle olduğu için

P: şimdiki çocuklar türkçeyi biliyorlar eskiden hiç bilmiyoduk biz türkçeyi hiç hiç okula giden biz ben gitmemişim ama okula giden çocuklar okuyamayidiler hemşinli dilinden yüzünden hemşin dilinin yüzünden eski çocuklar okumamış türkçeye alışane kadar beşinci sınıf bitti ne okuyacak ondan sora o yuzdendur yani biz şimdi hep türkçe konuşuyoruz

This dialogue between Pembe, Didem and me is a good depiction of the reasons for not speaking Hemşince to the children in Hopa. Similar to the many adults and elderly who advocate the idea that Hemşince prevents success at school, Didem, who is 20 years-old and who does not have competence of Hemşince enough to speak it, states that they speak Turkish for the children do not have difficulty at the school. Didem goes to the university and studies pre-school teaching. Maybe thanks to her studies she has a coherent explanation of why it is not good to speak Hemşince to the children. She states that the children do not understand the language at the school, which is impossible for there is not even one person who does not speak Turkish around Hopa, including the very old people. In terms of the input children get, Turkish always becomes the first. Despite this, how she describes the reasons, what happens at the school when somebody speaks Turkish is very interesting and significant for us. She states that the children stay in between two languages, which results in forgetting in Turkish when added the cultural practices. The cultural practices she refers to are most probably "yayla" practices during which children used to get the most Hemşince input. Then she mentions mixing up codes. She says, "They think that they speak Turkish but in fact speak Hemşince." Didem's observations are very interesting in that they might be true though they are shown not to be preventing success at school.

Didem further states that because of all these problems "We try to speak Turkish to the children". Although she does not speak Hemşince, she believes in these ideas so much to the extent that she positions herself among the ones who speak Hemşince but do not prefer to speak it for the mentioned reasons. That she refers to Hemşince, or the situation in which people speak Hemşince, as "rude" also deserves to be mentioned. As Hemşince is considered "rude", and hence does not have any prestige, it loses its speakers. Although any child who starts to learn the standard Turkish at school might come across "problems" in erasing the varieties in her/his own vernacular accent at the school, since Hemşince is always seen as a problem creating language, the conflicting varieties with the standard Turkish are based on the knowledge of Hemşince. Here we see not only the reflections of Hemşin people on Hemşince as a degraded language, but also on the

N: burda baya insanlar okuyo ama

P: okuyan çoktur hep köyün gençleri okumuş hep okuyorlar hep

vernacular uses of Turkish, and the language despotism of the education system, and of the society via glorification of the Standard Turkish. What Didem means when she states that the children who speak Hemşince "dwell on the words, rolling them" is that Hemşince has a retroflex "r" which is frequently transferred into Turkish. Didem and many young Hemşinlis complain about this interference of the "r"s into Turkish. A retroflex "r" in Turkish becomes the designator of one's being a Hemşinli. Upon this conversation I ask Didem how she likes Hemşince and she gives the following answer:

N: Well, then what do you think of Hemşince?

D: It is very different. You know, people say that it looks like Armenian.

P: The language of the Armenian does not look like ours.

D: People say so. They say some words look alike. They say this is because Armenians used to live here. They say they were neighbors. That is why there are similarities. In fact, it is an idiosyncratic language, specific to here. I mean it belongs to this region only. I think it is a little bit rude language. It sounds to me like this. There are some words produced with the glottis like German. When they speak fast I become like "What are they saying?"

N: I see, how is Turkish. Is it polite?

D: Yes, in the end Turkish is our mother tongue. It is a common language in Turkey. Everybody has an accent since their accent and region are different but Turkish very special.

P: Turkish is good.¹³⁶ (Pembe, 72, Didem, 18)

As we see in the extract, in line with her approach to speaking Hemşince, Didem presents Hemşince an idiosyncratic language. For her, while Turkish is a "language"

¹³⁶ Original:

N: peki sence hemşince nasıl bi dil

D: çok farklı ama hani ermenilere benzediği söyleniyö ermeni diline daha yakın olduğu söyleniyö

P: ermenunun dili biz bize benzemiyo

D: öyle diyolar bazı kelimeleri felan benziyomuş o da eskiden burada yaşadıkları yani komşu oldukları filan söyleniyö o yüzden benzerliklerinin olduğu söyleniyö da aslında kendine has bi dil yani buraya özel gibi yani sadece bu yöreye ait gibi biraz kaba bi dil bence yani öyle geliyo bana bazen kelimeler hani biraz almanca gibi gırtlaktan çıkan kelimeler var hani bazen ben de öyle oluyo ki hızlı konuşunca acaba ne diyolar filan diye gibi oluyorum yani

N: hı hı türkçe nasıl türkçe kibar mı

D: evet türkçe anadilimiz yani sonuçta bizim dilimiz yani türkiyede genel bi dil yani herkesin şivesi ağzı farklı yöresi farklıdır ama türkçe özel yani çok özel

P: türkçe iyudur

which is common and special, Hemşince is a region specific dialect. In this account of Didem, Turkish is positioned as a mother tongue and perfect language, while Hemşince is seen as an accent, a regional dialect. Although Pembe is a speaker of Hemşince and her competence in Turkish is not that good, she also approves what Didem says stating that Turkish is good. I think that these attitudes towards Hemşince depict clearly the grounds why the new generations do not speak Hemşince.

In the extract below we see Tansu stating that she would not like to speak Hemşince fluently because she thinks that in such a case people have Hemşin accent on their Turkish.

N: Well, you said you don't speak Hemşince but understand it. Would you like to speak it fluently?

T: Well, no. In the end, it spoils your speech. You can't speak well, then. I mean there is a great difference between the languages (Turkish performance) of the people who speak Hemşince and who don't speak Hemşince. They cannot speak fluently. I mean there is this good Turkish on the one side, and on the other there is this unclear mixed Turkish. The ones who speak (Hemşince) much cannot pronounce the words well sometimes.

N: You mean the ones who speak Hemşince cannot speak good Turkish?

T: How can I express it? I have a grandmother. She never likes to speak Turkish. She always speaks Hemşince; I don't know how she could feel good then. The elderly are like this. I mean they cannot pronounce words well. Their speech is spoilt.¹³⁷ (Tansu, 21, Hopa)

Among the youth there are also ones who can speak Hemşince though they state that their competence and performance are not as good as their parents or grandparents. These Hemşinlis are mostly the ones who resort to Hemşince when needed, when they

¹³⁷ *Original:*

N: peki sen şimdi çok hemşince konuşmuyorum dedin ya anlıyorum ama konuşmuyorum ister miydin şakır şakır konuşmak

T: yok ya bi yerde konuşmayı bozuyo mesela yani dil takılıyo bi yerlerde hani hemşince bilenlerle bilmiyenler arasına bi baksan yani dillerinde bi çok farklılık var dilleri tam olarak dönmüyo yani bi hoş güzel bi türkçe konuşmak var bi de böyle karışık bi türkçe konuşmak var aşırı konuşan arada böyle lafları telafuz edemiyo

N: yani hemşince konuşanlar türkçeyi güzel konuşamıyorlar mı

T: nasıl söyleyim benim bi anneannem var türkçe konuşmayı hiç sevmez hep hemşince konuşur yani nasıl rahat ediyo bilmiyorum eskiler öyle hani tam telafuz edemezler kendilerini dilleri bozuk çıkıyor ya da

want to speak about something secret, to have fun etc. Most probably since they can speak the language they express their liking for Hemşince. However, they are also under the influence of the generally accepted common approaches to Hemşince.

N: Well, do you speak Turkish when you gather with the girls?

A: We always speak Turkish. We do not speak Hemşince at home. Well, as I said only when we speak about secret things for fun we speak hemşince.

N: Now you don't speak among yourselves, they don't speak to children (in Hemşince) either. Would Hemşince get lost?

A: We don't speak but our mothers, fathers, grandmothers, they all speak. I think it would not get lost.

N: For example, if you have a child, would you speak Hemşince to her?

A: If I speak Turkish, it will get lost unavoidably. Everybody does so. Isn't this way better in your opinion too? It seems that (speaking Hemşince) is reflected on their speech at the school. For example, I don't remember who s/he was. They always speak Hemşince in the existence of the child. The child speaks (Hemşince) as well. Then unavoidably with the teachers s/he speaks like "napacam da" (Turkish with Hemşin accent). I mean the child is affected. Some don't want because of this. If I were in their shoes, I would not want either. But for example, I am here now. I can't be false. I can never be false. I have a friend she can do it for example, she can speak. I speak at the places I go. They immediately ask me if I am Hemşinli. I ask them how they knew. They say it is seen in my speech. I mean when I go to Rize or Trabzon. It is like they are waiting there for us to speak and then make fun of us. I get irritated. I don't understand what is wrong in our speech. If you think on it, they speak very fast. You don't understand what they say. I normally speak as I speak. I don't like being fake I speak as I am. Some try to change (their accent). I am not like them. My boss also used to say, "Be polite. You speak as if you are going to beat people." What can I do? I am used to speaking in this way.

N: Well, then how is Hemşince like in your opinion?

A: Well, Hemşince is good in the Hemşinli's setting. But there are some who speak very politely. She speaks so politely that you think she took diction courses; she did not grow up in our setting. But they are false. Well, it is like this. You can differentiate who is false who is not, who is Laz, who is Hemşinli from the way they speak. I say this is certainly Hemşinli upon seeing her speaking with high pitch on the street. ¹³⁸(Aysun, 21)

¹³⁸ *Original:*

N: peki şey siz kendiniz kızlarla buluşunca türkçe mi konuşuyosunuz

A: hep türkçe konuşuyoz böyle evde öle hemşince falan konuşmuyoruz işte sadece dediğim gibi gizli konuşcamız zaman komiklik olsun diye hemşince konuşuyoz

N: şimdi siz daha kendi aranızda konuşmuyosunuz çocuklarla da konuşmuyolar kaybolur mu hemşince

This account of Aysun is very significant in depicting the process of the construction of the approaches to Hemşince. By looking at what Aysun experiences, we can see how the belief of "speaking good Turkish" is a signal of success as well as in what conditions one can attain it. Aysun has the knowledge of Hemşince, as much as she has the Hemşin accent on her Turkish. We see that she sees her accent as a part of her identity. We understand this from her presentation of the Hemşinlis who speak "good Turkish" as "fake". Moreover, although she does not state openly any aspirations for changing her accent, she nevertheless thinks that it is better to speak Turkish to the children so that they don't have accent when they go to school.

Her complaints of the people, probably the Laz, who make fun of her accent guessing that she is a Hemşinli depicts us how this knowledge about the linguistic features of the Hemşinli Turkish with transfers from Hemşince such as "r"s, or high pitch become concrete observations and common among the young Hemşinlis. We see that Aysun's boss tells her to be polite, and not to speak in a rude way. Also while Aysun is

A: biz konuşmuyoz ama annelerimiz hep konuşuyo babalarımız hep konuşuyo babaannelerimiz hep konuşuyo kaybolmaz bence

N: mesela senin çocuğun olduğunda daha çok onunla türkçe konuşur musun

A: türkçe konuşsam ister istemez kaybolcak ki herkes öyle yapıyo öylesi iyi değil mi sizce de mesela yansıyo gibime geliyo okulda konuşmalar falan mesela kimdi biri işte çocuğun yanında hep konuşuyo hemşince çocuk da konuşuyo konuşuyo falan ister istemez hocalarla da lı falan konuşuyo da ne yapacağım da yani napıcam da demiyo da hocanın yanında napacam da gibisinden konuşuyo ya etkileniyo çocuk bazıları da o yüzden istemiyo ben de olsam istemem yani ama mesela ben şuan burdayım ya yapmacık hiç olamam bizim bi arkadaş var o çok yapar yani konuşabilir mesela gittiğim yerde konuşuyom böyle hemen bana diyorlar ki hemşinli misin ben diyorum ki nerden anladınız konuşmanızdan belli yani böyle bi rizeye trabzona git böyle konuşalım diye bekliyolar böyle gülelim diye ne bileyim ben gıcık oluyom işte ona gıcık oluyom ne oluyo ki yani konuşuyoruz ona bakarsan onlar da hızlı hızlı konuşuyolar hiç dediklerini bile anlamıyosun normalde konuşuyorum ben hiç yapmacık olmayı sevmem neysem oyum yani kıvırmaya çalışıyolar falan ben öyle değilim patron da bana diyodu ki ya biraz nazik gibi davran böyle dövecekmişin gibi konuşuyosun diyodu bana ben ne yapayım yapamıyorum ya böyle konuşuyom alışmışım böyle konuşuyom

N: peki hemşince nasıl bi dil sence

A: yani hemşince böyle hemşinlilerin ortamına göre daha bi güzel konuşması falan ama bazıları var nazik böyle baya bi nazik konuşuyo dersin ki yani konuşma kursuna gitmiş dersin hiç bizim ortamımızda büyümemiş dersin ama yapmacık öle işte ayırt edebiliyosun kim yapmacık kim değil bi hemşinliyi lazı konuşmasından kesin hemşinlidir sokakta diyom bağıra bara konuşmalarından falan öle işte

criticizing her "fake" Hemşinli friends she refers to their speech as "polite". These are the reflections of the idea that Hemşince is a "rude" language. As Hemşinlis encounter with such experiences reflecting the picture of their speech and language and as this picture is presented as something to make fun of, as "backward" and "rude", they influence Hemşinlis' attitudes towards Hemşince, if not towards themselves.

That Aysun states that she would like to speak Turkish to her children and that she at some point says, "*What can I do? I am used to speaking in this way,*" indicates that she is very much under the influence of these approaches though she tries to remain as she is. The impact of such ideologies both on language and self-evaluation is demonstrated very explicitly by Saadet below.

N: Well, when you compare Turkish and Hemşince which one sounds better to you?

S: I think Turkish is better because Hemşince is rude. I mean we become rude with our own voice. I mean we become something strange. Also Turkish is good and polite for always. It is better to speak Turkish.¹³⁹ (Saadet, 49)

Similar to the elderly the young Hemşinlis advocate the idea that Hemşince causes problems in learning at the schools. The opposition of the elderly to speaking Hemşince is grounded only on this belief they have. No elderly explicates in what way Hemşince prevents success at the school. No elderly or middle -aged Hemşinli mention a specific case where Turkish was an obstacle during their school days. Most of them state that at the school they used to speak Turkish while at home they used to speak Hemşince. No elderly, or the middle-aged Hemşinlis, apart from the statement "Hemşince okulda başarıyı engelliyor" makes analysis of Hemşin language, Hemşin accent, of the language itself. Especially, for this belief I argue that language ideologies the Hopa Hemşinlis have are the reflections of hegemonic, in Gramscian sense, Turkish modernization project which constructed Turkish as the only single language of public spaces.

As for the young Hemşinlis, their meta-pragmatic awareness of Hemşince highly

¹³⁹ *Original:*

N: peki böyle karşılaştırdığında hangisi sana daha hoş geliyo hemşince mi türkçe mi

S: türkçe daha iyi olduğunu düşünüyorum çünkü hemşince kaba oluyo ya sesumuzle kaba oluyoz böyle bişey acayip oluyosun bizum hem türkçe daha her zaman için türkçe daha iyidir kibar konuşmak daha iyidir

differs from the elderly, via which they make overt contestation of their language ideologies of Hemşince and Turkish. For example, the young present us with specific linguistic features in the production of the Hemşinlis who also speak Hemşince. If one speaks Hemşince, his/her "r"s would be seen in their Turkish, they would have the melody of Hemşince on their Turkish; they would speak with high pitch etc. Processes of identity formation defining the self as against some "Other" is a familiar process, one by now well known in the literature. What I propose for the difference in the metalinguistic awareness of young Hopa Hemşinlis enabling them to make structural linguistic analysis such as determining the rounded "r"s, high pitch or mapping of Hemşin accent on Turkish is that they do not only make self definitions as opposed to others. Rather, they acquiesce their description of language use in the views of others, which are possibly Laz people in the case of Hopa Hemşinlis. This process I believe is similar to hegemony in a Gramscian sense but practiced by the other "others" of Turkey over Hopa Hemşinlis. When we consider Fatma's account showing that the knowledge of Hemşince is not seen as problematic at the schools in the villages but it is a problem at the schools in the town center because there are many people who speak good Turkish in the town center, we see that encounters with others who complies with the language standards of the Turkish Republic attain pragmatic knowledge and awareness. And when the knowledge of Hemşin "r"s and high pitch are indexed with being a peasant, "backwardness" and "rudeness" these ideologies have consequential impact on the use of Hemşince.

Considering all the above quotes, views towards Turkish and Hemşince it can be claimed that Turkish is the public language which is used in the town center, at schools, and in the husband's house. Independent of generation differences all the women state that they speak Hemşince in their fathers' home but Turkish is spoken in the families they form with their husbands although the proportion of speaking Hemşince and attitudes towards hemşince show variations between older generations and the young ones.

Although there is a general symbolic association between "fathers" and the "state", in our context this association is more like between "the husbands" and the state. Without exception all the men ranging from the age of 86 to 40s warn their wives not to speak Turkish with the children. During my fieldwork I observed that only the grandfathers speak Hemşince. I have never seen a middle aged man or a young man

speaking Hemşince at home. Moreover, the elderly who speak Hemşince at home state that they do not speak Hemşince in the town center, or in the "kahve" (coffee houses) as exemplified by the account from 86-year-old hemşinli man, Hikmet.

N: Did your parents speak Hemşince?

H: We speak Hemşince? Could it be the case that we don't speak? We all speak Hemşince.

N: Which one do you speak easier? Do you have difficulty in speaking Turkish?

H: No, I don't have difficulty.

N: Do you like Hemşince?

H: I don't speak Hemşince in the coffee house with the men. I always speak Turkish with them.

N: And here?

H: Here, most of the time we speak Turkish and I speak Turkish with the children.

N: And with your wife?

H: We speak our language with her.¹⁴⁰ (Hikmet, 86)

In the above extract from our conversation with Hikmet, we see that Hemşince is spoken among the elderly at home. However, in the public spaces such as the downtown or coffee houses and in the existence of children, it is not used even by the elderly. Today, according to my observations during the fieldwork and according to the accounts I recorded young and middle-aged men do not even speak Hemşince with their wives. Depiction of father's house as the site of Hemşince then can only be explained with the fact that the elderly men's competence in Hemşince was better than their competence in Turkish and hence they could not stop speaking Hemşince at home with their wives. Otherwise, as we see in Sultan's account who is 83 years old, elderly men as well tried to

¹⁴⁰ *Original:*

N: annen baban hemşince konuşuyor muydu?

H: hemşince konuşuyoruz konuşmaz olur muyuz? hepimiz hemşince konuşuyoruz

N: hemşince konuşurken mi rahat oluyosun türkçe konuşurken mi? türkçe konuşurken zorlanıyo musun

H: hayır ben darlanmıyorum

N: hemşince seviyo musun

H: hemşinceyi kahvede falan erkeklerle konuşmuyorum, onlarla hep türkçe konuşuyorum

N: burda?

H: burda da çoğunlukla türkçe konuşuyoruz çocuklarla da türkçe konuşuyorum

N: eşinle?

H: onunla da bizim dili konuşuyoruz

stop their wives speaking Hemşince. It is also related to the elderly women's competence. One of the elderly men I had interviewed with, Nihat, states that he likes Turkish more but cannot speak it since his wife does not understand Turkish as we see in the extract below:

Ni: (...) Turkish is good whatever place you go. What is our mother tongue? It is Hemşinli, no? I don't like it at all but it is indispensable. You can't tell anything in Turkish to my wife. Turkish is good but we were born like this and grew up like this (...)¹⁴¹ (Nihat, 73)

Nihat is an exception among the elderly men who explicitly states that he likes Turkish more and does not like Hemşince at all. Although it is seen that all the elderly have always been in the endeavor of making their lives comply with the hegemonic modern Turkish life, with desires of leaving their peasant way of life, providing their children with the conditions in which they could adjust this life in an easier way such as speaking Turkish to them, no elderly except Nihat states that s/he does not like Hemşince. In his account, we also see that even he as a person who likes Turkish more than Hemşince speaks Hemşince with his wife since he thinks his wife would not understand him if he speaks Turkish.

As the Hemşinlis themselves become more visible in the public via settlement in the town center Turkish, the public language gains wider space of usage while Hemşince, which had always been used except when Hemşinlis went downtown as Sultan and Cemile states above, remains to be the language of the village and the pastors. Due to constant decrease in the peasant life style and transhumance practices as shown in the former chapter, the spaces where Hemşince is used also narrows down. As a result of this, after some point it becomes impossible to describe Hemşince via the spaces it is used in. As the space of language narrows down it gains specified functions, it starts to be defined with functions.

While we see elderly defining Hemşince as "It is my language. It is sweet to me" we come across the middle -aged women stating, "If I don't speak Hemşince, what I tell

¹⁴¹ *Original:*

Ni: (...) türkçe iyidir nereye gidersen git bizum anadilimiz nedir hemşinli değil mi hiç sevmem ama mecburi kadar benim hanuma anlat meseleyi türkçe türkçe iyi ama biz böyle doğduk böyle buyuduk (...)

does not become funny." Thus, as the spaces of usage are diminishing, functions start to emerge. For instance, even villages are losing their feature of being spaces for Hemşince. When Hemşin language loses villages as spaces of usage, it gains the function of "humor" "performance" both at house gatherings and tea lands. Generally, it would be strange to ask somebody where s/he uses his/her language. If the person were bilingual this question would be answered with spaces, such as the one we see in the accounts of some elderly and the middle-aged women. "At the schools, at shopping, we used to speak Turkish etc."

However, presently among many middle-aged women and all the young Hemşinlis the answer to this question never includes a reference to a space but rather it includes references to language as a performative tool, as a code providing the conditions for secrets and gossips, as a tool for showing of prestige and lastly as a tool for the negotiation of ethnic identity. With these functions, language just with its existence is used as a function for something not with all the other roles it is usually attributed. It is neither a site or a habitat in which people dwell in nor a communication system. The excerpt below from Şükriye exemplifies how Hemşince is used as a performative tool for making fun among the Hemşinli women.

N: Well, then when do you speak Hemşince most?

Ş: With the elderly. But not with my mother-in-law.

N: When you gather with the women, do you speak Hemşince?

Ş: When we gather, when we come together in altın günüis etc. We always speak Hemşince. Yes, we don't speak Turkish. For example, there are funny things we experience among ourselves. When we tell these in Hemşince, we tell them to each other and we laugh a lot. But you should be Hemşinli so that you understand what it means, why it is funny. When you tell that in Turkish it loses its fun. For example when you are here they say "Well, the girl is here" and they speak Turkish. But then they start to speak Hemşince again. I mean what you tell something in Hemşince sounds funny. Well, I don't know. Our imam's wife is "yabancı". She comes to our meetings. And we start to speak Hemşince. Then somebody says, "The woman is here. Speak Turkish." We say puff for Turkish. What can we do? We speak Hemşince like this.¹⁴² (Şükriye, 38, Hopa)

¹⁴² Original:

N: peki o zaman hemşinceyi en çok kullandığın ortamlar nereler

Ş: yaşlılarla ama bizim bababnneyle konuşmuyoz

N: kadınlar siz biraraya geldiğinizde hemşince konuşuyosunuz

During my fieldwork there happened many occasions I participated in women's gatherings. All the women come together independent of their age when their husbands are out of the town since most of the men in the village work in transportation sector as I stated in the former chapters. They tell funny stories they experienced before. These stories include anecdotes from tea harvest periods, mostly the conversations they had with the men they sell tea, short funny stories related to women-men relations, stories with communication mistakes and so on. All the women know these stories most of the time. They make each other tell these already known stories so that everybody laughs. When I was also present at these meetings, they first told stories in Turkish. Nobody laughed including me. Then they stated that when it is told in Turkish it loses the funny part. Even after such elaboration on the stories they told the same stories repeatedly in Hemşince and everybody laughed. Despite generational differences, the young participated in these meetings and they seemed to enjoying these gatherings. I also observed that young Hemşinlis as young as 23 years old participate in older women's "altın günü" (gold day) and enjoys the meetings. In line with my observations, in the above account Şükriye states that when they come together with the women they always speak Hemşince. After stating that they do not speak Turkish in these meetings, she directly refers to funny things they experience among themselves. She adds that one should be a Hemşinli to understand and laugh at these funny stories. Here she probably refers to cultural codes but since she also states that the stories are not funny in Turkish, she might be referring to the language knowledge as well. Speaking Hemşince is frequently considered as something funny among the Hemşinlis. Şükriye further states that even if they try to stop speaking Hemşince in the existence of a "yabancı", they

Ş: biz kadunlar toplandık mı bir araya geldik mi günlerde filan hep hemşince konuşuyoruz evet türkçe konuşmuyoruz mesela komik şeyler oluyo ya kendi aralarımızda bişeyler yaşıyoruz onu hemşince anlatınca biz birbirimize anlatıyoruz çok gülüyoruz ama hemşinli olacaksın ki sen onun anlamını bilesin komikliğini anlayabilesin onu türkçeye anlatınca komiklik espirisi kalmıyo anlamsızlaşıyo yani hee sen burda oldu mu sana işte kız burdadur türkçe konuş türkçe konuş ama yine başliyolar türkçe konuştu mu ondan sora tekrar kendileri işte hemşinceye donmuş oluyolar yani hemşincede anlattığın komik oluyo da işte ne bileyim bizim şimdi hocanın karisi yabancidir e bizim toplumumuza giriyo da biz de başlıyoz hemşince konuşmaya ondan sora birisi diyo ki kadın burdadır türkçe konuş türkçe konuş off diyoz neyapalım türkçe konuşcaz biz öle konuşuyoz hemşinceyi ölee

cannot stop. Since they want to have fun, they continue speaking Hemşince rather than Turkish. Therefore, we see that Hemşince among the women is used as a performance tool, to tell stories, which are funny only when told in Hemşince.

In the account below, 21-year old Hemşinli woman, Aysun refers to this function of Hemşince in addition to gossiping, which Turkish does not provide her with.

N: Do you speak Hemşince?

A: Yes, I speak Hemşince. Among my friends I speak it most. I speak it because my friends find it funny they want me to speak. Well, like this.

N: Well, when you compare Hemşince and Turkish, which one sounds better to you?

A: If I consider it according to the circle of Hemşinlis, Hemşince sounds better. To speak Hemşince when there are "yabancı" is much better. For example, we see a very beautiful girl with my friend. We say "Şad erond a" (She is very beautiful). Well, she would not understand. We speak. The one with us does not understand. She asks what we said. We say we told very good things. In fact, we are listing all the bad things. This aspect is very good. That's why I like it. For example, we have "yabancı" guests. I want to tell my mom not to do something. I can say it in Hemşince. I mean I say "enemi" (Don't do it). Sometimes this is very nice that they don't understand but sometimes I also think if the person gets offended. Then I prefer to speak Turkish more.¹⁴³ (Aysun, 21, Hopa)

As we see in the above account, Aysun states that she speaks Hemşince because her friends find it funny. The position of Hemşince as a tool of speaking in secret and for performing for fun do not change although Aysun lives in a village and has not gone to

¹⁴³ *Original:*

N: sen hemşince konuşuyo musun

A: ben hemşince konuşuyom çok arkadaşlarımın içinde en çok ben konuşuyom o da çünkü komik konuştuğu için seviyolar konuşmamı istiyolar falan öle işte

N: peki sen hemşinceyle türkçeyi karşılaştırırsan hangisi sana daha güzel geliyo

A: bizim bu ortama hemşinlilerin ortamına göreyse hemşince daha bi güzel oluyo ya nası diyim yabacıların yanında konuşmak daha bi güzel oluyo mesela bi kız görürüz falan arkadaşımızla mesela çok güzeldir hemşincesini diyoruz böle şad eronda falan ne anlayacak o kız öle işte ne bileyim konuşuyoz anlamıyo karşımızdaki söylüyo ne dedun güzel bişey söyleduk boşver halbusam diyo hani sayıyo kıza orası daha güzel o yüzden istiyom ben ne bilim mesela hemşincede konuşulması gereken bi yerde mesela misafir geliyo falan baktın yabancılar falan var ben anneme yapma diyeceğim şeyi hemşince diyebiliyom yani enemi falan yapma enemi falan diyorum bazen o dil çok iyi bazen orası çok güzel oluyo anlamasınlar diye ama bi yandan da düşünüyom ki karşı taraf kötü mü anlıyo diye öyle gene türkçeyle anlatıyorum kendimi en çok öyle düşünüyorum

the university. In her account, we see that she considers Hemşince as an opportunity to be able to speak without some "yabancis" understanding what she says.

Similar to Aysun, in the account below, a 23 -year -old Hemşinli woman, Duru states that she speaks Hemşince to make fun and when she wants to tease somebody she does not like.

D: Yes, my grandmother is from this village as well.

N: As far as you remember in what language they were speaking to you when you were a child?

D: They used to speak Hemşince.

N: Do you speak Hemşince?

D: Can I speak? Yes, of course I can speak but it is not like the older generations. I mean since we do not speak among friends we forget. We understand but we do not speak (Hemşince) as we speak Turkish. I guess the generations following us will not speak (Hemşince).

N: But you can answer when people your grandmother speaks Hemşince to you, right?

D: Yes yes.

N: Well, do you think there is difference between your mother and grandmother's Hemşince?

D: No, no. They are the same. Well, it changes from our generation on.

N: Then do you speak in Turkish always with Esmâ and so?

D: Well, we speak Turkish. Sometimes just for fun we speak Hemşince. For example, you don't like somebody. You speak in Hemşince just for s/he does not understand. We do not speak it always. Well, sometimes. Just for fun, only to make fun we speak Hemşince.¹⁴⁴ (Duru, 23)

¹⁴⁴ *Original:*

D: hı hım babaannem de köy içinden

N: babaannenle dedenler sen küçükken hatırladığın kadarıyla sizinle en çok hangi dilde konuşuyolardı hemşince de mi türkçede mi

D: hemşince konuşuyolardı

N: hı hı sen konuşabiliyo musun hemşince

D: ya öyle konuşabiliyo muyum tabii ki konuşabiliyoruz ama mesela eski nesiller gibi konuşamıyoruz yani hani biz kendi aramızda e unutuluyosun unutuluyosun derken anlıyosun ama yani hani şu an türkçe konuştuğun gibi konuşamıyosun bizden soraki nesillerde de heralde hiç kimse konuşmicak yani

N: sen cevap verebiliyosun ama di mi sana hemşince konuştuğunda babannenler falan annenler

D: tabi tabi

N: peki annenlerin hemşincesiyle babannenlerin hemşincesi arasında fark var mı sence

D: yok aynı aynıya bizden so bizim gibi nesillerden sonraki işte değişiyö

N: siz o zaman Esmâlerle falan aranızda hep hem şey türkçe mi konuşuyosunuz

In this excerpt, we see that Duru is aware of the fact that her Hemşince is different than the older generations. She also has the knowledge of when she speaks Hemşince, the context of Hemşince for her is crystalized, so the function as well. Without any hesitation she states that she speaks Hemşince only for making fun and for teasing somebody she does not like. As we have noted before, the space of the use of Hemşince is not a matter of mention. Rather, Hemşince for Duru has the function, which is "fun". Similar to Duru, we see that Hemşince is used to make gossip about somebody as we see in Hasibe's account below.

N: Do you remember anything that influenced you regarding the language?

H: I don't know. I mean not influencing but I was used to it here. Well, when there was somebody who did not speak Hemşince, we used to say, "Look at her. What a stinker s/he is" in Hemşince. You talk about good and bad sides you make gossip. You can say something. When I go to school or after school in Istanbul I want to say something to the people with me. Then I understand they do not speak Hemşince. I can't say what I want. This makes me sad since I cannot say what I want. Well, one more thing. My sister-in-law is from Kastamonu. She does not speak Hemşince. When I wanted to say something secret from her, I could tell it to the girls. Then my other brother got engaged. The second is Hemşinli as well. When I want to say something I say "This is also Hemşinli, she would understand" and I can't tell. Well, this was bad.¹⁴⁵ (Hasibe, 28)

D: e işte konuşuyoz türkçe arada gır gır olsun diye mesela hemşince konuşuyoz ya da başka bi ortama felan gidince mesela hemşince bilmiyenler mesela bişey diyosun birine gıcık oldun bişey diyosun hemşince söylüyorsun mesela o anlamasın diye öyle bazen konuşuyoz yani o sürekli konuşmuyoruz öle bazen öyle komiklik olsun diye matraklık olsun diye bi o zaman yani hemşince konuşuyoruz

¹⁴⁵ *Original:*

N: seni hiç dille ilgili etkileyen bişey oldu mu hayatında

H: hiç bilmiyorum yani etkilemek diil de mesela ben burda alışmıştım ya kızlarla az çok bi şekil biri hemşince bilmiyen biri olduğunda yanımızda işte hemşince diyoz ona bak ne kadar gıcık felan diyoruz iyi kötü yanlarını hani dedikodusunu yaparsın ya bişeyler söyleyebiliyorsun okula gittiğimde ya da okuldan sora istanbulda felan yanımdakine döneceğim arkadaşşıma bişey söyleyecem sora kendime geliyorum bu da bilmiyor Hemşince diyorum yani onu söyleyemiyorum

o biraz eziklik yapıyo içimden geldiğini söyleyemiyodum bi de şey bizim yengem de şey ya kastamonudan o da hemşince bilmiyor bazen ondan gizli bişey söylicem zaman kızlara dönüp hemşince söyleyebiliyoduk sora abim de nişanlandı ya ikincisi o hemşinli onlar geliyo şimdi bişey söylicem zaman hemşince söylicem bu kız da hemşinli şimdi anlıyo diyodum söyliyemiyodum o kötüydü işte

As we see, to my question if she had any experiences related to language having influenced her, Hasibe expresses her sadness since she lost the opportunities Hemşince provided her with, which is being able to speak after people who do not speak Hemşince. She states that since her friends in Istanbul do not speak Hemşince, Turkish becomes the only common language between her and her friends. Thus, she cannot express her thoughts about other people among her friends without the people she wants to speak after understanding what she says. That her second sister-in-law is also Hemşinli is another situation cancelling her opportunity to make gossip. This time her sister-in-law speaks Hemşince and when she wants to speak after her she cannot do this and describes this situation as a bad experience.

Another function Hemşince has is its usage as a social capital by the young, which might be regarded as performative as in the case of stories. The fact that Hemşince has become known in the last years widely thanks to Kazım Koyuncu, who is a singer, makes it seem exotic and indigenous to a place, which is not known by many people living in Turkey.

Taşkın, in her MA thesis studies on the construction of Laz identity through music and dance. In her thesis, she states that in the new millennium with its celebrations of multicultural differences, music has turned out to be one of the realms of articulating multiculturalist discourses in which different cultures take their place as one of the pieces in the "mosaic" of cultures. She finds out that Kazım Koyuncu whose "music and personality became a phenomenon" for the Laz and Black Sea Diaspora together with his followers transformed the 'invisible, pejorative, primitive' connotations of Laz identity to a 'desired' one. She also finds out that Laz identity turns out to be as a construct of the market out of this multiculturalism discourse demanding nothing apart from performing music and dance, showing contrast with the politically "dangerous" identities such as Kurds or Armenians (Taşkın, 2011, p.6-7).

Similar to Taşkın's findings in Laz case, many young Hemşinlis, though some neither speaks nor understands it, sing songs in Hemşince, or make their friends listen to Hemşin songs. Such practices enable them gain prestige among their friends also since speaking more than one language is prestigious, if the language is not politically loaded like Kurdish.

N: Do you speak Hemşince?

T: No, I don't know, I don't speak Hemşince but I understand it.

N: Well, then what do you think about Hemşince, does it sound good to you?

T: Sometimes, it does. I mean if they ask me whether there is any other language I speak, I would say of course I have. Yes, I don't speak but people well -how can I say? They ask a lot if there is another language and of course you say, "I know." They ask you the words that they don't know. Wow what does that mean kind of questions? It is nice. You know there is some words like "I love you". They ask questions like this. What does this mean? What does that mean? They ask a lot. Our friends. Then I say "Kezi haz genim" (I love you). It means I love you. Do you know?

N: Yes I know. I mean the people out of here?

T: Well, you know when we go on vacations. We have such things.

N: I see. Well, Which language sounds good to you, Turkish or Hemşince?

T: Turkish sounds good but Hemşince as well sounds good. There are some nice words. They sound very nice. They have written songs on them. As I listen I want to listen to it more. I mean, my friends, I have many "yabancı" friends. I made them listen to these songs, for instance. They say how nice songs these are. There are TV series where they sometimes use Laz and Hemşin songs. My friends call me and ask me how they are like. It is like this. A nice different language.

N: Well, do you know any songs in Hemşince?

T: I know but my pronunciation is not good (Laughs). I understand but my pronunciation is not good. I have a nice voice but- there is not people singing those songs anymore but I sometimes sing for my friends. But here when people come together they make gossips. Let's do this and that and then after whom should we speak.¹⁴⁶ (Tansu, 21, Hopa)

¹⁴⁶ Original:

N: sen hemşince konuşuyo musun

T: hayır ben bilmem hemşince konuşmuyorum ama anlıyorum

N: peki sana nasıl duyuluyo hemşince böyle kulağına hoş geliyo mu

T: bazen hoş geliyo hani bildiğin başka bi dil var mı deseler var tabi derim evet hani konuşmuyorum ama insanlar böyle şey nasıl diyim size çok soruyolar başka dil tabi biliyorum diyosun bilmedikleri kelimeleri filan soruyolar aaa ne anlama geliyo filan çok güzel oluyo ya hani bazı kelimeler var hani seni seviyorum gibi o ne demek bu ne demek mesela arkadaşlarımız ben onlara söylüyorum kezi haz genim diye seni seviyorum demek biliyo musun

N: hı hı biliyorum yani dışardan insanlar mı

T: hani tatile filan gittiğimizde öyle oluyo

N: hı hı peki türkçe mi kulağına daha güzel geliyo hemşince mi

T: türkçe de güzel geliyo da yani hemşince de güzel geliyo bazı kelimeleri çok hoş geliyo yani ya bunun üstüne çok güzel şarkı da yazılmış hani insanın dinledikçe dinleyesi geliyo yani arkadaşlarımız mesela benim çok yabancı arkadaşım var onlar mesela böyle dinlettim böyle şarkılar ne güzel söylüyo ne die felan soruyolar şimdi zaten film çekiliyo burda orda

In the excerpt above, Tansu states that she does not speak Hemşince but understands it similar to many Hemşinlis in her age. When I ask what she thinks about Hemşince she states that she likes it and then starts to tell the conversations she has with her friends about Hemşince. She states that although she does not speak the language she tells her friends that she speaks it. She refers to speaking more than one language but without elaborating on that she states that she tells her friends she speaks Hemşince presenting herself somebody who speaks more than one language. Most probably people ask her what kind of a language it is. We see that Tansu answers these questions as presenting Hemşince an exotic language adding romanticism with love words in Hemşince. Afterwards, she refers to the songs in Hemşince presenting her content with these songs. As an answer to the question if she can sing in Hemşince she states that she sings only for her "yabancı" friends though her pronunciation in Hemşince is not that good. Considering Tansu's competence in Hemşince, and her presentation of Hemşince as her second language referring to nice love words and songs I claim that Hemşince becomes a cultural capital with its nice words and songs which she uses to increase her prestige among her friends.

We see the same use of Hemşince in the account of 29 year-old Hemşinli man, Orhan. Orhan's family migrates to İzmit, when he was very young. Afterwards they came back to Hopa. Orhan now lives in Hopa. In the extract below, he describes his knowledge of Hemşince as well as when he resorts to Hemşince.

O: In our family, Hemşince is not spoken most of the time. My grandparents used to speak it. My mother sometimes used to speak it. My father rarely spoke Hemşince. Since he was a driver he did not need it much. Apart from this when we visit people for example, when my grandparents wanted to say something in secret they were switching to Hemşince. They used to speak Hemşince mostly. I did not speak Hemşince much but I knew it. I knew most of the words. When I want to speak I can but you cannot pronounce every word.

mesela arada lazca olsun arada hemşince olsun şarkılar kullanılıyo soruyolar mesela arıyolar soruyolar ne demek nasıl bişey öle güzel bişey ya başka bi dil

N: peki sen biliyo musun hemşince şarkı

T: biliyorum da dilim dönmüyo (laughs) anlıyorum ama dilim dönmüyo sesim güzel amaama o kadar da söyleyen kalmadı şimdi o şarkıları ama ben bazen yabancı arkadaşlarıma söylüyorum burda şimdi bi araya gelince dedikodu yapıyolar onu yapalım bunu yapalım kimi çekiştirelim.

You cannot tell it. But I knew the meaning. I did not use to speak Hemşince. I rarely spoke it. For example, when I am at work, when there is something private, when I want to say something in secret, since there are mostly Laz people at work (who would not understand Hemşince), I directly switch into Hemşince. But this time it catches attention. The wonder if there is something (laughs). I mean when I need it I use Hemşince. I know the words.¹⁴⁷ (Orhan, 29)

In fact, in Orhan's account, we see the summary of the usage of Hemşince according to different generations. Orhan states that his grandparents used to speak Hemşince mostly while his mother speaks sometimes. In line with my observations, he states that his father did not use to speak Hemşince since he was a driver. That Orhan states that his father did not need to use Hemşince indicates the spaces Hemşince is used. Since his father is a driver, he is mostly present in other cities where Hemşince is not spoken. In addition to that, that his father did not speak Hemşince is expected since men are the carriers of the idea that Turkish should be spoken for the success at school and since they mostly prefer to speak Turkish but not Hemşince. Orhan's account also supports the claim that Hemşince has a function of providing privacy as a code used for gossiping or share something in secret. That he directly lists who speak Hemşince to what extent and when show that these knowledges are already available to Hemşinlis themselves as crystalized knowledges. We see that knowing this function of Hemşince he himself uses it at work. Upon this I ask him if he speaks Hemşince only for this function he goes on speaking about Hemşince as follows:

N: I will ask one more question. When you go out with your friends do you speak Hemşince only for secrets or

¹⁴⁷ *Original:*

O: bizim ailede pek ağırlıklı olarak konuşulmuyor babaannemle dedem konuşurdu annem ara sıra konuşurdu babam çok nadir konuşurdu Hemşinceyi o da babam şoför olduğu için pek ihtiyacı olmuyodu ama onun haricinde ailede mesela oturmaya gittiğinde gizli bişey söyleceği zaman mesela Hemşinceye geçerlerdi babaannemle dedem ağırlıklı konuşurlar Hemşinceyi konuşmayı ben de pek şey yapmıyodum ama biliyodum kelimelerin çoğunu biliyodum konuşmak istediğim zaman konuşabiliyorum ama her kelimeyi işte çevirme çeviremiyosun işte söyleyemiyosun ama biliyorum anlamını ben pek kolay kolay başvurmuyodum işteyken mesela özel bi durum olduğunda gizli bişey söylemek istediğinde genel iş çevresinde de genellikle laz ağırlıklı kesim olduğu için işte ihtiyaç duyduğumda otomatikman geçiyorum ben ama bu sefer direk dikkat çekiyo onlar da anlıyolar hayırdır bişey mi var (laughs) filan gibisinden oluyo yani ihtiyaç duydu mu ııı kullanıyorum Hemşinceyi kelimelerini de biliyorum

O: Well, I like Hemşince. As for speaking, I don't speak it. I like it because it is my tradition. I mean sometimes it sounds interesting in other places. Our language when I go to other places our way of speaking- For example, when I went to (Gebze) when I was in the middle school they liked the way used to speak. When I was in the middle school people told me lots of times "Don't change your language, please speak as you speak now, it is very nice like this". My teachers and my classmates always told me this. Well, with the thing being a child gives in three or four weeks independent from my wish I got used to Istanbul accent. But for example here when you think Hemşince is spoken rudely. I mean I don't know. In the university people were getting curious about what kind of a language it was. They were asking what Hemşince was. I was giving examples from Kazım Koyuncu. Thanks to Kazım Koyuncu now the existence of Hemşince has been proved. Well, I was opening his songs in the Internet and told them to listen to Kazım Koyuncu's songs. When they listened they saw different words than Turkish. Then they started to be curious about them. Depending on the person what they wanted to know changes. Some were curious about love words, some slang words. Well, they were asking how it was like. There are some similar words with English. For example they say "abril" in English there is word similar to "abril". They were asking. There were people who were curious. They learned some words.¹⁴⁸(Orhan, 29)

In the extract above, we see that although Orhan does not prefer to speak Hemşince he states that he likes it since it is his tradition. The word "tradition" should

¹⁴⁸ *Original:*

N: son bi soru sorcam şimdi sen kendi akranlarınla dışarı çıktığında hemşinceyi sadece dediğin gibi gizli olsun diye mi kullanıyorsunuz yoksa

O: ya hemşinceyi severim konuşma olarak pek konuşmam hemşinceyi seviyorum ben çünkü bu benim bi geleneğim yani ben bazen şeye dışarda da ilginç geliyor bizim dilimiz şeye gittiğimizde konuşma tarzı mesela ortaokuldayken gittiğimizde ordakiler çok seviyodu ortaokuldayken bana çok şey dendi işte dilini değiştirme işte böyle konuş nolur hep böyle konuş işte böyle çok tatlı hocalarım sınıf arkadaşlarım çok derlerdi ama işte çocukluğun da verdiği şeyle çok kısa bir sürede üç dört haftada ister istemez isteğe bağlı bişey değildi tabi ama İstanbul ağzına alışmaya başladık ama mesela bizim burda dışardan baktığında böyle kaba saba konuşuluyo ya da ne bilim üniversitede de çok meraklıydı nası bi dil o zaman ya Hemşince nedir falan diyorlardı böyle ben şeyden örnekler veriyodum kazım koyuncudan örnekler veriyodum. artık sağ olsun kazım koyuncunun etkisiyle Hemşince diye bişeyin varlığı ispatlandı işte açıyodum ben işte internette kazım koyuncunun şarkılarını dinleyin arkadaşlar dedim bakıyo bu kelimeler farklı farklı işte nedir kelimeleri merak etmeye başladılar kişinin durumuna göre de işte merak ettiği şeyler değişiyo kimi sevgi aşk sözcükleri kimi işte argo kelimeleri merak ediyodu işte mesela soruyolardı neye benziyor felan diyorlardı İngilizceden bi kaç şeylerle benzeyen kelimeler var mesela abril derler nisana İngilizcede de abril tarzında bi kelime vardı soruyolardı merak ediyolardı merak edenler oluyo öğrenmişlerdi bi kaç kelime üniversitedeyken

have triggered his memories from outside Hopa. He first tells his experiences from the middle school. He states that his classmates used to like his accent asking him to keep it since his accent used to sound nice to the people there. However, he also adds that his accent changed and he also learned Istanbul accent. All these positive reactions he gets outside becomes negative when he again refers to Hopa. He states that Hemşince sounds rude in Hopa. He then describes how people were getting curious about Hemşince in his university. He states that he was describing Hemşince to them with references to Kazım Koyuncu's songs.

Similar to Tansu, he makes people listen to Kazım Koyuncu's songs and teaches some Hemşince words and phrases to his friends such as how to say, "I love you" in Hemşince and slang words. Also note that while describing Hemşince he constructs similarities with English words like "April". English is a still very prestigious language in Turkey. If Hemşince is like English then it is prestigious as well. In this account what is significant for us is that although Orhan speaks Hemşince only when he wants to speak out something without some people understanding it and although he thinks that Hemşince is rude he presents it as his language outside with positive attributes. Similar to Tansu he teaches love words and slang words to his friends, which might be considered as presenting Hemşince as his cultural capital to his friends.

Another function of Hemşince is the use of language as a determiner of ethnic and/or national identity, which has been used by nation states to construct a single, unique and homogeneous people and also by the ethnicities to demonstrate their dissidence against nation states. In the case of Hopa Hemşinlis, Hemşin language is commonly used to negotiate ethnic origins, and to construct Hemşinli identity. In most of the cases the construction of Hemşinli identity is done with direct association between Hemşince and Hemşin community.

N: Did your grandparents speak Hemşince?

F: We are Hemşinli since the old times. Our family was like that since the old times. Since we are Hemşinli, we will speak Hemşince of course.

N: Did they speak Turkish?

F: Turkish? Well, we speak Turkish now. After you go, we, the women will speak Hemşince. It is our language since the old times. We did not use to go

*downtown. I did not know downtown. I did not go. How can I know?*¹⁴⁹ (Fadile, 88)

The excerpt above is from an 88-year-old Hemşinli woman. As an answer to my question whether her grandparents used to speak Hemşince, she states directly that they are Hemşinlis since the old times. She further indicates that, since they are Hemşinlis it is naturally expected that they speak Hemşince. We see that she constructs direct association between being a Hemşinli and speaking Hemşince. As for Turkish, we see that Turkish is associated with the downtown, some cases of which I already presented in former chapters. Affiliation of Fadile with Turkish accords with her affiliation with the downtown. As an 88-year-old woman, for Fadile who has little relations with the downtown, Hemşince is main tool for communication and is seen as a natural bond with being a Hemşinli.

As we have seen in Chapter 4, possible Armenian origins is a subject which is always negotiated among Hopa Hemşinlis though rejected by the majority of the Hemşinlis I had interviews with. In these negotiations, Hemşin language is the main initiator of and cite for ethnic identity claims and/or rejections. The extract from Nihat below is an excellent example for the language and ethnicity association.

N: Do your Grandchildren speak Hemşince?

Ni: No, they cannot speak. They ask me what this means and what that means. My daughters ask me the numbers. We say "ersun" for thirty. They ask what "ersun" means. The children do not know. Only Turkish, they know only Turkish.

N: Then you speak Turkish with your grandchildren.

Ni: Yes, I speak Turkish with the grandchildren. They don't speak (Hemşince) but when I speak Hemşince they answer in Turkish. They understand a little bit. Yes, it is like this. They are educated. We were drivers. We learned outside. We also spoke Turkish. I was a driver. My brother was a driver as well. My elder son

¹⁴⁹ *Original:*

N: senin babaannenler dedenler hemşince konuşuyo muydu teyze

T: biz hemşinliyduk da eskiden beri sülalemuz oyleydi eskiden beri o ki hemşinliyüz hemşince konuşacağız

N: türkçe konuşuyolar mıydı

T: türkçe aha da zaten bugün türkçe konuşuyruz sen gittukten sora biz karılar hemşince konuşacağız da bizum dilumuz eskiden beri da oyledur da biz çarşıye gitmeyuduk çarşıyi tanir muyduk ben çarşıyu tanimeyrdum ki gitmemişim ne taniyeceğim

was also a driver. Our Turkish was good. And the children learned since we spoke Turkish. I mean we did not teach that language to children. They don't speak Hemşin language. We speak it good. I also speak Turkish good.

N: Well, if you compare Turkish and Hemşince, which one do you speak more fluently? Is it the same in both languages?

Ni: It is the same. It never changes. But there is no Hemşin language after sixty-nine. We cannot speak it after the number sixty-nine.

N: The numbers?

Ni: We can count fluently until sixty-nine. It is good until sixty-nine. There is not (Hemşince language) afterwards. The ones saying there is are lying. After that it is a foreign language. After that we cannot speak, after sixty-nine. Long long ago there was. They used to count long long ago. In hemşince, one cannot say seventy.

N: I see.

Ni: Now, see. I will count for you. Five is "hink". (...) "vatsunu in e" is sixty-nine. We cannot say seventy. Well, we should say "oxte nasun" but we cannot say. I mean if I pay attention I can.

N: But "oxte nasun"?

Ni: "Oxte nasun" means seventy in our language; in fact, in Armenian language. Then it becomes Armenian language. This is for Armenian people. It is Armenian. We say "datse". They say "detsi". We cannot do it after sixty-nine. We cannot speak. We say seventy and then switch to Turkish.

N: After sixty-nine, does it become Armenian?

Ni: After seventy, it becomes Armenian language. After that we cannot count. Our women cannot say this number. Then it becomes a foreign language. They cannot speak more. Until sixty-nine we can count comfortably in our hemşin language. After sixty-nine you cannot count. Now, this language remained us from an Armenian woman. We are not Armenian. We speak Hemşince. We are Hemşin but our Turkish is good as well. ¹⁵⁰(Nihat, 74)

¹⁵⁰ Original:

N: torunların hemşinceleri nasıl

Ni: yok konuşamıyolar evet walla bu ne demektir deyi bana sorayı benim kızlar şimdi rakam soruyor bizim rakam biz mesela otuza ersun deriz ersun ne demektur deyi çocuk bilmiyor he türkçe tamamen türkçe

N: o zaman torunlarla türkçe konuşuyosunuz

Ni: he he türkçe türkçe çocuklarla türkçe konuştuyom bilmezler ki ben ama hemşince konuştum mu kendileri türkçe cevabını alıyorum anlıyorlar biraz çat put anlıyolar evet öle e zaten okudu çocuklar şimdi biz zaten şoforduk biz de dışardan görduk biz de türkçeciydik da abim de şofordu ben de şofordum büyük oğlum şofor idi türkçe bizde kuvvetliydi e çocuklar da biz konuşınca kendileri alıştı yani o bizim dili sokmaduk hemşince dili çocuklar konuşmuyor biz biliyoruz güzel konuşuyoruz ama türkçeyi de ben daha güzel konuşuyorum

N: peki sen böyle karşılaştırsan hemşince türkçe hangisinde daha rahatsın ikisinde de aynı mı

This extract starts with the Hemşin language competence of Nihat's grandchildren. He states that they cannot speak Hemşince though they understand a little. He states that they always ask questions including numbers in Hemşince. We see that Nihat associates Turkish with being educated similar to Fadile who associates it downtown. We see that the schools and urban life, which Turkish modernization brought into Hopa Hemşinlis' life, are associated with the Turkish language. Moreover, being a driver, which necessitates being present in other places in Turkey necessitates speaking Turkish or prepares grounds for it according to Nihat's story. Upon Nihat's statement that he speaks both Turkish and Hemşince good I ask him which one he speaks more fluently. Upon this question the interesting part of our conversation starts. Nihat states that in Hemşince they cannot count after sixty-nine because then it becomes a foreign language, which is Armenian. The language ethnicity association to construct group identity is a highly known and studied subject. However, what makes this extract significant and interesting is the fact that it explicitly shows how this association affects language use. From Nihat's account, we understand that in order not to be positioned as Armenian,

Ni: aynı aynı hiç değişmez yalnız altmış dokuzdan sonra hemşin dili yok rakamda altmışdokuzdan sonra konuşamıyoruz

N: rakamlarda?

Ni: altmış dokuza kadar rahat rahat sayabiliyoruz sayımız güzel altmış dokuza ondan sonra yok var diyen yalan konuşuyor ondan sonra yabancı bi dildir ondan sonra biz yapamayız altmış dokuzdan sonra çok eskiden çok eskiler varmış onlar sayarmış yani yetmiş denmiyor hemşince denmiyor

N: anladım

Ni: şimdi bak sana sayıim bu beş hinktir (...) vatsunu ine şimdi yetmiş diyemiyoz işte oxte nasun dememiz lazım okuaymıyorum olmuyor yani ben incelesem sayarum da dilimiz biraz zorlanıyo

N: ama oxte nasun?

Ni: oxte nasun yetmiş demek yetmiş demek bizim dilde esasen ermeni dilinde ermeni diline gider o onlar ermeni için ermenice mesela biz datse deriz datse un ama onlar detsi atmışdokuzdan sonraki biz yapamıyoruz konuşamıyoruz yetmiş deriz yetmişten sonra artık türkçeye döneriz

N: e atmış dokuzdan sonraki ermenice mi oluyo

Ni: yetmiş o o ermeni diline gidiyo ermeni diline gidiyo ondan sonra biz sayamıyoruz yani bizim kadınlar o sayıyı veremezler o yabancı dile kaç kayıyor daha konuşamazlar konuşardiler eskiden çok çok dikkatli olmam lazım atmış dokuza kadar rahat rahat bizim dil hemşin dili konuş sayıyor atmışdokuzdan sonra sayamazsın şimdi bu dil bize ermeni bi gelinden kalmış ama biz ermeni değiliz hemşince konuşuruz konuşuruz hemşiniz ama türkçemiz de yerindedir

Nihat deliberately do not count after sixty-nine for after seventy the different pronunciation of numbers in Hemşince and Armenian ends. Thus, in order to keep the distance between Hemşince and Armenian and hence, from being an Armenian, Nihat switches to Turkish. To give more evidences for not being Armenian, Nihat tells us the mythical story of an Armenian woman marrying a Hemşinli and taught Armenian to Hemşinlis. He then states explicitly that they are not Armenian. They speak Hemşince and they are Hemşinlis. That he adds Turkish is also good seems to be a defensive statement. Especially among the elderly and some middle aged Hemşinlis we see this defensive language for their generation lived through times the Turkish Republic practicing most coercive attitude towards the "others" in Turkey. In short, this account depicts us not only a construction of membership into the Hemşin community via Hemşin language but also how such associations affect language use, and how language becomes site for dis/objecting membership into different ethnicities.

Although Hopa Hemşinlis are always in the endeavor of keeping distance from their possible Armenian origins throughout their discourse we have stories in which they meet with Armenians and Hemşince is always the initiator of a conversation with Armenians. Almost all the men who work as a truck driver, women who visited other cities have a story of encountering with an Armenian through which Hopa Hemşinlis negotiate their ethnic identity. The elderly Hemşinlis are usually have tendency to reject having common origins with Armenians but they are also the ones who meet an Armenian either in Iran or in Istanbul, have conversation with them, eat and drink with them, even stay in Armenians' houses. However they state they don't like Armenians, they are afraid of them; they accept what Armenians provide with them. The extract below is from 78-year-old Hemşinli man, Nazım, meeting Armenians in Istanbul thanks to Hemşin language.

Na: They say (Hemşinlis) came from Middle Asia. They came to Pazar from there. We cannot know. Now our Hemşin language complies with the Armenians.

N: Does it?

Na: It does but hardly.

N: Do you understand? Have you ever heard Armenian?

Na: I have. I met in Istanbul when I was buying a vehicle. When I was speaking Hemşince with my friend, this Armenian heard me. My friend went. There an Armenian boy called Booz. He works there. He asked me where I was from, who I was. I got it then. "This is Armenian", I said. I asked, "Why are you asking?" "Nothing. I just asked", he said. Now, there had been many Armenians in Artvin. They massacred them, slaughtered them. The Turks did I don't know what. They exiled them. I said so. I asked why he asked. He said "Nothing". He asked where I was living. I said, "I live in the Hopa county of Artvin province". He asked, "Are you Turkish?" I said, "Why are you asking?" I got it. He is Armenian. They make meeting every three months. The Turks did this. The Turks did that. They tell these each other. They write these like historians for the new generations do not forget these. He said "Come to our house tonight." I got hesitated in case I go there and these gaur's slaughter me since Turks slaughtered them in Artvin. You get afraid. You get hesitated. To my surprise, they were gaur's Armenians who are one of the notable rich men in Istanbul. He asked what job I was doing. I told I was going to buy a vehicle and then go. He told "Let us give you the money, in cash, take it. If you earn money, you can pay us back. If not, it is yours." I did not accept it.

N: Did you tell him you were Armenian?

Na: Can you say Armenian? The Armenian told me "You are Armenian".

N: I see, he told you.

Na: He told me. I told him I am a Hemşinli.¹⁵¹ (Nazım, 78)

¹⁵¹ Original:

Na: orta orta orta asya diyorlar diyorlar orta asyadan pazar mazar a gelmişler.artık bilmeyruz ki şimdi ermenilerle de bizim hemşin dili uyayı birbirine

N: uyuyo mu

Na: çok uyuyor ama çok zor

N: sen anlıyo musun hiç duydun mu ermenice

Na: duydum istanbula gider gelirken araba maraba alırken karşılaştım ben hemşince bi arkadaşla konuşurken megerim o ermeni beni duymuş benim arkadaş gitti o orda bi ermeni booz isminde bi çocuk orda çalışıyor bana dedi sen nerelisin kimsin dedi benim hemen jetonum düştü dedim bu ermeni dedim niye sordun dedim ya sordum dedi şimdi bana di şimdi ermeniliği bu artvinde çok ermeni varmış katletmişler kesmişler dogramışlar turkler bilmem ne yapmışlar burden surmişler oyle dedum niye sordun filan yok sordum dedi nerde uyuyosun sen yaşaisın dedi ben artvin ilinin hopa kazasında yaşıyorum ilçesinde türk müsün dedi niye soruyosun dedim ben anladım bu ermeni ya bunlar uç ayda bi toplanıyor başumuzda turklar buni yaptı oni yaptı bunu yaptı onlar birbirine anlatıyor aynı tarih gibi yazailar nesil unutmazın bunu diye bu akşam bize misafir gel dedi ben çekindim o zaman ya ben gider da bunlar turklar bizi artvinde kestiler bu bu gece beni kesmesinler bu gavuroğlı gavurlar e korkuyosun da çekiniyorum ben megerim istanbulin en ileri gelen zenginleri gavurdiler ermenilerdir sen ne iş yapıyosun dedi ne dedim araba alıyorum boyle boyle gideceğim dedim dedi parayı biz verelim parayı biz verelim dedi peşin para al dedi kazanursan verursun bize kazanmazsan helal olsun dedi ben onu yapmadım

N: sen ona ermeniyim mi dedin

This extract follows from our conversation on the origins of Hemşinlis. Upon this conversation, Nazım raises the similarity between Hemşince and Armenian. Upon my question he states that they are hardly similar. Then he starts to tell his encounter with an Armenian in Istanbul. In this story he tells us Armenian genocide as well. Throughout his story we see his fear from Armenians since he thinks Armenians would possibly take revenge of this massacre. At the end of the story we see that his fear is baseless since the Armenian man he meets with wants to do a favor him though he rejects. At the end of his account, we also see that he tells the Armenian man that he is Hemşinli. Such stories are very much common among the Hopa Hemşinlis. Among the elderly, the encounters depict between the lines sympathy for Armenians although on the surface Hopa Hemşinlis state they don't like Armenians, they reject their favors, some even swear at Armenians. In my opinion, even the fact that all Hemşinlis raise the subject of Armenians, tell encountering stories with them show that in some way or another they make associations with Armenians. Considering the Turkish nationalism process and what Armenians experienced in this process, it might be asserted that Hopa Hemşinlis in fact have the fear of raising their common origins with Armenians. Since language is the only demonstrator of this commonality, it is frequently used as a site for touching this subject, for circulating around the topic.

Similar to Fadile's construction of a bond between being a Hemşinli and Hemşince, many young Hemşinlis construct their Hemşinli identity directly with references to Hemşince. Especially among the young Hemşinlis who do ethnic identity politics, Hemşin language is seen as an attribute of Hemşinli identity as exemplified with the excerpt from Esmâ below:

E: Well, in Hopa there is a community who speaks this language. I speak Hemşince. My mother tongue is Hemşince. In the past, we did not use to speak Hemşince. In fact, our language, the Hemşin language was not that influential for my identity. It was not like my mother tongue until I came to the university and until I got the consciousness of Hemşin identity. Well, after that

Na: ermeni deyebilir misin ermeni sen ermenisin dedi bana

N: ha o sana dedi

Na: o bana dedi ben ona Hemşinliyim dedim.

when I considered contributing to the hemşin culture, I got interested more in language. Yes, I got realized that Hemşince is our mother tongue and Hemşinlis are a separate nation. Now I speak Hemşince especially. I try to speak Hemşince with my parents on the phone. And it is not with Turkish accent. I pay special attention to speak Hemşince. I say I am a Hemşinli.¹⁵² (Esmâ, 28)

In this excerpt, Esmâ states that there is a community called Hemşinli in Hopa and the language of this community is Hemşince. Then she tells us her personal story regarding how she attributed Hemşince the status of her mother tongue. She tells us that she considered Hemşin as her mother tongue when she went to the university and started to be interested in Hemşin culture and identity.

As I have stated in the former chapters, identity politics has been increasing among the young Hemşinlis and history and language as markers of group identity constructions take special attention by the Hemşin identity activists. As it can be seen in Esmâ's account as well, construction of Hemşinli identity as politics and of Hemşin language as a marker of this identity is a process, which has been started recently. In Esmâ's account, we explicitly see how this process started. We cannot know how this process proceed though we clearly see that Hemşin language is seen as a marker of ethnic identity and becomes a means of doing identity politics.

Considering these contexts in which young Hemşinlis speak Hemşince, and the fact that they claim they speak Hemşince only in these contexts we might claim that for some middle-aged women and for the young, Hemşin language, which is means of communication in a large space for the elderly has been reduced to being language of "performance", "secrets", "cultural capital", and "identity marker". This is also reflected

¹⁵² *Original:*

E: işte hopada bu dili konuşan bir topluluk var ben hemşince konuşuyorum anadilim hemşince eskiden biz hemşince konuşmuyoduk hani dilimiz yani hemşin dili üzerimde kimliğimde çok baskın bi örnek değildi yani bu benim anadilim gibi bi gelmedi bana gelmedi yani ne zamanki üniversteye geldim kimlik bilinci hemşin kimliği oluştu o zaman işte böyle daha Hemşin kültürüne kültüre daha da şey katkı sunmak gerektiğini hani bi yerinden tutmak gerektiğini düşündüğüm için bu kadar hani dilin içine girdim hemşincenin hani evet bizim anadilimiz olduğunu kavradım Hemşinliler diye ayrı bir millet olduğunu ve hemşince diye bir dili olduğunu şimdi artık özellikle mesela hemşince konuşuyorum babamla telefonda işte annemle telefonda hemşince konuşmaya çalışıyorum hani artık o türkçenin aksanıyla da değil direk hemşince konuşmaya daha özen gösteriyorum hemşinliyim diyorum.

in the attitudes towards Hemşin language, which we have already dwelled upon for the elderly and the middle-aged women. Finally, I want to emphasize that the proportion of the use of Hemşin language together with who uses it might show differences according to the places where Hopa Hemşinlis live as well as education level and political views of the people. What I present here should be seen as generalizations based on my observations and data collected from Hopa Hemşinlis. Although Hemşince follows the pattern I presented in which it loses its spaces of usage as a language and gains new functions this should be seen as a process in which there are varieties.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on the history of Hemşince, which is still preserved in the community of Hopa Hemşinlis while traditional Baş Hemşinlis speak only Turkish today. I have asserted that Hemşince only by its existence and similarity with the Armenian language creates tension among Rize Hemşinlis, Turkish nationalist researchers and thus is exposed to the similar formulas of silencing applied to Hemşin history. I have shown that when hemşince cannot be erased it is constructed as a code being dispossessed its features making it a language. Indicating the endeavors constructing Hemşince as a made up language, I have also examined the grounds, which set the preservation of Hemşince among the Hopa Hemşinlis contrary to Baş Hemşinlis who lost it. I indicated the reason for this linguistic difference between Baş Hemşinlis and Hopa Hemşinlis as the different social developments they went through since the Ottoman period. I have demonstrated that this difference included pastoral way of life Hopa Hemşinlis went through being far away from the state both during the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, thus belated engagement with Turkish modernization, extended family structure having impact on how "yayla" practices are realized, and being a closed society with endogamy.

In this chapter, I also signaled the decrease in the use of Hemşin language to the extent that it was included among the endangered languages by UNESCO. Having touched upon the practices of the Turkish state aiming linguistic assimilation of all the other non-Turkish languages in Turkey, I examined how Hopa Hemşinlis reacted to Turkish modernization project and how their reaction affected the use of Hemşin language. I demonstrated that the leftist and socialist ideologies commonly hold by Hopa Hemşinlis attributing significance to modernization considering it as development and progress had a role on the linguistic assimilation in the Hopa Hemşinli community although these days they are in the process of reassessing their ethnolinguistic identity not seeing it as "racism" as they used to in the past. I claimed that Hopa Hemşinlis' attitude towards modernization welcoming the Turkish-only-education system resulted in their having a distinct assimilation process compared to Kurdish people. The assessment of ban on Hemşin language in schools as a necessity to reach success and to make progress enabled the Turkish state to disseminate assimilation practices and thus obtain hegemony without resorting to coercive state apparatuses as in the Kurdish case.

I have also shown that Hopa Hemşinlis with the language ideologies they hold have contributed to the linguistic assimilation project of the Turkish state. I have demonstrated that both the elderly and young Hemşinlis advocate the idea that Hemşince causes problems in learning at the schools. I have also argued that the opposition of the elderly to speaking Hemşince is grounded only on this ideology. No elderly explicates in what way Hemşince prevents success at the school. No elderly or middle -aged Hemşinli mention a specific case where Turkish was an obstacle during their school days and no elderly makes analysis of Hemşin language, Hemşin accent, of the language itself. Based on these analyses I argued that language ideologies the Hopa Hemşinlis have are the reflections of hegemonic Turkish modernization project, which constructed Turkish as the only single language of public spaces. In this chapter, I have also signaled the generational differences among Hopa Hemşinlis in terms of language ideologies demonstrating that the young Hemşinlis, their meta-pragmatic awareness of Hemşince highly differs from the elderly, via which they make overt contestation of their language ideologies of Hemşince and Turkish. I proposed the explanation for this as young Hemşinlis' acquiesce of their own their language use descriptions by others, which they

encounter at schools, in modern life more generally. Finally, for the language ideologies, I have demonstrated that Hemşince is attributed connotations such as "rude", "belonging to peasantry", "backward" which in turn have a role in the decrease of Hemşin language.

This chapter also showed the spaces of usage of Hemşince and Turkish in comparison to the past with the present. I have shown with the accounts by elderly Hopa Hemşinlis that while in the past Turkish was spoken only when Hemşinlis visited the Hopa town center, and Hemşince was used in many spaces, today it is not possible to determine the spaces Hemşince is used since it lost most of its spaces of use. I have shown that today Hemşince is used mostly for its functions while Turkish is the public language. I have stated the functions of Hemşin language today as a performative tool, a code for secrets and gossips, and a tool for showing of prestige and lastly a tool for the negotiation of ethnic identity. I have stated that this process of change from a language having a wide range of spaces of use to a language used for some few functions is closely linked with the modernization process of Hopa Hemşinlis; their settlement in the downtown, schooling etc. Otherwise, in the past as well downtown was the space for Turkish. This chapter also demonstrated gender differences in the use of Hemşin language both in the past and today. We have seen that men who are more visible in the public spaces such as coffee houses and who are the symbolic states within the families became the watchmen of women's speech preventing them speak Hemşince.

Throughout this chapter, in order to be able to show the decreasing spaces of use for Hemşince and the reasons for this decrease, I have referred to Hopa Hemşinlis' attitudes towards modernization as well as Turkish and Hemşince, which so play a great role on language use and maintenance. The next chapter focuses mainly on language ideologies of Hopa Hemşinlis and their impact on the use of Hemşin language.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have shown that in recent years, there is an increasing interest in Hemşin community among Turkish and Armenian historians, researchers having Hemşinli descend as well as among the Hemşinli youth. This interest created a plane on which Hemşin history, culture, language, and identity are put under scrutiny. Having been discounted by the Turkish state remaining unknown to the majority of the people living in Turkey, the subject of Hemşin history, language and identity have recently been hotly debated in academic conferences, social media and among the Hemşinlis. Furthermore, I indicated that although in the beginning of its process, political activism has started among the young Hopa Hemşinlis who are university graduates asking for ethnic recognition with a focus on Hemşin history, cultural practices, and language.

In Chapter 3, I have argued that this recent interest started with the renegotiation the homogeneous and standardized structure of Turkish state, which has been challenged by oppositional movements such as Kurdish Movement since its foundation. I have also showed that the Kurdish Movement is taken as a role model by the young Hemşinlis who are interested in identity politics. Furthermore, Hemşin people refer to Kurdish people with positive attributes unlike other ethnicities in Turkey such as Laz, Cretans and Romeika speakers. I argued that Hopa Hemşinlis differ from these ethnicities thanks to their relationships with the Kurds in "yayla" pastures and thus becoming knowledgeable about Kurdish people as well as thanks to the leftist tradition attaining importance to equality and democracy. Another reason for increasing interest in Hemşin history, culture and language is shown to be the industrial development and modernization in the region.

I demonstrated that industrialization, modernization, and hence adjustment to urban way of life, set the grounds for the fear of departing from one's traditions and cultural heritage resulting in turning back to one's past. Based on the accounts of the Hopa Hemşinlis, I also concluded that Hemşinlis need the knowledge of the past for speaking out alternative stories to the hegemonic nationalistic Turkish history. I indicated that the Hopa Hemşinlis doing identity politics take history as the site to struggle for social justice seeing it as a form of consciousness.

Throughout this thesis history is not a site for the Hemşinlis who do identity politics. Both Armenian and Turkish researchers are interested in Hemşin history, which is in compliance with their nationalistic aims. I have discussed in length the historical works on Hemşin history by Armenian and Turkish researchers as well as by researchers having Hemşinli descend in Chapter 3. I have shown that Armenian researchers having been guided by nationalist interests attribute Armenian origins to the Hemşinlis constructing a heroic Hemşinli past. I noted that construction of a single historical time and collection of people/Hemşinlis is carried over into the plane that the Hemşinlis who remain out of this single homogeneous time are aimed to be Armenianized with the use of tools such as media. Moreover, I presented some works of the Turkish nationalistic researchers who attribute Turkish origins to the Hemşinlis and showed that formulas of silencing; "erasure" and "banalization" presented by Trouillot do not suffice to explain the silencing practices. Hence, I claimed that we need a third kind of formula, which I called formulas of "adulteration". I stated that such formulas add extra information, probably made-up and distort the quality of a fact or event, alter the fact/event into another, so that it becomes another picture. I also showed how these constructed and distorted historiography carried over into the discourse of especially the elderly Hopa Hemşinlis with the help of local researchers who are of Hemşinli descend and the constructed authority of the "scientific knowledge".

In Chapter 4, I focused on ethnic identity formation of Hopa Hemşinlis, how Hopa Hemşinlis as a community collectively remember the past and how they perceive their history. I tried to depict ethnic affiliations of Hopa Hemşinlis as well as the collectively remembered past events, experiences and how they reacted to Turkish modernization project and the "developments" it brought to their lives with a focus on the

economic and social transformations in the region they live. Considering ethnic identity formation, I have shown that having Armenian origins or the im/possibility of being Armenian is always a question raised by Hopa Hemşinlis. I argued that the reasons for this as the increasing interest in identity politics among Hopa Hemşinlis and having conflicting characteristics such as speaking Hemşince with the description of Turkish citizen described in the Turkish national project. I have also shown that having common ethnic origins with the Armenians creates tension among the Hopa Hemşinlis and is rejected and/or cancelled with hearsay mythic stories circulating through generations, except for Hopa Hemşinlis who do identity politics and who are leftist socialist activists. I also argued that considering the sad stories Armenians experienced Turkey, this tension is quite understandable. I have concluded that Hopa Hemşinlis construct a strong sense of being Hemşinli rather than Armenian and Turkish eliminating frequently used determinants of ethnic identity such as common language in the case of Armenianness and written common history and all the hegemonic Turkish nationalism in the case of Turkishness. In Chapter 4, I have also focused on the events, which are collectively remembered by Hopa Hemşinlis finding out that these events are used at the present to negotiate their ethnic identity and Hemşinlis as an ethnic community. I have shown that the oldest collectively remembered/constructed event is the migration of Hopa Hemşinlis from the district of traditional Baş Hemşin to the regions around Hopa. It has also been indicated that this event not only constructs common backgrounds between the Turkish speaking Hemşinlis in the regions living around Çamlıhemşin today and Hemşince speaking Hopa Hemşinlis but also sets the grounds for the negotiation of ethnic origins of both groups with references to possible Armenian origins. Furthermore, this chapter also significantly showed that this event is the oldest event that is remembered collectively by Hopa Hemşinlis. The nationalist constructions of the Hemşin history dating back to the periods of Oghuz Turks and the homogenous historical constructions dating back to Armenian Princes Hamam and Shapuh are not present in the discourse of Hopa Hemşinlis. Another collectively remembered event by the Hopa Hemşinlis, turns out to be the 1877–78 Russo-Turkish War followed by the dispersion of Hopa Hemşinlis to the Western Anatolia as well as to the Russian territories in that period which shown to be used to construct the relations of Hopa Hemşinlis with other Hemşinlis living in the other

places. For the remembrance of this event, I argued that claiming that the remembrance of this event is highly related to the construction/imagination of Hemşinlis as a community at the present time. Chapter 4 depicted the process of settlement in the downtown Hopa, which started with the introduction of tea industry into region. It has been shown that this in turn started to transform pastoral peasant way of life into a modern life. It has been shown that the social and economic changes included newly occurring job opportunities such as in the transportation sector and tea factories, and increasing schooling, exposure to national media indicating closer relationships with the modern Turkish state. I claimed that this transformation is a process which still continues resulting in different perceptions of past between generations. It has been shown that tea-production accelerating the settlement in the downtown Hopa have had significant impact on the traditional life of the Hopa Hemşinlis which are even today used to define Hemşin culture, marriage practices, and "yayla" practices which were places where Hemşin children are exposed to Hemşince most.

In Chapter 5, I argued that Hemşin language by its very existence and similarity to Armenian is always taken under scrutiny by Hopa Hemşinlis as well as Turkish nationalist researchers similar to history. In this chapter, I have shown that Turkish nationalist researchers applied the similar formulas of silencing to Hemşince they applied to Hemşin history. I have shown that when Hemşince cannot be erased it is constructed as a code being dispossessed its features making it a language. Indicating the endeavors constructing Hemşince as a made up language, I have also examined the grounds, which set the preservation of Hemşince among the Hopa Hemşinlis. I argued that the reason for this linguistic difference between Baş Hemşinlis and Hopa Hemşinlis as the different social developments these people experienced since the Ottoman period. I have demonstrated that this difference included pastoral way of life Hopa Hemşinlis were practicing being far away from the state both during the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, thus belated engagement with Turkish modernization, extended family structure, and being a closed society with endogamy. I noted that although Hemşince has been preserved until today, very few children acquire it as their native language these days. In this chapter, I also examined how Hopa Hemşinlis reacted to Turkish modernization project and how their reaction affected the use of Hemşin language in the

context of the linguistic assimilation practices of the Turkish state. I demonstrated that the leftist and socialist ideologies commonly held by Hopa Hemşinlis considering modernization as development and progress had a role on the linguistic assimilation in the Hopa Hemşinli community although these days preservation of Hemşin language is negotiated by these modernist Hemşinlis. In this chapter I have also depicted the language ideologies held by Hopa Hemşinlis towards Hemşince and Turkish and how these beliefs had impact on the use/continuation of Hemşince. I found out generational differences in terms of language ideologies. The younger generation has meta-pragmatic awareness of Hemşince, which is not observed among the elderly although their knowledge of Hemşince is higher than the youth. For this difference, I proposed that young Hemşinlis acquiesce what their ethnic others tell them about their language. Finally, for the language ideologies, I have found out that Hemşince is attributed connotations such as "rude", "belonging to peasantry", "backward" which in turn have a role in the decrease of Hemşin language. Finally, this chapter has demonstrated the spaces in which Hemşince was spoken in the past and how this changed throughout the modernization process. It has been shown that today Hemşince is used mostly for its functions while Turkish is the public language which is spoken in wider spaces. The functions of Hemşin language today have been shown to be a performative tool, a code for secrets and gossips, and a tool for showing of prestige and lastly a tool for the negotiation of ethnic identity.

In summary, this thesis depicted the processes Hemşin community lived through with a special focus on history, language and identity based on their own constructions. We have seen that both history and language have become sites for ethnic identity negotiations and discussions for researchers as well as Hopa Hemşinlis. Although there have been endeavors to attain Turkish and Armenian origins to Hopa Hemşinlis with the use of history and language, Hopa Hemşinlis foreground being a Hemşinli. The attributes used for defining being a Hemşinli, such as cultural practices, traditions, pastoral way of life, and Hemşince, their preservation/continuation highly depend on finding ways of practicing these in a modern life since it has penetrated into the majority of Hopa Hemşinli families and the remaining ones desire to obtain the things modernity provides them with.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

AN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW WITH SEVİM

Turkish Original: Sevim'in Hikayesi

N: hım genelde çocuklar gidiyo galiba

S: genelde çocuklar gidiyo çünkü köyde kalanlar yazın çalışmak zorundalar o yüzden çocuklar babaanne inekleri çocukları alıp yaylaya çıkar köyde kalan gençler işe yarayan hani eli iş tutanlar mecburen köyde çay topluyo çay tarlalarımız vardı eee çalışınca da çocuklara babaanne bakıca için yaylalarda babaannelerle çocuklar

N: peki sen hatırlıyo musun nası geçiyodu yayla günleri seviyo muydun sıkılıyo muydun

S: güzeldi yayla günleri çok güzeldi ama tabi ki anneleri özleniyo babaannelere kalkıyosun inekler sağılıyo sütler makineye vuruluyo peynirler oluyo ee inekler tekrar otlamaya gidiyolar ee ben çocukluğumu çok yaşyamadım çünkü çok erken büyüdüm kardeşlerim vardı büyüme zorundaydım o yüzden onu babaannemi kayıp ettikten sonra bi kaç yıl sonra annem tekrar yayla yapmaya karar verdi çünkü ineklerimiz vardı inekleri yazın köyde tutmak çok zor hani onlarla ilgilenmek bi taraftan da çay var çay toplancak annemler beni yaylaya götürdü kıbrıs savaşı oluyodu eee üç tane kardeşimle birlikte beni yaylada bırakmak zorunda kaldı bizimle kaldı bir ay annem babam köye döndüler çay toplamaya abim ablam çünkü çay toplamak zorundalar çünkü kışın onunla geçim yapıyoruz ee ben de yaylada kaldım kardeşlerime de işte ben bakıyorum ilgileniyorum ama yengem var amcamın karısı akşamları da orda eee uyumamızı söylemişti ama benim kardeşim çok inanılmaz stresli bi kardeşi vardı amcamın çocuğuyla kavga ettiler ee bu sefer ben onların evinde uyumam diye tutturdu çok küçüğüz hepimiz küçüğüz ben üçüncü sınıftayım düşün

N: ilkokul üç

S: ilkokul üçüncü sınıf öğrencisiyim kardeşlerim birinci sınıfa gidiyo ikisi bir ikiz gibiydiler eee bir de üç buçuk yaşında kardeşim en küçük kardeşim var ona bakıyorum e tabii ki korkuyorum yayla evleri ovanın içinde düşün

N: çok karanlık oluyo geceleri

S: karataştan bir oda tek bir oda küçük bi kapısı var kitlenmez doğru dürüst tahtadan bir kapı tabi ben korkuyorum haklı olarak hani evimizde uyuyamayız gece kurt gelir şu gelir hani çocuksun tabi korkuyosun ondan sora yok dedi ben onun evinde uyumam ben erkeğim evimizde uyucuz tutturdu ağladı tabi kavga kıyamet ben de onu ağlatmamak için evimizde yatmaya başlamıştım yatmıştık artık ertesi gün amcamın beş tane ineği vardı onları yengem sağacak edecek ondan sora da gelip bizim ineğimizi sağacak bizim bi tane ineğimiz var e tabi inek yatıyo yatıyo bekliyo amcamın yengemin işleri bitene kadar inek tekrar otlamaya gidiyo süt vermesinden ben tabi çok üzülüyorum buna dedim sağmayı deniycem dedim çocuğum ama aldım süt kazanını oturdum ineğin altına şimdi çekiyorum çok güçsüzüm o kadar sıkı ki gelmiyo süt ama diyorum yengem sağıyo diyorum benim de sağmam lazım bi şekilde çünkü bitmiyo yengemin işi memesinde süt tekrar otlamaya gidiyo ben onu bi güzel sağmaya başladım sağdım sağdım bi baktım

sağıyorum baya bi yükseldi süt seviniyorum tabi bi traftan ben iş beceriyorum diye ondan sora yengem geldi aa dedi sen sağmışın kızım dedi benim zaten işim bitmiyo yetişemiyorum sen böyle sağ kızım sen becermişin dedi bidaha yengem gelmedi sağmaya inek bana kaldı sabah akşam inek sağıyorum süt mayalıyorum kaynatıyorum yoğurdu bir gün demek ki soğuk oluyomuş tutmuyo ağlıyorum yoğurdum mayalanmadı diye ertesi gün bi daha deniyorum bi sıcak oluyo çok sulanıyo baktım tutturdum bi kaç gün sora yoğurt da oldu ite hamur yoğuruyorum ekmek pişiriyorum hamur bazen kabarıyo bazen kabarmıyo işte bazen ağlıyorum tutturamadım diye öyle bi baya bi kaç gün mücadele vermiştik en son yaz ortasındaydı sanırım kıbrıs savaşı var ee işte haberlerde savaşı anlatıyolar ha bire bişeyler oluyo çocuğum ama kardeşlerimin ellerini tutuyorum sıkı sıkı böyle ee herkes bi yerde toplanmış burda bi haber var bişey konuşuluyo diye ben de böyle yavaş yavaş yaklaşıyorum onlara doğru işte dinliyorum oturuyorum bi şakacı dayımız vardı babamın dayısı beni görür görmez bana şaka yapmak istemiş tabii ki ben çocuğum nerden bilicem bana önceden planlanmış bir şakanın geleceğini ben yaklaşırken sohbet etti yazık oldu bu çocuğa diyo kardeşleri elinde diyo babası yok annesi yok diyo savaş çıktı ülkede diyo her taraf karışacak diyo her biri bi yerde ölüp gidecekler diyo ayrı ayrı ölücekler yazık çocuklara diyo şimdi böyle onları anlatırken tabi ben duydum bunu o kadar üzülmüşüm ki onlara da hani korktuğumu belli etmiyorum bi on dakika oturuyorum eve geliyorum ağlıyorum ağlıyorum nası ağlıyorum artık kimseye de bişey demiyorum artık koskoca adam şaka aklıma gelmiyo hani bizi konuşuyolardı eyvah diyorum herkesin babası dedesi var benim hiç kimsem yok ben küçük kardeşlerimle ne olucam ölücez biz burda diye nası ağlıyorum hüngür ağlıyorum bi de bi taraftan inekler geldi akşam saati ineği sağarken bi baktım amcamın kızı koşarak geldi baban geliyo baban geliyo diyo bi de diyom dalga geçme diyorum git başımdan diyorum yok babam diyorum köyde gelemez şimdi diyorum babam da çıkmış gelmiş çocuklar ne oldu diye orda çok sevinmişim çok duygulanmışım babamı gördüğüm zaman çok ağlamışım hiç unutmuyorum

N: adamın şey

S: evet çok üzülmüştüm çok ağlamışım işte o zaman ok korkmuştum yani sonra abimler annemler gelmişti tabi çay sezonu bittiği zaman daha bi eğlenceli oluyo yayla bütün

gençler toplanıyo hani şehirdekiler geliyo şehirdekiler iş bittiği için geliyolar düğünler eğlenceler oluyodu o zaman daha neşeli oluyodu

N: o zaman yaylada düğünler oluyo muydu

S: oluyodu yaylada düğünler oluyodu gelinler ata bindiriliyodu davul zurnayla düğün oluyodu yemekler pişiyodu çok güzel köy yayla düğünleri de oluyodu o zamanlar işte çay sezonu bittiği zaman yayla daha çok seviliyodu

N: e tabi daha eğlenceli

S: daha eğlenceli geçtiği için

N: siz ne tarafa çıkıyosunuz yaylaya

S: bilbilana çıkıyoruz

N: hıım ben oraya gittim

S: ardahan a yakın yaylamız güzeldir hanlar var işte dükkanlar var e orda tabii ki çocuğuz biz de orda amcamla babam ortak dükkanları vardı ortak olarak işletiyolardı yine benim küçük kız kardeşim ben de şimdi bakkala gitmek istiyoruz ortak olduğu için babam bakkaldan bize bişey vermiyo hani ortak olduğumuz için bizim kardeşlerimiz çok küçük ama amcamın çocukları büyük onlar bişey almıyo diye babam siz de gelmeyin hani gidince bişey veriliyo işte hak geçer gibisinden babam çok şey yapardı dikkat ederdi e ben de artık çocuk biz çok seviyoz bisküvi yicez şeker yicez kardeşimi kucama sırtıma alıyodum şimdi gidicem ağladı dicem ama çocuk ağlamıyo gezmeye gidiyom diye seviniyo gidiyodum dükkana yanaştığım zaman şöyle poposundan cimcik atıyodum ağlıyodu niye geldiniz kızım çok ağladı baba kardeşimi susturamadım geldim diyodum bisküvi şeker veriyodu bize laughs ne kadar güzel bi anıydı çocukken köyde çocukluk anılarımız öyle geçiyodu

N: peki şey o yaylanın öbür tarafında da kürtler var ya onlarla sizin ilişkiniz var mıydı hiç

S: e çok fazla ilişkimiz olmazdı ama eee amcamın gelini o köyden olduğu için hani onlar geliyolardı amcamlara e biz de onlara gidiyoduk tabi çok değişik geliyodu onların yöresi işte onların hayvancılıkları bizden daha farklıydı biz sadece inek bakardık kışın artvinde yaşadığımız için hopada ama onlar sürekli orda ardahanda yaşadıkları için onların işte ördekleri olurdu işte koyunları olurdu ağılları olurdu böyle kocaman ağıl derler hayvanların hepsinin bi arada yaşadığı işte onların çobanı olurdu bütün köyün malını

çoban şey yapardı otlattırды bizlerde öle bişey yok bizde çocuktuk onlar daha bi ilgimizi çekerdi giderdik onların köyüne öyle gezmeye görmeye giderdik hoşumuza giderdi

N: alışverişleri var mıydı hemşinlilerle kürtlerin

S: alışveriş tabii ki ara ıı ya çok fazla olmasa da kız alıp vermeleri olurdu yağ peynir alınırdı onlardan yaylaya çıktığımız zaman bizim yeterli olmazdı tabi bizim sadece bizim hayvanlarımız süt yoğurt evin ihtiyacı ama kışlık yiyeceklerimizi onlardan temin ediyoduk

N: parayla mı alıyodunuz yoksa değişim falan yapıyo muydunuz

S: yok daha çok parayla alınıyordu kışlık olduğu için çok alıyoduk ama değişim de şöyle yapıyolardı işte bizim onlarda ağaç fazla orman olmadığı için diyelim ki eee kazma sapı kürek sapı işte hayvana çobana değnek çok meşurdu bizim köyden keserler onları güzelcene düzgün olan ağaçları onlara verirler onun karşılığında işte yoğurt şey yağ peynir işte yün o tarz değişiklikler oluyodu bazen zaman zaman tabi her zaman olmuyodu

N: çay da veriyo muydunuz

S: e kuru çay son zamanlarda çay önceden verilmiyodu neden ee biz çayımızı devlete veriyoduk son zamanlarda ne yazık ki devletten özel sektör daha çoğaldığı için e çaylarımızı çok ucuza özele vermek zorunda kalıyoruz onun karşılığında parasını çok geç veriyo bir buçuk sene bir sene özel bekletiyö bazen iki seneye çıktı şimdi son zamanlarda yani ürettiğin çayın çok zararına devletin nerdeyse yarısı diyebilirim ki geçen sene zaman zaman oluyo bu her zaman olmasa da devletin aldığıın yarı parasına kadar düşüyo e parasını alamadığımız için taşerondan bi de çayını bize pazarlıyo ikinci bi zarar eee yüksek bi fiyattan pazarlıyo biz de elimizde çok çay olduğu için onu değerlendirmek için yoğurt peynir o şekilde değişim son zamanlarda başladı ilk zamanlar olmuyodu çünkü devleti tercih ediyö halk emeğinin karşılığını daha verimli alabilmek için yüksek fiyattan ama son zamanlarda ne yazık ki özeller fazla olduğu için o şekilde

N: hıım anladım siz dokuz kardeşiniz sen dördüncü müsün

S: biz dokuz kardeşiz evet bi büyük ablam var onun ikinci abim var üçüncü ablam var ben dördüncüyüm

N: hı hı onlar evlenmiş miydi sen o yaylaya gittiğin zaman

S: en büyük ablam evliydi en büyüğü evliydi diğerleri bekardı

N: peki anneannenler tarafı annenler tarafı onlarla görüşmeleriniz olur muydu ilişkiniz iyi miydi

S: annemler hopenin köyleri olduğu için eskiden çok az görüşme oluyordu çünkü eskiden bu kadar araba taşımacılık daha az olduğu için hani bi de uzak mesafe sayılıyordu fazla araç olmadığı için annem senede bi kere iki kere belki babasını ziyarete gittiği zaman bayramdan bayrama dayımızın evini çok seviyoduk gidiyoduk bi de dayımın evi ee bizim köyden biraz daha orijinaldi dayımın evi çok eski olduğu için eski evi yıkmamışlardı ee kapısında serender vardı çok seviyoduk serenderi tarihi eser gibi geliyordu bize ee meyvelerini serenderin balkonları vardı oraya doldururlardı çünkü çok meyveleri oluyordu dayımların bizim köye nazaran onların daha eski köy artık dedeleri daha çok meyve dikmişler artık nedense oranın elması meşurdu mesela demir elma derlerdi e kışın ölmeyen elmaya demir elma derlerdi onu toplarlardı yaza kadar yerlerdi biz de dayımın evini çok seviyoduk o yüzden gittiğimizde o serendere çıkıyoduk çok yüksek güzel balkonlu serender orda meyve yemeyi çok seviyoduk orda gezmeyi seviyoduk o yüzden gidiyoduk annemle zaman zaman gidioduk tabi şimdi büyüdükten sonra tatile gittiğimiz zaman senede bi kere gitmeye çalışıyoruz

N: hım annen hiç okula gitmemiş di mi

S: annem hiç okula gitmemiş okuma yazma bilmiyo o yüzden çocuklarını okutucam diye çok ısrarla annem çok istiyodu e bizi de öyle yazdırdı tabi ki bizim zamanımızda okumak zorunluydu okuduk ilkokulu ablam okumamış ama

N: ablan ilkokulu da okumamış

S: en büyük ablam ilkokulu okumamış çünkü biz doğmuşuz hemen ardından annem tarlada çalışmak zorunda olduğu için ablamı feda etmişler ablam bizlere bakmış okuma yazma bilmiyo çok üzülüyorum ben ablama halan bile üzülüyorum işte babam bizi yazdırdı biz okumaya başladık tabi hani kadere biz de ortaklık tabi okula gidiyoduk ama bi olay yaşadım okulda onu da anlatıim

N: hı hım

S: çünkü ilkokul birinci sınıfa gidiyorum abim beşinci sınıfta ben benim bi yaş büyük ablamlarla birlikte ikiz gibi babam yazdırmış hani ikiz doğdular diye yazdırmış aynı doğum tarihine sahibiz ikiz gözüküyoruz aynı birinci sınıfa başladık gidiyoruz annem düşük yapmış çocuk hasta yatıyo bizlerde de taze soğan çok ekilir bahçelerde çünkü yaz boyu

yiceksin başka hani şey yok ee soğanı ekmek için de gübre taşımak lazım bahçelere annem yatıyo biz yedi yaşındayız ilkokul birinci sınıf öğrencisiyiz şimdi çantalarını anneleri taşıyo ne yazık ki laughs babam dedi ki bahçeye dedi sabah dedi yedi sefer her biriniz gübre götürceksiniz soğan dikicem ben dedi yavaş yavaş alabildiğiniz kadar küçük sepetler yapmıştı bize karadeniz sepeti örmüş ipleri var biz gidiyoruz ahurun dibinde kocaman tabi hayvanlarımız çok böyle kıştan kalan kurumuş gübreler var biz onu kürekle yedi yaşında çocuk biz onu gerçekten yaşanmış bi olay dolduruyoruz ee götürüyoruz bahçeye bırakıyoruz beş dakikalık bir yol götürüyoruz bırakıyoruz yedi kere yapcan bunu sabah kalkıcaz okul öncesi yapıcaz hani sekiz buçuk dokuzda ders başlıyo yani yanlış hatırlamıyosam e götürdük tabii ki haliyle geç kaldık koştur koştur geldik işte değiştik üstümüzü başımızı giyindik süslendik koştuk çantamızı aldık sınıfa girdik ayşe öğretmen vardı ondan sonra sınıfa girer girmez niye geç kaldınız diye bizi findık çubuğu vardı böyle incecik bir çubukla ayaklarımızın baldırlarına çok canım yanmıştı vurdu niye geç kaldınız dedi birer tane vurdu tabi çok vurmadı bi tane vurduktan sonra öğretmenim dedim gübre taşıdık bahçeye o yüzden geç kaldık dedim hem geç kalıyo bi de yalan söylüyo dedi bi kaç daha vurmaz mı o daha canımı yaktı çünkü yalancı yapmıştı beni o yaşta ve ben o kadar ağlamıştım ki küçücük yaşta hem gübre taşıyorum hem de yalancı oluyorum ki sınıfın önünde niye bana yalancı dedi ağladım ağladım saatlerce ağladım susturamadı ondan sora dedim ki öğretmenim dedim kalktım dayanamadım artık ablam sustu ablam biraz sessizdi sustu oturdu bana da sus diyo susamıyorum ben hıçkırarak ağlıyorum öğretmenim dedim beşinci sınıfta abim var dedim çağırır mısınız dedim abime sorun dedim ben yalan söylemiyorum dedim kalktım hem ağlıyorum ama ondan sonra abim geldi sınıfa girdi durdu orda siz dedi bu çocuklar dedi gübre mi taşıdı bahçeye dedi evet öğretmenim dedi annem hasta yatıyo dedi yedi kere dedi gübre taşıdı dedi yedi sefer taşıdılar giyindiler geldiler o yüzden geç kalmışlardır dedi tabi öğretmenin sesi kesildi benim ağlamam daha bi güçlendi daha bi ağlıyorum sesli ağlıyorum o gün öyle ağlıya ağlıya sınıfta oturdum köşede niye beni sınıfın önünde yalancı dedi öğretmenim niye dövdü diye çok ağlamıştım akşam eve geldim ben okumak okula gitmek istemiyorum öğretmenle de okumak istemiyorum gitmicem gitmedim ertesi gün anem üzöldü yalvardı yok gitmiyorum anne dedim gitmiyorum beni yalancı çıkardı bütün sınıfın önünde ben yalan söylemedim ki dedim hem o yaşta gübre taşıcam hem de yalancı olcam ertesi gün

oldu ben okula gitmedim ikinci gün annem dayanamadı okumalısınız kızım dedi ben okumadım bak dedi çay satıyorum dedi cüzdanıma kaç kilo yazılmış bilmiyorum benim çok zoruma gidiyo siz de evlendiğiniz zaman evinize çocuklarınıza okuma yazma bilirsiniz bişeyler öğretesiniz diye okumak zorundasın gideceksin dedi annem sırtına aldı beni gitmiyodum sırtına aldı zorla götürdü beni sınıfa koydu tabii ki öğretmen de çok yumuşak davrandı o gün öyle ders babam arkamdan sora bi saat sonra geldi sınıfın camından dışardan beni izliyomuş bi yarım saat sonra babamın yüzünü görünce bir daha ağlamıştım çok zoruma gitmişti çünkü öyle kabullenmiş oturmak

N: okul yakın mıydı evinize çok yakın değildi ama köyün ortasındaydı yani annem benimle uğraşmıştı baya bi çünkü haksızlığı kaldıramamıştım o yaşta niye bana böyle bi hakaret yapıldı diye çok zoruma gitmişti çok ağlamıştım

N: peki okuldan başka anıların var mı böyle

S: okuldan işte eee dördüncü sınıfta o zamanlar şeydi okuma işte ee okul öncesi okulda daha düzgün türkçe konuşsun diye hemşince konuşmayı yasaklamıştı öğretmenimiz köyde de işte okul öncesi çocuklarla türkçe konuşun diye bi yaygın o konuda şey vardı daha rahat edersin daha okuma yazmaya kolay geçerler diye dördüncü sınıfta işte öğretmen beni başkan seçmişti işte hemşince konuşanları yazıcaksın demişti ben de hergün tenefüste sınıfta konuşanları yazıyodum öğretmene söylüyodum öğretmenim hemşince konuştular diye ki kendi dilimizi işte konuşmuyoduk öyle bi şey vardı o dönemde

N: bu çok yaygın bi şey miydi yoksa sizin öğretmene has bişey miydi

S: yani genelde o dönemde yaygındı çünkü işte öyle bi düşünceye sahiptiler hani çocuk işte türkçe bilmezse okuma yazmada zorlanır diye bi şey o zaman da anneler doğal olarak çocuklarla sürekli türkçe konuşma çabası vardı yaşlı yaşlı o zaman kırk yaşında kırk beş yaşında köyde doğum yapan kadınlar vardı hani yeni evliler çok rahat o ortama alışıyorlardı rahat konuşuyorlardı ama yaşlılar için baya bi zor olmuştu ha bire çocuklarla türkçe konuşcaz diye baya bi çaba harcıyolardı uğraşıyolardı ki hani hemşince konuşmalıym türkçe konuşalım benim çocuğum da işte hani geri kalmasın okuldan daha erken okumaya geçsin zorlanmasın diye öyle bi yaygınlık vardı o dönemde

N: senin annen de böyle yapıyo muydu

S: annem de konuşmaya çalışıyordu tabi zorlanıyordu ama annem ıı çok şey yapmıyordu çünkü annem biz biraz daha büyüdükten sonra annemin son çocuğu zaten yengem olmuştu abimi evlendirmiştik o dönemde abim çok ilkokuldan sonra abime nişan yapmıştı işte evde çok kardeş olduğu için babam çok güzel bi kız görmüştü ille benim gelinim olacak diye erken yaşta abime nişan yapmıştı abimin kaderi de çok kötü yani çocuk yaşta o yüzden işte yengem çocuğuyla türkçe konuşurken kardeşlerim de onlarla genelde türkçe konuşulmuştu yani onun için küçük kardeşim için sorun olmamıştı

N: annen rahat ediyo mu türkçe konuşurken ikisini de rahat konuşuyo mu

S: ikisini de rahat konuşuyo konuşuyo ama yine karıştırıyo

N: hı hı hemşince daha ağır mı basıyo

S: daha ağır basıyo daha rahat konuşuyo mesela biz lazlarla komşu köy olarak yaşıyoruz çok yakınız lazlarla annem de korku duası okur korkanlar diyelim ki köpekten hayvandan korkmuş yemek yiyemiyo doktora gidiyo iyileşemiyo halsizlik oluyo insanlarda böyle bi hastalık var inanç var yani korku hastalığı annem de o korku duasını okuyo ee öyle bi gün işte kadın komşu köyden laz kadın gelmişti kadın laz hemşince bilmiyo annem okurken ona sohbet arasında başladı türkçe başlıyo ama sohbetin ortasında annem geçiyo ikinci kanala laughs hemşince şimdi biz de kahvaltı yapıyoz abim askerden gelmişti böyle bi ortam olmuştu kadına annem anlatıyo kadın gözüne bakıyo hiçbirşey anlamıyo anlamıyo bişey de diyemiyo şimdi yani kadın öyle bişeyle anlatıyo biz de annemi uyarmıştık anne anlamıyo ki seni sen hemşince konuşuyosun aa geçtim unutuyorum kusura bakma deyip tekrar düzeltmişti öyle şeyleri oluyo tabi yaşlılarımızın tabi alışkanlık hemşince daha rahat konuşuyolar çünkü ee benim bi arkadaşım abisi artvinden evlendi artvinden gelin aldı baya bi geç evlenmişti ee gelin eve geldiği zaman genç kız daha çok ilgilenir bizde gelinle doğal olarak hani yabancı yerden gelin almışız yaşlılar sürekli unutuyo hemşince konuşuyo sürekli gelin de o zaman alınıyo hani beni mi çekiştiriyolar bilmiyo gözlerine bakıyo kızımızla abimin eşi diye ha bire ona hemşince konuşuyo benim arkadaş türkçe konuşuyo türkçe konuşuyo sürekli artık gelin epey bi bi iki aydan sonra babasının evine gitmiş bi on beş gün benim arkadaşım oh be dedi bir rahat rahat hemşince konuştum dilim yorulmuş arkadaş dilim yorulmuş o kadar zorlanmışım ki sürekli türkçe konuş türkçe konuş oh be kendime geldim bir rahat rahat dilimi konuşucam hemşince konuşucam diye öyle çok gülmüştük o zaman dil yorulur mu çok yoruldum zorlandım ha

bire yengem yanlış anlamasın yengem zorlanmasın diye öyle bişey yaşamıştık o zaman hani rahat olamamış diye öyle bi şey yaşamıştık öyle işte öyle bişey yaşamıştık o zamanlar

N: sonra ilkokuldan sonra

S: ilkokuldan sonra hepimizin kaderi mi diyim size babam bizi okula göndermedi çünkü kardeşlerimiz çoktu çok kardeşim vardı e birinci sınıfta çalışmaya başlayan biz haliyle ilkokul üçüncü sınıfta yani her işi yapmaya başlamıştık o zaman erken büyümüştük o yüzden ben de erken büyüdüm çünkü kardeşlerime bakmak zorundaydım annemin dört beş tane ineği vardı ilkokuldayken işte bizim eğitimlerimiz normal eğitimdi o zaman öğle yemeğine bi buçuk saat zamanımız vardı okuldan koşup gelip evde işte annemin hamuru kabarmış oluyordu hemen tepsilere koyup onu pişirmeye çalışıyoduk saat üçten sonra yemekleri ateşe koymak zorundaydık çünkü annem geç geliyordu akşam karanlık çökünce hani yemek evde olmak zorunda ilkokul üçüncü sınıfta yemek pişirip yemek pişirmek zorunda kalmıştım ki çok büyük bi sorumluluktan yani şimdiki çocuklara baktığı zaman hani biz gerçekten çok çok küçük yaşta büyüdük öyle ilkokul bitti işte bittiği zaman da haliyle bir yıl önce ağlamıştım yine lazlardan laz komşularımız abimin arkadaşları genç kızlar vardı onlar liseye gidiyordu o zamanlar lisedeydiler ee çok severlerdi bizleri böyle işte yılbaşlarında özel günlerde bize gelirlerdi kaynaşma amaçlı çok iyi düşünceye sahip kızlarımızdı yani hani işte insan ayrımı yapmıyan hemşin laz ayrımı yapmıyolardı çok seviyoduk o yüzden onları bize kitaplar getiriyolardı işte bize hani duydukları konu güzel şeyler paylaşıyolardı bizimle yılbaşı geceleri kutluyoduk o yüzden onlar çok severlerdi dediler ki sen okula kayıt ol biz sana işte kitabını giyimini biz karşılayacağız demişlerdi çok duygulanmıştım o akşam çok sevinçle eve gelmiştim ağlamıştım ben okula gidicem sizden para istemiyom kıyafet istemiyom kitap istemiyom benim arkadaşlarım alıcak diye ağlamıştım ama babam karşı çıktı çünkü ikiz ablam vardı ablam da vardı sen okula gidersen ablanı göndermesek haksızlık olur ee ayrım yapmış olurum çocukların arasında diye babam ee onu da gönderirsem kardeşlerine kim bakıcak bize yemek kim pişirecek biz tarlada çalışıyoz bağda bahçede çalışıyoz kışın ne yicez tabi öyle anlatınca çocuklukla bastırılmış oturmuştu yapcak bişey yoktu o zaman işte hani gidemiyoduk okul uzaktı birleştirilmiş hani şimdiki gibi olsa bi sekiz yıllık eğitim belki ortaokulu zorunlu

bitirecektik öyle bi şansımız olucaktı ama öyle bi şansımız da yoktu okul uzaktı şehre gitmek zorunda kalıyoduk o yüzden okuyamadık içimizde kaldı

N: olsun peki baban baban ne iş yapmış

S: babam işte kendisi çok yazık yetim kalmış öyle çok zorluklarla büyümüş ee hikayesi çok büyük ama onları belki kendisi anlatır

N: yoo anlat sen de

S: hani bize anlattığı kadariyle çok ezik büyümüşler yetim kalmışlar fakir çok fakirlermiş hopanın bi köyünde babaanneyle yaşıyolarmış orda bakmışlar kimsesiz kalmışlar yalnız kalmışlar ordan tekrar kemalpaşanın köyüne gelmeye karar vermişler akrabaları varmış orda daha kalabalık hani aile kalabalık olduğu için orda daha rahat ederiz korkmayız demişler

N: hı hı hopanın hangi köyüymüş

S: başoba köyü başova köyündeymişler hatta tarlalarımız yerimiz var bazı yerlerimiz tabi kalmış sahiplenmişler orada tapu olmadığı için işte ordaki köylüler sahiplenmiş öyle babam işte yetim büyümüşler abisi en büyük abisi evlenmiş onun daha küçüğüymüş ondan sora işte babam babaanneyle tarlalarda çalışmışlar bişeyleri yokmuş bi tane keçileri varmış çok fakirlikten kendi çabalarıyla öyle uğraşmışlar tabi okuyamamış babam ilkokul birinci sınıftan on beş gün gitmiş ayrılmış eee ayakkabısı olmadığı için ayrılmış yokmuş hiçbi şeyleri o yüzden kendi çabasıyla işte tarlada çalışmış odun kesimiş kışlığını yapmış anneme yardım annesine yardımcı olmuş babaanneme büyük amcam da gurbete gitmeye başlamış kışları o evin erkeği olmuş çok küçük yaşta annesinin yanında yengesinin yanında kalmış öyle bi zaman sonra gurbete çıkmış biraz ee tabii ki o zamanlar küçük yaşta evlendiriyolardı genç yaşta evlendirmişler on yedi yaşında öyle çok küçük yaşta evlenmiş ondan sora zaman sora işte dağlarda çalışmışlar odun yapmışlar babam ev yapmayı çok seviyo böyle derme çatma evlerde tahta evlerde yaşamışlar çatısı uçmuş gece babası yokmuş öyle yatmışlar yıldızları seyrederek sonra komşular toplanmış el birliğiyle çatıyı yapmışlar bunlar geçici bi çatı yapmışlar babam biraz daha büyüdükten sonra amcamla dağda odun keserek tahta biçerek kendine bi ev yapmış ilk evini öyle yapmış ondan sonra o evsizlik heralde psikolojisini çok bozmuş olması gerekiyo ki eli ayağı tuttuğu zaman hemen hani gurbete çıkmış zonguldak ta orda burda çok çalışmış askerden gelmemiş askerdeyken ayakkabı tamir etmiş su satmış vesaire askerde para

harcar insanlar ama babam askerden gurbetten döner gibi gelmiş öyle yaprak dönmüş gelmiş köyde de çalışmış fabrikada çay ekmiş ilk köye ev yapmış taş ev yapmış ki elli yıl önce köye ilk taş evi yapmış iki kat ev yapmış üç oda altta beş oda üstte

N: duruyo mu hala

S: evet eskisine tamir yaptık yeniden duruyo hala evimiz ki o yüzden babam çok ev meraklısı çok severdi o zaman bile işte ben yeni evde doğmuşum bitmiş ben doğmuşum çok özenerek yaşamış o zaman bile böyle hiç bişey yokken evi çok sevdiği için bir sürü yeni şey almış o zaman baya bi evini döşemiş öyle de ev merakı devam ediyo laughs gördüğünüz gibi hala çok seviyo ev yapmayı işte yıllarca çocuklarını da okuttu kardeşlerim olduğu için erkekler üniversiteyi bitirdi kızlar ilkokulda kaldı ilkokuldan sora okumadılar öyle çay fabrikasında çalıştı uzun yıllar çocukların eğitimi için hem tarlada hem çayda çalıştı ondan sonra emeklisinde tabi ev merakı yine bitmedi istanbula taşındı kardeşimin bir sigortada işe girince istanbulu da tanıdılar istanbulda arsa alıp hemen yine başladı aynı ev merakı orda da iki katlı ev yaptı kendine arkada tekrar arsa aldı öyle devam etti hala bugün işte eline biraz para geçti mi hemen bi ev çocuklarına da öyle aşıladı ki hepsinin de evi var yani laughs

N: iyi yapmış

S: öyle üçer tane evi var hepsinin yani öyle herşeyden önce ev alınmasına taraftır babam e çok ister yani önce evin olacak herşeyden önce diye hatta bana bile aşırı derecede yardımcı oldu ev yaparken de yardım etti ee köyde evim yoktu bu sene köydeki evi yapmam için de tabi ezikliği var bizi okutmadı erkeklerini okuttuğu için biz de tabi şehirli olduk şimdi yıllar sonra sen bize çok haksızlık yaptın diye söyleniyoruz bazen hani geçen yıl yıllık çay sezonunu bana verdi sen dedi topla kızım evini yap çünkü çocuklar üniversiteyi yeni bitirdi çocuklara yük olmak istemedim anca yerleştiler ee o yüzden köye ev yaptık kaba inşaatını bitirdik babamın sayesinde işte yardımcı oldu tamamen çayın sezonunu verdi bana otuz milyar gibi otuz milyarlık bi kat

N: hayırlı olsun

S: öyle yardımcı oldu işte çok sevdiği için ev yapana yardım ediyo yani çünkü evi çok seviyo

N: iyi olmuş herkesin evi olmuş peki babanın hemşincesi nasıl annenle onlar hemşince mi konuşuyolar çoğunlukla türkçe mi

S: hemşince konuşuyolar türkçe çok az konuşuyolar ben bile eşimle hemşince konuşuyorum türkçe çok az evde biz kendi aramızda genellikle çocuğu zaman hemşince konuşuyoruz yani dilimizi hiç şey yapmadık çünkü ben çok kullanıyorum yazın dört beş ay artvinde geçirdiğim için yaşlılarla ilginçtir hani burda da yani yaşlılarla konuştuğum zaman hani direkt hemşinceye geçiyorum tonyadayken de komşum şaşırmişti hemşinlilerin ne olduğunu bilmiyo hemşinli diye bir dilin olduğunu bilmiyo arkadaşım telefon gelmiş o zaman cep telefonları yok komşunun telefonunu vermişim koştum hemen e baktım kaynanam karşımda hani saygısızlık olmasın bak bak şehre gitmiş de benle türkçe konuşuyo ezilmesin hani şey yapmasın yorulmasın zorlanmasın diye direkt hemşince konuşmaya başladım kaynanamla ki şaşırmışlardı abla ne güzel ingilizce konuşuyosun senin ingilizcen var mıydı diye sormuşlardı çok gülmüştüm laughs eee sürekli konuşurum yani yazın genellikle yaşlılarımla hep hemşince konuşurum ee yani çocuklarımla da eşimle de konuşurum çocuklarım tabi daha az konuşuyo onlar da öğrendiler son zamanlarda

N: çocuklarıyla ilk başlarda sen de türkçe mi konuştun

S: türkçe konuştuk çok zaman türkçe konuştuk çünkü hani o şey yerleşmişti hani çocuklarımız hani daha türkçeyi düzgün konuşsun şeyi vardı zaman sonra kardeşimde de böyle hemşinceye çok değer verdi kardeşim o çok şey yaptı onun da etkisi çok oldu tabi dilimizi unutmayalım bizim davranış biçimimizi unutmıyalım biz hemşini unutuyoruz bak eskiden çok şey unutulmuş diye ee tabi zaman sonra ben de onu fark ettim o yüzden daha dikkat etmeye çalışıyorum

N: ilk ee tonyaya mı çıktın sen hopadan

S: sivasa çıktık ee ilk sivasa gittik iki yıl kaldık sivasta çok değişik bi yer sivas bizim karadenize göre çok tamamen çok değişik orda da çok anılar yaşadık çünkü biz artvinin insanı çok rahattır biz hani evlerimiz bizde kilitlenmez gece uyurken belki anahtar çevrilir duymuşsunuzdur bunu bilmiyorum

N: geldim görüyorum herkesin kapısı açık

S: kapı açıktır geceleri anahtar döner bizde belki hani o da son zamanlarda hani terörist vesaire insanları korkuttular yoksa bizim orda anahtar manahtar yoktu ben lojmana taşındık gittik köye pek insanlar zaten girip çıkmazlar orda fazla kadın odası ayrı erkek odası ayrıydı oturduğumuz köyde inanılmaz kadın erkek ayrımı vardı biz karadenizden

kadınlarını okutmasalar bile bizde bi rahatlık var hani karadenizin insanı hep bi arada yaşar kadın erkek ayrılmak öyle bişey olmaz bizde bunlarda kadın erkek ayrımı varmış tabi ilk gittiğim zaman bilmiyorum gittik ee komşuya geçtim bi yarım saatliğine suya işte güğümü suya bıraktım dolsun dışardan su alıyoz komşunun evine uğradım yaşlı bi teyzem vardı hal hatır sormaya gittim oğluyla kaynısının oğlu varmış yani akrabası kapının üzerinde teyzecim nasılsın filan hal hatır sordum dönecektim ha gel gel yenge biz ahıra gideriz dediler ki şaşırılmışım o zaman niye ahıra gidecekler çünkü sivas çok soğuk eksinin altında başka bi odada oturmak imkansız sobalı bi odada oturmak zorundasın ilk başta anlamamıştım niye ahıra gidecekler diye gel gel rahat edersin biz gideriz ahıra yoo dedim ben girmicem teyzeye hal hatır sorup gidicem ben su almaya geldim dedim hem oturursunuz ki dedim ben niye rahatsız oluyum ki dedim eve geldim hocaya anlattım dedim niye bunlar böyle yaptılar bunlar dedi kadınların yanında oturamazlar dedi kadın odası ayrı erkek odası ayrıdır bunların dedi o zaman şaşırılmışım hani çok değişik gelmişti bana ki bi gün de komşuya gitmişim geldim eve evde misafirler vardı komşu köylerden öğretmenler gelirdi bize daha çok hani hafta sonları cuma akşamları dedim hocalar gelmiştir bi de ayakkabı giymişti köylü lastiği değildi hani köylülerde daha çok lastik giyerlerdi ee şimdi orda tokalaşma yoktu erkekler ya selam vermez ya da verirlerse de meraba der böyle eğilir geçerlerdi öyle bi şey vardı e ben de içeri girdim dışarda ayakkabıyı görünce adamın da kılık kıyafeti düzgün olunca dedim hocalardan gelmiştir şimdi yani ayıptır tokalaşmasan hani hocanın hanımı gelmiş hani bunlara benzemiş niye böyle yapmış diye beni yanlış anlarlar diye elimi uzatmak zorunda kaldım elim havada kalmıştı çok utanmışım kıpkırmızı olmuşum çok zoruma gitmişti hi böyle bişey yaşamamıştık çünkü bizim orda olmadığı için tokalaşırız yani normal iyi giyimli diye elimi uzatmışım ve almancı çıkmıştı almancı köyün zenginlerinden biriymiş ama almanya görmüş ama yine değişmemişti ne yazık ki çok zoruma gitmişti odadan çıkmışım bi da da hiç girmemişim ne çay ne bişey gidene kadar gitmemişim çok zoruma gitmişti hocaya demiştim bu ne ya ne olursa olsun ben uzatmışım elimi yapışacak mıydı yani tokalaşsaydı demiştim tokalaşmamıştı benimle öyle çıkmıştık o da bi an olmuştu benim için çok değişik ya onların tarzı karadenize göre çok çok çok değişikti yani ben oğlumu aldım gittim altı aylıktı oğlum bi yanda komşunun evinde yaşadık ee kar yağıyo o zaman televizyon bir kanal tek televizyon var ee elektrik yok yeni yeni işte

elektrik geliyo televizyonlarda akülü akülü televizyon izleniyodu ee köyde bi adamda varmış tabi hocaların da canı sıkıldı hani alışmamışız öyle bi ortama davet etmişlerdi beni de götürdüler doğal olarak beni aldı gittiler bi odaya koydular işte bi kız var bi gelin var evde bi de yaşlı bi nine var köşe başında büyük oğlum altı aylık sarmışım erkekleri de erkek odasına koydular tabi biz bi daha hocayı göremedim bizim bi de malatyalı bekar hocamız vardı yanımızda ismet diye hocamız aynı lojmanı paylaşıyoduk başka şansımız yoktu zaten birlikte yiyoduk onun odası ayrıydı ama aynı evde hep kalıyoduk 11 orda bi on beş yirmi dakika oldu teyze yaşlı teyze oğlumu sevdi çok mavi gözlü sarı saçlı çocuğum böyle çok tombiştii ee maviş maviş diye böyle sevdi inanır mısınız on dakika sonra oğlum sanki üzerine ateş düşmüş gibi yanmaya başladı

N: a aa

S: cayır cayır nası bağıriyo biliyo musun ben artık korktum toprak ev hani köy evi dedim böcek ısırıldı oğluma hani panikledim tabi on sekiz yaşında anne olmuşum o kadar korktum ki hani oğluma bişey oldu diye e lambalar yanıyo küçük lambalar lambaları getirdiler dedim soydum çocuğu ayaklarını çıkardım hani kızarıklık mı var her şeyini soydum çocuğun açtım ettim ondan sonra yok bi yerinde bişey yok kızarıklık bişey yok ama

N: aha nazar deđdirmiş

S: ama çocuk nası bağıriyo ama bilmiyorum o güne kadar yaşamadığım bişey nazar deđmişmiş

N: hııııı

S: ee teyzemiz köyün en büyük nazarcısıymış gözü deđen insanmış ondan öyle bi enerji varmış bu bi şeymiş yani doğaüstü

N: herkes biliyomuş orda laughs

SÇ herkes biliyomuş ben bilmiyomuşum bi tabi teyzemiz mutfaktan bi bıçak istedi aaa bıçakla napcak oğlumu mu kesecek diye bi korkmuştum önce sonra bıçakla şöyle şöyle bıça çocuğun her tarafına sürerek böyle kıyafetlerinin üzerinden okudu okudu üfledi öyle

N: gene nazarı deđdiren kişi mi

S: evet okudu üfledi okudu üfledi aradan işte işte okuması bitti ben daha kalmadım tabi artık ben çok korkmuştum hemen hocaya haber verin beni eve götürsün diye bağırmıştım hemen kalktılar toparladık çocuğu sardık geldik eve işte evde de bi yarım sora yedirdik

içirdik çocuğu uyuttuk sabah çeşmeye su almaya gittim komşuma anlattım yan komşuma o da su almaya gelmişti okudu mu çocuğu dedi okudu dedim nazarını kesmiş dedi çocuğunu okumasaydı kızım dedi bu sabah çocuğunu ölü bulacaktın dedi ölecekti çocuğun dedi köyün en büyük nazarcısı dedi ondan dedi çocukları saklıyolar dedi çocuklar büyüyene kadar göstermiyolar dedi tesadüfen görse bile komşunun çocuğunu görmüş de dedi konuşmuyolar küsler dedi yıllardır çocuğun kemiklerine işledi nazar dedi kendileri de okutamıyolar dedi çocuk büyümüyo dedi

N: a aaaa

S: bunu da bi anı olarak yaşamıştık

N: vay be peki gittiğiniz yerlerde sizin hemşinli olduğunuzu hemşince diye bi dil olduğunu insanlar öğreniyolar mıydı tepkileri nasıl oluyodu öğrenince

S: bilmiyolardı hemşinli dediğim zaman laz mı gürcü mü değilim dediğim zaman o zaman sen nesin diyolardı nasıl bir milletsin diyolardı ben bir türlü kendimi ifade edemiyordum hiç kimse anlamıyodu bilmiyodu hemşinceyi

N: hım ben de çok geç öğrendim

S. yani hiç bilmiyolardı o zaman siz nesiniz diyolardı hatta ermeni misiniz diyenler de olmuştu çünkü yani hemşinliyiz diyodum biz hemşinliyiz bizim bi dilimiz var annemden dedemden ninenmden kalan bi dilimiz var anne dili gibi de konuşuyoz hatta konuşuyoruz diyodum ben böyle anlatıyodum yok diyolardı yani öle bişey yok ya gürcüsün ya lazsın ya da türksün o zaman sen nesin diyolardı öyle şeyler yaşıyodum yani çok az şimdi şimdi hani yeni yeni duyuldu hemşin diye a biliyoruz öyle bi kültür var diye şimdi izmitte duyuyorum yani şimdi duyanlar var yeni yeni yani burda izmitte yani çok tepki almadım izmitte anlattığım zaman yani biliyolar ara ara bilen çıkıyo bazıları bilmiyo tabi ne nedir hemşince diyolar ama bilenler var artık çoğalmış zamanla demek ki dile

N: peki o zaman ne diceni bilemediğin zaman ne oluyodu ne diyodun

S: yani ben ee şey yapmıyodum ben saklamadım hiç ben bazıları diyolar aman söyleme işte karadenizliyiz de geç yoo diyodum niye söyliyim ki diyodum hani karadenizliyim tamam karadeniz ama karadenizliyim ama ben bi milletim yani sonuçta ben varım hani hemşinliyim diyodum yani bilseler de bilmeseler de ben ısrarla söylüyodum yani benim bi dilim var biz konuşuyoruz yani hemşinliyiz diyodum yani ee bilmiyen bilmiyoruz ilk

defa duyduk bazıları da işte siz ermeniden dönmesiniz filan işte ermeni misiniz diyenler de olmuştu zamanında öyle de bazen oluyodu

N: ona dair hikayeler var mı hani dil çok benziyo ermeniceye gerçekten sizin köyde böyle yaşlıların falan konuşması ya da işte ne biliyim konuşulduğunda tepkileri filan nası oluyo

S: ona dair şimdi hani direkt kabul etmiyolar ermeniden geldiklerini ama şöyle bişey var benim kafama takılıyo son zamanlarda şimdi hani bu ermenilik bilinmiyosa hani insanlar çocuklara kızarsın ya bazen hani eee bilmem neyin doğurduğu dersin ya çok eski bi yengem mesela ermeninin doğurduğu hani bu madem hani kötü diyebilir ama tamam da hani bu ermeni yoksa bu halk bunu bu niye duymuşlar acaba diyodum ermeni kim niye bunu kızdığı zaman diyo başka zaman demiyo da kızdığı zaman ermeninin doğurduğu mesela hani çok kötü bişey kavga falan annenin kızdığı bişeyi yaptığın zaman kulağa hani kötü geliyo ya ermeniler ha öyle bi kaç kelime duymuşuzdur ama yine de büyüklerimiz tabi kabul etmezler asla hani biz ermeni değiliz biz türküz e bazıları da diyolar çok eskiden işte bi ermeni işte varmış evlenmiş türklere işte o kendi dilini konuşmuş öğretmiş böyle yayılmış

N: hım en yaygın hikaye bu galiba di mi

S: ermeni değiliz ama ermeni bi kız gelmiş kendi dilini yaymış hani çocuklarıyla konuşmuş öyle yayılmış böyle bi söylenti de var ama kesin net hani ortaya koyan bişey yok

N: hım peki hemşin kelimesi onun tarihine dair hiç konuşulduğunu duydun mu hemşin in nerden geliyo

S: hemşin hemşin olarak çamlıhemşin diye bi rizenin ilçesi var ordan gelme diye hani biliyoruz hani çamlıhemşinde hemşinin esas merkezi orası diye biliyorum hatta biz ılıca var orda mesela sıcak termal diye oraya gittiğimizde ordaki çok yaşlı ee nineden bi kaç kelime duymuştuk haa bunlar da bizden diye hani orda türkçe konuşuyolar ama ee bi kaç kelime bize benzemişti hani dedik bunlar da bizden demiştik o zaman bizim gibi konuşuyolar diye unutulmamış mesela bi kaç böyle belirli kelimeler tutuyodu hani unutulmamış kelimeler hani bize göre tamamen azalmış tabi hemşince hiç konuşmuyolar türkçe konuşuyolar ama yaşlılardan ee bazı isimler cisimler misimler bazı isimler öyle yakalamıştık yani bazı kelimeler duymuştuk yaşlı teyzelerden onlar da konuşuyolar yani

tutuyo bazı şeyleri e o giyimleri davranışları rahat olmaları yani hemşin insanı çok rahattır

N: evet çok sıcakkanlı ve çok rahatlar

S: yani çok rahattır misafir severdir beni sivasta işte beni uyarmışlardı kapını kitle kızım diye e bizim evde kilit yok biz kitlemeyiz demiştik ben nasıl kitlemiyorsunuz demiştik e bizim evde kapılar kitlenmez uyurken belki demiştik

N: ben de çok şaşırdım ilk gördüğümde

S: yani gerçekten öyle hani bizde şimdi şimdi şimdi ben şehre geldiğim zaman ee şey olmuşum yani biraz uzak kalmışım örf ve adetlerimizden ama yine köye gittiğim zaman aynı rahatlığı zaman zaman yaşıyorum yani köyde kek yapıcım bi gün yoğurt bitmiş gittim komşuya evde kimse yok baktım ettim bağırdım bağırdım kimse çıkmadı tabii ki girmedim ama misafir gelecek bakkal yok başka şansın yok yani o kek yapılıcak yani ama yok yoğurt yok bitmiş hayvan yok artık hayvan beslemiyolar şehircilik taşımacılık olduktan sonra kışın şehirde yazın köyde kaldıkları için hayvancılık da öldü gibi bişey bizim köyde gittim amca evi sayılır yenge yenge çağırdım baktım hiç kimse yok şu odada bu odada deren ben ta mutfağa kadar gittim yani e haliyle açtım dolabı bi bardak yoğurdu aldım geldim kekimi yaptım akşam gittim söyledim hatta kekten de götürdüm yedirdim dedim bak kek yaptım bugün ben senin yoğurtla yaktın çağırdım misafir gelecekti olsun canım nolcak gibisinden evin kapısı açık gitmiş evden baya bi uzaklaşmış düşün yani anahtar yok gerçek yok yani gerçekten yaşa ihtiyacı olan gidip evden bişi alıp gidebiliyo yani öyle bi rahatlık var bizim orda yani

N: peki başka bunun gibi diğer türkiyedeki diğer topluluklarda görmediğin bunun gibi hemşinlilerin ne gibi özellikleri var onları ayrı kılan sence

S: yani hemşinlilerin insanlardan gerçekten çok gördüm ben hani gezdiğim yerlerde de olsa mesela şimdi hani bazı kültürlerde şöyle diyim genelde karadenizin kültürü var ama hani hemşinlilerde de olduğu gibi mesela bizim egeli bi arkadaş vardı ee lise öğretmeni biz şimdi ona oturmaya gidicez diye haber gönderdik bi iki kere musait değilmiş belki yarın demişler ki hani gidelim bi çay içicez hani bizim için de fazla bişey yapmasın diye uğraşmasın diye çat kapı gidelim demişler hani zahmet vermiyelim bi çay verir kapıyı çalmışlar ben gitmedim arkadaşlarım anlattı bunu ee doğal olarak bayan onları kabul etmemiş ee ve çok üzülmuşlerdi geri döndüler biz asla kapıdan misafir çeviremeyiz

çevirmeyiz yani öyle büyüklerimizden öyle gördüğümüz için bugün müsait değilim yarın gelin demiş ve gitmediler bi daha tabi öyle bi şeyimiz var bizde müsait olmasan ha diyelim ki evin dışındasın kabul edemedin hani dışardasın olur ya hani ama duydun ki seni aradılar işte gelemediler başka bi gün kesinlikle bizim insanımız çağırır öyle bi hani bi daha onun sana haber vermesini beklemezsin yani öyle bi şeyimiz var bizim hemşinlilerde ama başka bi kültür bunu çok nadir yapar hani misa sonra bize koç mu kesecekti baklava mı yapacaktı dediler yani biz bişey beklemedik bi çay bi sohbete gelmiştik hal hatır sormaya diye çok kınamışlardı o yüzden de biz yani bilmiyorum ben hemşinli olduğum için mi bilmiyorum artık artvinden gelinim de gerçi rahatlar ama biz hemşinliler daha bi rahatız çünkü ben satışıdaydım dışarıdaydım arkadaşlarım beni aradı sana gelcez yarın kaçta evde olursun birde evde olurum dedim işim birde bitecek dedim oğlum üniversteye hazırlanıyordu her ihtimale karşı geç kalsam da üzülmeysin dedim oğlum evde ders çalışıyo sorun olmaz dedim hani olur ya işim uzar dedim ama birde bitecek dedim tabi benim arkadaşlarım çok rahat beni de rahat bildikleri için e kahvaltı bile yapmamışlar bunlar saat on bir onikiye doğru evden çıkmışlar yürüye yürüye çabuk da gelmişler ben bir dedim ama on iki buçukta eve gelmişler bakmışlar mutfağa geçmişler gayet kendi evleri gibi e ben de tabi bişeyler hazırlamıştım akşamdan tatlılarımı yapmışım işte soğuk koyacaklarımı bi de hamur yoğurmuştum sıcacık onlara sac ekmeği derler bizde böyle tereyağla yeniyo hemşinlilerin çok sevdiği bişey onu mayalı hamurdan yapıyo ben de ona sıcacık yapım tereyağ peynirle ikram ederim diye mayaladım bıraktı bunlar şimdi hamura bakmışlar biri demiş poğaçaya hamuru biri demiş ekmek hamuru biri demiş ne olacak bilmiyoz demişler biz en iyisi bunları tepsiye böle büyük büyük koyalım pişirelim poğaçaysa poğaçaya diye ekmekse ekmek diye yeriz bunları bi güzel tepsiye fırına koymuşlar bir güzel de yaptıklarımı da bulmuşlar tatlılarımı tuzlularımı çayı demlemişler oğlum içerde ders çalışıyo bir güzel böyle masa hazırlamışlar ben saat birde kapıyı çaldığım zaman buyur masaya dediler tabi ben çok sevinmiştim bizde böyle bi rahatlık var mutfağım herkese açıktır gerçekten hani hemşinlilerin çoğunda hani biz gittiğimiz zaman burda da öyleyiz aynen burda yürütmeye çalışıyoruz ha ben duydum bir hemşinli izmite gelmiş bi arkadaşımınla birlikte özellikle gülümser diye çok sevdiğim bi ablamız var gideriz buluruz yeni taşınmış bi ihtiyacın var mı hani yardıma ihtiyacın var mı

N: ha burda da devam ediyö di mi ilişkiler

S: muhakkak özellikle gideriz ee bi ihtiyacın var mı yardı edebileceğimiz bişey var mı sorarız ederiz hoşgeldin deriz izmite e bakarız düşüncesine tarzına davranışına göre devam ederse ilişkimiz devam ederiz etmese de biz büyüklüğümü yapıp onun bi ziyaretine gitmiş oluyoruz yürütüyoruz kaç yıldır burdayız on beş yıldır yani gün yapıyoruz günümüzde de aynı hemşin kültürünü yürütüyoruz mısır ekmeğimiz fasulye turşu kavurmamız hamsili ekmeğimiz sebzeli hamsimiz özellikle lahana yemekleri barbunya yemeğimiz sarmamız kesinlikle olur ee kültürümüzü yürütmeye çalışıyoruz günlerimizde de nerdeyse kura çekmiyoruz çeksek bile yani eğlence olsun diye çeksek bile kimin ihtiyacı varsa bu ay kimin ihtiyacı var hani borcu olan çocuğu okulda olan vesaire paylaşp ihtiyacını gideriyoruz öyle on beş yıldır günümüz devam ediyö yani birbirimiz

N: on beş yıldır gün devam ediyö

S: öyle depremde iki yıl ara verdik sadece ve çok özledik birbirimizi ara vermemizin sebebi bazı arkadaşlarımızın samsuna taşınması işte memlekete taşınması bi dağınıklık oldu izmitte ama tekrar bi araya geldik tabi on beş yıl içinde gün arkadaşlarımız çok çok çok çoğaldı eee on iki kişiyle başlamıştık kırkı geçince ikiye bölmek zorunda kaldık hatta üçe bölündü e biz şimdi kırkın üzerinde bi gurup yaptık bi on iki on üç kişiyiz artık çocuklar anne çekilmiyo gibi hani büyüdüler onlar da gençler biarada yapıyolar yaşlılarımız bi arada hatta çok özlediğimiz zaman birbirimizin gününe de gidiyoruz görmek için

N: peki siz burda mesela siz yazları tekrar köye dönüyorsunuz ya herkes öyle mi yoksa ilişkileri kesilen de var mı köyle hopayla

S: ee kesilen zaman zaman tabii ki gençler şimdi çalışıyolar eskidi gibi değil hani gençler şimdi okuyo eskisi gibi değil hani gençlerimiz şimdi okuyo karadenizin eski şeyleri bitti tabi bizim dönemdekiler şimdi genç kızlarımız da okuduğu için hepsi gençler çalıştığı için hani bizim gibi gidemiyolar hani daha şunda benim kuşak daha çok gidiyo çünkü emeklisi gelmiş veya çocuklarını okutmuş işini bitirmiş köye dönüp ev yapanlar çok benim gurubum ama yani şunda iki tane ev yapıldı bu yaz hani çok sevindim ama dönüolar yapıcak şehirde çok bişey kalmadı yazları en azından memleketinde geçirmek istiyolar ama gençler gezme amaçlı geliyo o yaylanın en güzel dönemi dediğim hani çay

sezonunun bittiği dönemlerde gezmeye geliyolar denizden faydalanmak için denizde yavaş yavaş havaların ısınmasıyla bizim karadenizde de daha çok denize girilmeye başladı eskiden daha çok yağmur yağıyordu şimdi daha çok geliyolar ama dediğim gibi daha çok gezme amaçlı yeni nesil gezme amaçlı geliyo ama benim yaş grubumda artık oraya bi yazlık yapıyolar çoluk çocuğunu okutup yerleştiren anca eli deđiyo hani maddi olarak da anca yerleşmeye çalışıyolar yapıyolar yazları da çok daha güzel oluyo e biri istanbuldan geliyo biri izmirden biri bursadan geliyo ortada bi deđişik bi kültür herkes hani deđişik bi yerlerden geliyo ama ordaki eğlence de daha bi başka oluyo akşamları geceleri oturuyoruz hem köyün herşeyinden faydalanıyoruz ben köyümü çok seviyorum çünkü şehirde yaşayan insan ben köye gittiğim zaman tarlalardan ya da işte dışarı çıktığım zaman hiç çantasız çıkmam poşetsiz bana gülerler aa bak bak bak yine ne getiriyo bu kızımız diye şaşırırlar ki şehirde herşeyi böle manavdan kiloyla alıyosun işte ilaçlıydı hormonluydu vesaire biz bunu bildiğimiz için daha organik bişey yemek istiyoruz o yüzden doğal meyveleri çok seviyorum dışarı çıktığım zaman boş çıkmam dışarı çıktığım zaman bağdan bahçeden elim kolum dolu gelirim dolabımda sürekli meyve olur benim işte karayemişinden eriğinden armutundan her türlü şeftali yabani şeftaliyi çok seviyorum hani aşlanmamış minik minik şeftaliler hani onlar özellikle çiçek açtığı zaman bakıyorum bak onu yicez arkadaşlar derim gülerler bana ne kadar meyvecisin diye hani onları seviyorum doğal onlardan reçel yapıyorum işte izmite akrabalarım çocuklara kardeşlerime hani faydalansınlar karayemişten deđişik bişey yesinler diye doğal bişey yesinler diye öyle meyvelerden de faydalanıyoruz işte

N: güzel hopa güzel ya ben de çok seviyorum

S: hopa güzel

N: peki yordum seni benim sorularım bu kadar çok teşekkür ederim

S: ben teşekkür ederim

N: çok sağol

S: siz de sağolun

English Translation: Sevim's Story

N: I guess mainly children are going

S: Yes mainly the children are going, because the ones staying in the village have to work in summers. Children take the cows of their grandmothers and other children and go up to the uplands. That's why the youth have to reap the tea. We had tea fields. On the uplands the children are with the grandmothers.

N: Do you remember how it was on the uplands, did you like it or were you getting bored?

S: It was very nice, but of course we were missing our mother as we were with the grandmothers. We were cowing the milks then put the milk in the machines, produce cheese. Then the cows are again taken out at grass. I couldn't have a proper childhood; I had to grow up early as I had siblings. Because after my grandmother's death, my mother again wanted to go to the uplands, because we had cows and it is difficult to keep the cows in the village. It is difficult to look after them and reap tea at the same time. My mother took me to the upland. It was the time of Cyprus war. She had to leave me at the village with three of my siblings. She stayed with us for one month and then went back to the village to reap the tea with my older brother. Because they have to reap the tea as it is our source of income for winter. I remained in the uplands looking after my younger siblings. We were sleeping in my uncle's place at nights. One of my siblings was a bit problematic; he fought with my uncle's child. After that he did not want to sleep in my uncle's place. We were all very very young. Imagine, I was at the third grade of the primary school.

Third grade of the primary school

S: My siblings were going to the first grade, they were like twings. I had another sibling who was three and a half years old. Of course I was looking after him. Imagine I was getting scared in the house at the uplands.

N: It gets very dark at nights

S: A room made up of black stones with a small door, which cannot be locked. That's why I got scared, as we cannot sleep in our house; wolves could come. As you are a child, you are scared. Then he said I am not going to sleep in their house, I am a man, and we will sleep in our own house. We had a fight, he cried. I decided to sleep in our place so that he does not cry any more. My uncle had five cows. The other day my uncle's wife was supposed to milk these cows first and then milk our cow. We had one cow. The cow lies and waits for my uncle's wife. In the meantime it goes on the grass again. I was getting very sad. I decided to milk the cow myself. I took the milk kettle and sat under the cow. I pulled, but I am very weak and it is very tight, nothing comes. I was thinking my uncle's wife does it; I should be able to do it as well. Because my uncle's wife's work never finishes. The cow with the milk on the breast goes on the grass again. I started milking the cow. Milk was coming; I got so happy that I am able to do work. Then my uncle's wife came and said you managed to milk the cow. Then my uncle's wife didn't come any more saying that she had lots of work to do. She told me to continue like that. From that time on it was my duty to milk the cow. Throughout the day I was milking the cow, fermenting the milk, boiling it. I couldn't manage to get it right for the yoghurt at first. I cried, as my yoghurt was not fermented. The other day I was trying again. A couple of days later I got it right. I was kneading the dough, cooking bread; the dough sometimes rises sometimes not. Sometimes I was crying that I couldn't do it right. I guess I had to struggle for some days. At the end, I think it was the middle of summer, at the time of Cyprus war; everyone was saying to be careful and take care of my siblings. I was holding their hands tight. Everyone was gathered. I thought they are talking about some thing, so I also approached and listened to them. We had a funny uncle and he wanted to make a joke to me. I was a child how could I know that he would make a joke to me. As I approach he started saying what has happened to this child is a pity. He is alone with his siblings without the mother and the father. War broke out in the country, everywhere will be chaos, and each of them will die in a place. They will die separately. I heard all of

them. I got so sad that I didn't show them and after sitting there for 10 minutes I came back home, cried. I cried so much and didn't tell anything to anyone. I didn't think that he might be making a joke. I was thinking everyone has a father, grandfather, but I don't have anyone. I will die with my siblings here. I cried. Then in the afternoon when I was milking the cow, my cousins came running and said your father is coming. I told her not to tease me. I said to her, my father couldn't come now. When I saw my father, I got so sensitive, so happy. My father just came to see what happened to us.

N: The man's

S: Yes, I got so sad, I cried so much. I got so afraid at that time. Then my brother, mother came when the tea season finished. When they all come we were having so much fun. All the youth gather, the ones in the city come, we were having weddings... It was so enjoyable.

N: At that time did you have weddings in the uplands?

S: Yes, we had weddings in the uplands, the brides were put on the horse, nice food was cooked. We had very nice village weddings in the uplands. We liked the uplands more when the tea season is over.

N: Sure. More enjoyable.

S: As we had more enjoyable time

N: Where were the uplands that you were going

S: We were going to Bilbilan.

N: I went there

S: Our uplands are close to Ardahan; it is beautiful, there are shops. We were children. My father and uncle together owned a shop. My younger sister and I wanted to go to the shop to get something. But because my father was partner with my uncle, he wasn't giving anything to us from the shop. My siblings were small but my uncle's children were older, so they didn't want to get anything from the shop. That's why my father was telling us not to come. Because when we go we were given something. My father was very careful about that. I was carrying my sister thinking we will get biscuits and sweets. I was planning to go and tell my father that my sister cried a lot. But she was not crying, she was getting happy that we were going outside. When we approached to the shop, I was pinching her and, she was starting to cry. I was telling my father that she cried a lot, I

couldn't stop her and that's why we came. He was giving us biscuits and sweets (laughs). It is such a nice memory.

N: On the other side of that place, there are Kurds; did you have any relation with them?

S: No, we didn't have much interaction. But because my uncle's bride was from that village, they were coming and we were going. Their place seemed strange to us. Their stockbreeding was different from ours. We just had cows since we were living in Artvin Hopa in winters. But because they were always there, they had ducks, sheep, and stockyards. They called the place where the animals live all together a stockyard (ağıl). The stockyard had a shepherd. The shepherds were taking all the animals of the village to the grass. We didn't have such thing. That's why we were curious; we were going to their village to see. We liked it.

N: Did Kurds and Hemşinlis had any exchange?

S: Not that much, but marriages were taking place, sometimes butter and cheese were exchanged as when we go the uplands we didn't have enough. We just had milk and yoghurt. We were getting our winter needs from them.

N: Were you getting with Money or doing some other kind of Exchange?

S: Mainly with Money. We were buying a lot. But also for instance since they didn't have many trees, they were getting handle of shovels and pickax from us and stick for the shepherds. They were getting them from our village, were giving them the trees and in exchange we were getting yoghurt, butter, cheese.

N: Were you giving tea as well?

S: Before tea was not given. We were giving our tea to the state. Unfortunately recently the private companies increased and we have to give our tea to them at a lower price. They give the money very late. They keep the money for one year, one and half year. Now it has reached up to two years. It is almost half the price of the state. Not always but last year the prices decreases as much as half the price that the state offered. Since we are not able to receive the Money, the subcontractor also sells his tea to us at a high price, which causes a second loss. Since we have a lot of tea, recently we have started to exchange it with yoghurt, cheese. At first we didn't have that because people preferred the state but now because of the increase in the number of private companies, it has become like that.

N: Hmmm I got it. You are nine siblings and you are the fourth?

S: Yes we are nine siblings. I have an older sister, then my brother, the third is my sister and after them I am the fourth.

N: Were they married, when you went to the uplands?

S: My elder sister was married, others were single.

N: Was your relations with your mother's side good? Were you in contact with them as well?

S: Since my mother side was in the villages of Hopa, we didn't see one another much. Because in the past the transportation was not that good and it was considered as a long distance. My mother was able to go and visit his father once twice a year for holidays. We loved our maternal uncle's house a lot. His house was different from our houses as it was very old. They didn't destroy the old house. He had a serender in front of his door. We loved the "serender" (a wooden small house to keep food) it was like a historical structure for us. They were putting their fruits in the balcony of the serender because they had a lot. Their village was older compared to ours. Their grandfathers planted more fruit trees. The apple of the village was famous. It was called iron apple. They called the apple tree, which doesn't get dry in the winter an iron apple. They were collecting it and were eating until the summer. We loved our maternal uncle's house. We went on the serender when we went there. We loved eating fruit in the high and beautiful balcony of the "serender". We loved going around there. That's why we were going with my mother time to time. At the moment we are trying to visit once a year.

N: Your mother never went to school, is that right?

S: She didn't. She doesn't know how to read and write. Because of that she want us to get educated a lot. That's why she registered us. During that time it was compulsory. But my elder sister didn't go to primary school.

N: Your elder sister didn't go to primary school?

S: She didn't go to primary school because we were born and my mother had to work in the field. That's why my elder sister was sacrificed. She looked after us, I feel very sad about that, she doesn't know how to read and write. My father registered us and we started going to school. I had an experience at school. Let me tell about that.

N: Yes

S: I was going to the first class and my brother at the 5th grade. My father registered my sister who is one year older and me to the same class as if we were twins. We have the same birth date formally. We were going to school together. My mother had a miscarriage, she had to have rest and she was lying. In our gardens we plant fresh onion a lot so that we can eat during summer. To plant fresh onion, fertilizer should be carried to the gardens. My mother is lying and we are at the first grade. My father said that in the morning each of you will carry fertilizer to the garden seven times and I will plan the onions. He made small boxes for us that we can carry. We had to carry it in the morning before going to school. It was five-minute walk. We fill the box and then leave it to the garden. The school was starting around eight thirty and nine. We did that, but we were late for school. We changed our clothes, took our bags and rushed to the school. We entered the class. There was Ayşe teacher. She asked why we were late and hit each of us once. I said that we carried fertilizer to the garden and got late. She didn't believe and thought that I was lying. She started to hit a couple of times more. It really hurt me more. Because she said I was liar at that age. I cried that much at that time thinking that I am the one to carry the fertilizer and then be the lyre. I cried a lot thinking why she called me a lyre in front of the class. No one could stop me. I couldn't help myself, my sister was silent and she was telling me to be silent. I continue crying. I said to the teacher to call my brother at the fifth grade and ask to him. I am not lying. Then my brother came to the class. She asked to my brother whether we carried fertilizers to the garden and he said yes. He said that our mother is ill and has to rest, that's why they carried fertilizer seven times, and then they got changed and came. That's the reason of their being late. The teacher became silent. I started crying more loudly. I cried all day in the corner of the class. When I came back home, I said I don't want to go to school any more and the other day I didn't go. My mother got sad and begged me. I told my mother that she called me a liar in front of the whole class. The second day my mother said that I should study. She said look at me, I didn't go to school and sell tea. I don't know what is written on my purse. It is very difficult form me. When you get married, you should be literate and teach your children something. That's why you have to go to school. My mother took me to her back and made me go to school. The teacher was also very kind. Then my father

came one hour after me and looked at me from the window of the class. When I saw my father's face half an hour later I felt sad thinking that I had to accept.

N: Was the school close?

S: It wasn't that much, but it was in the middle of the school. My mother had to struggle with me a lot as I was standing against injustice. I cried a lot why at that age I was subjected to such an injustice.

N: Do you have other memories from school?

S: Our teacher was not allowing us to talk in Hemşin so that we could speak better Turkish. At the fourth grade, the teacher selected me as the head of the class. He asked me to write the names of those speaking Hemşin. I was writing the names of those students and telling to the teacher. At that time there was something like that, we were not speaking our own language.

N: Was it prevalent or special to your teacher?

S: It was prevalent at that time, they had such a thought. They were thinking that if she didn't know Turkish, she couldn't learn how to read and write. Mothers were also naturally trying to speak in Turkish with their children. For the elders it was very difficult. They were trying hard to speak Turkish with the children. They were trying so that their children don't remain behind and learn reading and writing.

N: Was your mother also trying?

S: Yes she did, but it was difficult for her. My brother got engaged at a very early age. My father saw a very beautiful girl and wanted her to be his bride. That's why after my brother finished primary school, he got engaged. He had a bad destiny. Therefore when my brother's wife was speaking Turkish with her children, my siblings also were getting familiar.

N: Does your mother speak good Turkish?

S: She speaks both languages comfortably, but sometimes mixes them.

N: Does Hemşin language predominate?

S: Yes, she speaks more comfortably. For instance we live together with Laz people. They are in the neighboring village. My mother says a fear prayer together with the Laz. For instance if someone is scared of a dog or an animal and cannot eat food, she goes to the doctor but cannot get better. People believed this was fear illness. My mother was

saying that fear prayer one day and a woman came from the Laz village and she didn't know Hemşin language. My mother starts Turkish, but then she continues in Hemşin language (laughs). One day we were having breakfast; my brother was back from the military service. My mother is explaining to the woman, but the woman is looking at me as she didn't understand anything and was unable to say something. We warned my mother saying that the woman does not understand you when you talk in Hemşin language. But she apologized and said that she kept forgetting. Our elders speak Hemşin more comfortably. One of my friends' brothers got married in Artvin. He married quite late. When the bride comes, naturally they get busy with the bride as she came from somewhere else. Elders were always forgetting and talking in Hemşin language and the bride was getting sad thinking whether they were talking about her. Two months later when the bride went to her father's house, my friend relaxed and said she was now able to speak in Hemşin comfortably. My tongue got tired as I forced it so much. I will speak Hemşin and my tongue can play comfortably. We laughed about that lot thinking as if the tongue could get tired. We had such an experience at that time for the bride not to feel uncomfortable.

N: After primary school

S: Our father didn't let us go to the school after primary school, as we were many siblings. We started working at the first grade. By the third, we were jack of every trade. We grew up early. I had to grow up early, as I had to take care of my siblings. My mother had four or five cows when we were at primary school. Our education was a normal one; we had half an hour of free time at lunch. We were running to home from school. By that time, the paste that my mother prepared would be at the right density. We were putting it into trays and cooking it. We had to put the food on fire before three because my mother was coming home late. The food had to be ready before it is dark. At third grade I had to cook the meal, which was a big responsibility for me. When I see the kids now, I realize that we grew up very early. As such the primary school finished. I cried because of the Laz. My bigger brother had female Laz friends, who were going to high school. They liked us a lot. They would come to our house at special days such as New Year's. They were good girls. They wouldn't discriminate. They wouldn't discriminate between the Laz and the Hemşinlis. We liked them a lot. They were bringing us books. They told me

to enroll to the school. They would finance my school costs. I was very touched and felt happy. I came home very happy that day, I said, "I will go to school, I don't want any money or clothes or books from you. My friends will get them for me." My father didn't let me. I had a twin sister. He said it would be unfair to her if he let me go to school while she cannot go. And he said if he also let her go to the school, which would take care of our siblings? Who would cook the food? They were working at the grounds, what would they eat? When he explained like that we couldn't say anything more. The school was far. If it had been compulsory like it is now, then we would have to go to school. But it wasn't. We had to go to the city to go to the school. It was far. We couldn't enroll. I still feel sad about it.

N: Ok I see. So, what has your father done?

S: My father, poor him, he was an orphan. He had a lot of difficulties. He has a long story, maybe he tells it himself.

N: You can also tell

S: As far as he told us, they (he and his siblings) grew up with difficulties. Their father died. They were orphans. They were too poor. They were living with the grandmother in a village of Hopa. They came to a village in Kemalpaşa afterwards. They had relatives there. As the family is big there, they thought it would be good for them, they would be safe.

N: Ok, which village in Hopa is it?

S: Başoba village. We had land there, but as we did not have any proof, the peasants there took possession. His bigger brother got married. They worked in the grounds. They had nothing. They only had a goat. My father could not go to school. He went to school for 15 days and then he left. He didn't have any shoes. They had nothing. He worked at the grounds, he would cut firewood. He would help the family. My bigger uncle went to foreign lands. He became the man of the house. Then he went out himself. He got married at 17. Those days you would marry early. Then they worked at the mountains. They were living in a wooden house. My father likes building houses. One night the roof flew away. They slept watching the stars. Then the neighbors came together and they reconstructed the roof. My father, after he grew up some more, he built a house himself. Maybe because of his days he stayed without a home, he went out, he worked at

Zonguldak. He worked here and there. He did not come back from military service. He repaired shoes at military, he sold water, etc. People spend money at military but my father came back from military as if he is coming back from the foreign lands. He worked at the village. He planted tea. He built a house. He built the first stone house at the village fifty years ago. It is a two-floor house, three rooms on the first floor, five rooms on the second.

N: Is it still there?

S: Yes, we have repaired the old one. It is still our house. My father is very curious about the houses. I was born in that house. He enjoyed living in that house. He bought many new things for the house. He likes building houses a lot. That's how he financed education costs. The boys are university graduates. The girls just went to the primary school. He worked at the grounds and also at the tea factory to finance his children's education. His interest in the houses didn't end when he retired. He moved to İstanbul when one of my brothers started working at an insurance company. He bought a land in İstanbul and he built a two-floor house there. Then he again bought a land and he went on. Today still when he has some money he builds a house. He transferred this behavior to his children such that each one has a house.

N: He did well.

S: They all have three houses. My father thinks it is the best to have a house before anything else. He also helped me a lot when building my own house. I didn't have a house in the village before. He also feels sorry as the boys went to the university and we did not. Now we grumble sometimes. We say that he did wrong. He did not let us study. He gave me the yearly tea income last year. The kids finished the university last year. I didn't want to be a burden on them. So we built a house in the village, thanks to my father. He helped me. He gave me the yearly revenue. It was something like 30 billions. We have built a house for that amount.

N: Congrats

S: He helped me. Because he likes houses he helps those who build a house.

N: It is good that everyone owned a house that way. So, does your father speak Hemşin language with your mother? How good is he at this language?

S: They talk in Hemşin language, they speak very little Turkish. Even I am talking in Hemşin with my husband. We use very little Turkish. I use Hemşin a lot as I spend 4-5 months in Artvin in the summer. I talk in Hemşin with the elder. Even here I switch to Hemşin when I talk to the elder people. When I was in Tonya, my neighbor was surprised when she saw me talking in Hemşin. She didn't know such a thing as Hemşin people or the language. One day I received a phone call. It was my mother in law. I talked to her in Hemşin. I thought it would be rude otherwise and she would think that now I am in the city I talk in Turkish. I talked in Hemşin. It would be easier for her. They were really surprised. They told me that I speak very good English. I laughed a lot. I speak Hemşin quite frequently. I speak with the elder in Hemşin during the summer. I also speak the language with my husband and children. I speak less in Hemşin with my children, as they don't know enough. Recently they learned more.

N: Were you speaking in Turkish with your children at the beginning?

S: Yes, in Turkish. We thought that it is important that they speak Turkish very well. We had that thought. My brother appreciated Hemşin language. He did a lot. He said that we shouldn't forget our language and culture. We are forgetting our values, he said. Then I noticed that he is right and now I am more careful about that.

N: Did you first go to Tonya after Hopa?

S: We went to Sivas. We stayed there for two years. It is an unusual place compared to Black Sea region. We have had unusual memories there. People of Artvin are easygoing. We wouldn't even lock our doors at nights.

N: I am seeing that everybody's doors are open.

S: Doors are unlocked. There in the village we lived, there were separate rooms for male and female. There was a big separation between male and female. Where we came, even though they do not let their female go to schools, there is an easygoing atmosphere. We all live together. They do in Sivas. I didn't know about this at first. I went to the neighbor to say hi to. There were some of their relatives in the house. I said hello, how are you, and I was going to go back. They said lets go to another place. I was surprised as Sivas is too cold and it is impossible to sit in another room, you have to sit down where it is heated. They said lets go to another room where we can be comfortable. I said no, I am leaving anyway; I just came to get some water. I came back home and asked about it. The

hodja said men wouldn't sit with women, it is separate. I was surprised. It was unusual to me. Another day I went to a neighbor, I came back home, and there were guests. Teachers from neighboring villages would come to visit us mostly on weekends. I thought it is them. There were shoes at the entrances, not village people's shoes. You wouldn't shake hands. Men either wouldn't greet you or if they do, they would just say hi and pass by. I entered in the room. As I saw those shoes I thought it is the teachers. I thought it would be rude not to greet, as they are teachers. I extended a hand and my hand was not shook. I turned red. I felt very embarrassed. I extended my hand, as he was dressed properly. But he was a German Turk. A rich German Turkish person from the village. He stayed in Germany but nothing had changed. I left the room and did not come back until he left. I said to the hodja that it is rude not to shake my hand. Their way of living was really strange to me. One day we were invited to a house to watch TV. I was sitting in a room, my six-month -old son among my arms, with a girl, a daughter in law and an old woman. The old woman touched my son, after ten minutes -would you believe- my son was burning as if he had high fever.

N: Really?

S: He was shouting. I was very scared. As it is a village house, I thought an insect bit him. I panicked. I became a mother at my eighteen. I thought something serious happened to him. They brought extra lamps. I undressed him but there was nothing.

N: aha it is the bad eye

S: The baby was shouting. I saw nothing like that before. It was the bad eye.

N: hmmm

S: The old woman apparently was the biggest bad eye person in the village. She had that kind of energy. It is supernatural.

N: Everybody knew there

S: Everybody except me knew. The woman wanted a knife from the kitchen. I got scared, what would she do with a knife. She smoothed the knife over the child and prayed.

N: The old woman?

S: Yes, her. I didn't want to stay more, I came home. Half an hour later I fed him and he slept. In the morning I went to get some water and told my neighbor what happened. She

asked if the old woman prayed, I said yes. She said if the woman hadn't prayed, I would have found my child dead this morning. The old woman apparently was the most famous bad eye person in the village. People were hiding their children away from her. They wouldn't let her see their children until they grow up. She told me that the woman saw a child and now he cannot grow up.

N: aaaa

S: We lived such a thing.

N: Interesting. So what would people do when they learned that you are Hemşin and there is a language such as Hemşin? How would they reach?

S: They didn't know at all. When I said Hemşin, they would ask if I am Laz or Georgian, then they would ask what I am. I wasn't able to express myself. Nobody knew Hemşin.

N: I also got to know about it really late.

S: Nobody knew. They even would ask if we are Armenian. I said we are Hemşin. We have our own language. I was telling them that my mother, my grandmother spoke that language but they weren't convinced. They would say there is nothing as such; you are a Laz, a Georgian or a Turk. Nowadays it is getting to be known. I hear in İzmit now that they know. They sometimes know. It is known by more people now.

N: So what did you do when you didn't know what to say?

S: I never hid. Some people say, never tell anyone; just say you are from the Black Sea region. Ok I am from there but Hemşinlis do exist. I would say that either way. Some hear for the first time, some already knew. Some say we are Armenians.

N: Do you have stories about that? The language is really similar to Armenian. How do old people talk in your village?

S: They wouldn't accept that they are Armenians. But I think about it recently. If there were no such thing as Armenian, how would people verbalize it when they get angry with children? Why would people say this when they get angry? We heard a few words. But the elder would never accept this. They would say they are Turks, not Armenians. At very old times, there was an Armenian woman who got married and she spoke her own language. Then it was spread.

N: That is the most wide known story, is it?

S: We are not Armenians but an Armenian girl came, talked to children and spread her own language. There is nothing certain.

N: hmm. And have you heard where the word Hemşin comes from?

S: There is a district in Rize, called Çamlıhemşin, as far as I know, it comes from that. Hemşin is the center of Çamlıhemşin. There is Ilica there. We once heard a few words from an old woman there and thought that they are like us. A few words were similar. They do not speak Hemşin, they speak Turkish but the elder know some words. Some other things are similar as well, they are easygoing like us, the way they behave so on. Hemşin people are really easygoing.

N: Yes, they are warm hearted and easygoing

S: They are very easygoing and hospital. I was warned in Sivas to lock my door. I told them that it is not usual for me to lock the door even when sleeping.

N: I was very surprised when I first saw that

S: It really is like that. Now I am in the city but when I go back I feel the same atmosphere. One day I wanted to bake a cake and there was no yoghurt at home. I went to the neighbor's; there was no one there. I didn't go in. I was expecting guests. There are no markets around and you have no other chance. People do not do animal breeding any more. As the transport infrastructure has been improved, people live in the cities during winters and come to the village in summers. Then I went to a relative's house; there was nobody there either. I opened the fridge and got the yoghurt myself. I told them what I did in the evening and I brought some cake to them as well. They didn't mind. Nobody was at home and it wasn't locked. Whoever needs something, he can take. It is such a place.

N: So what are other things that are specific to Hemşinlis, like this one, do you think?

S: Hemşin people are like this, as I said. I had a friend from Aegean part, a high school teacher. We sent her a word to visit her in her house, once, twice, and she wasn't available. She said maybe tomorrow. We said lets go, there is no need to tell her in advance, we didn't want her to get prepared for us, only a cup of tea would be enough. I didn't go but my friends told me that she didn't accept them. They were really sad and returned back. We can never refuse a guest who is at the door. That's how we learned from our ancestors. She said that she is not available that day and told them to come

back tomorrow. My friends didn't go there again. We would invite them back another time if we hear somebody come to our house when we are not in the house. She was blamed a lot. I don't know whether I think like that because I am a Hemşin. My friends called me once telling that they would come to visit me. I was out selling something and they asked at what time I would be home. I said at one I would be at home. My son was studying for the university exams. I told them it would be ok even if I were late. My son would be at home and studying. It would be no problem. My friends that day arrived at half past twelve. They didn't have breakfast when they arrived. They directly went to the kitchen as if it is their home to prepare something. Of course I had prepared something for them the night before. I had prepared desserts; some appetizers and I had kneaded the paste to make bread. I would make them traditional bread to eat with butter and cheese. They tried to guess what the paste is for. They put the paste in the oven. They found what I prepared before, they made the tea. My son is studying in his room in this while. When I came home at 1, the table was set. There is such easygoingness. My kitchen is open to anyone. It is the same for most of the Hemşinlis, wherever we go, and this is the same. I heard a Hemşin came to İzmit, I would find out where she lives, with a friend of mine, called Gülümser, we would ask if she needs anything.

N: Your relations still continue here?

S: Definitely. We particularly go to one another and ask whether she needs something or there is anything we can do. We say welcome to İzmit. Depends on that person's attitude and behavior, our relations continue. Even if it doesn't continue, we would have done what we should. We have been here for fifteen years. We organize special days and on these days we act according to Hemşin culture; we cook corn bread, bean pickle, bread with hamsi, hamsi with vegetables particularly food with cabbage, sarma are especially there. We try to continue our culture. We have been continuing to organize these days for fifteen years.

N: For fifteen years.

S: Yes, only during the earthquake time we paused for two years and we missed each other a lot. The reason was that some of our friends moved to Samsun, some went to our hometown; there was a kind of chaos. But we again gathered in İzmit. But of course throughout these fifteen years, our friends increased. We had started with two people and

now we are over forty. We had to divide into two groups, even three. We have one group over forty now and we are twelve, thirteen at the moment. The children don't want to be with the mothers. They grew up and they gather among themselves. When we miss each other a lot, we join different groups as well.

N: For instance you go back to the village in summers. Is everyone like that, or their relations have been cut off with Hopa?

S: Now the youth are working, it is not like the old time sort they study. The old traditions of Karadeniz have finished. Since they work and study, they are not able to go like in the past. At the moment my generation goes more often. Because they get retired or their children have grown up. They don't have anything to do in the city. There are many people like that who returns and builds a house in the village. At least they want to spend summers in their hometown. But the youth come as a trip. They come in the best season of the uplands when the tea season finishes. They want to go to the sea. As the weather is warmer now, people started to swim more in Karadeniz. In the past it was more rainy. They come more now, but as I said for travelling. But my generation uses there as a summerhouse. The ones whose children complete their education just manage to settle as they get rid of a financial burden. In the summers it is even more beautiful. One comes from İstanbul, Izmir, Bursa. There is a combination of cultures. The entertainment there is different, we sit in the evenings, and we benefit from the village. I love my village. When I go there I never go out without a plastic or a bag. They laughed at me saying that I am again carrying a bag. Because you buy everything in the city in kilos from the grocery. The chemicals, hormones etc. Since we know that we want to eat something more organic. Because of that I love natural fruits a lot. When I go out, I always get something from the garden. In my refrigerator there is always fruit. Peach, pears, plums. I like the wild peach a lot, the small ones. I particularly look at it when the tree blossoms. I tell to friend that we will eat them. They laugh at me saying what a fruit fan you are. I love it, I make jam out of the natural ones for my relatives, siblings, children in Izmit so that they can eat something natural.

N: Hopa is so beautiful, I love it.

S: Hopa is nice

N: These were all my questions. Thanks a lot.

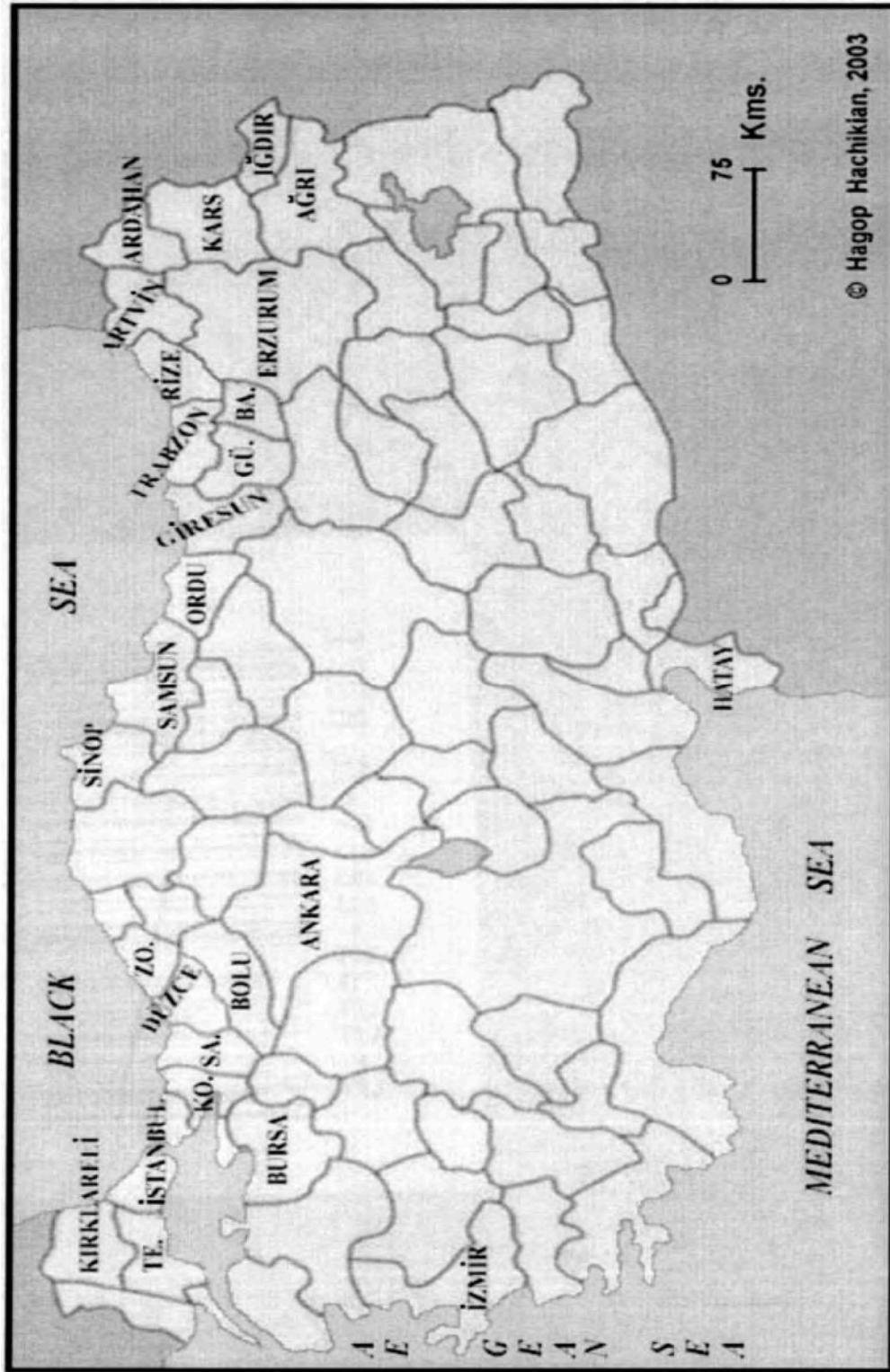
S: I thank you too.

N: Thanks a lot

S: Thanks a lot.

APPENDIX B

MAPS: HEMŞİN GEOGRAPHY

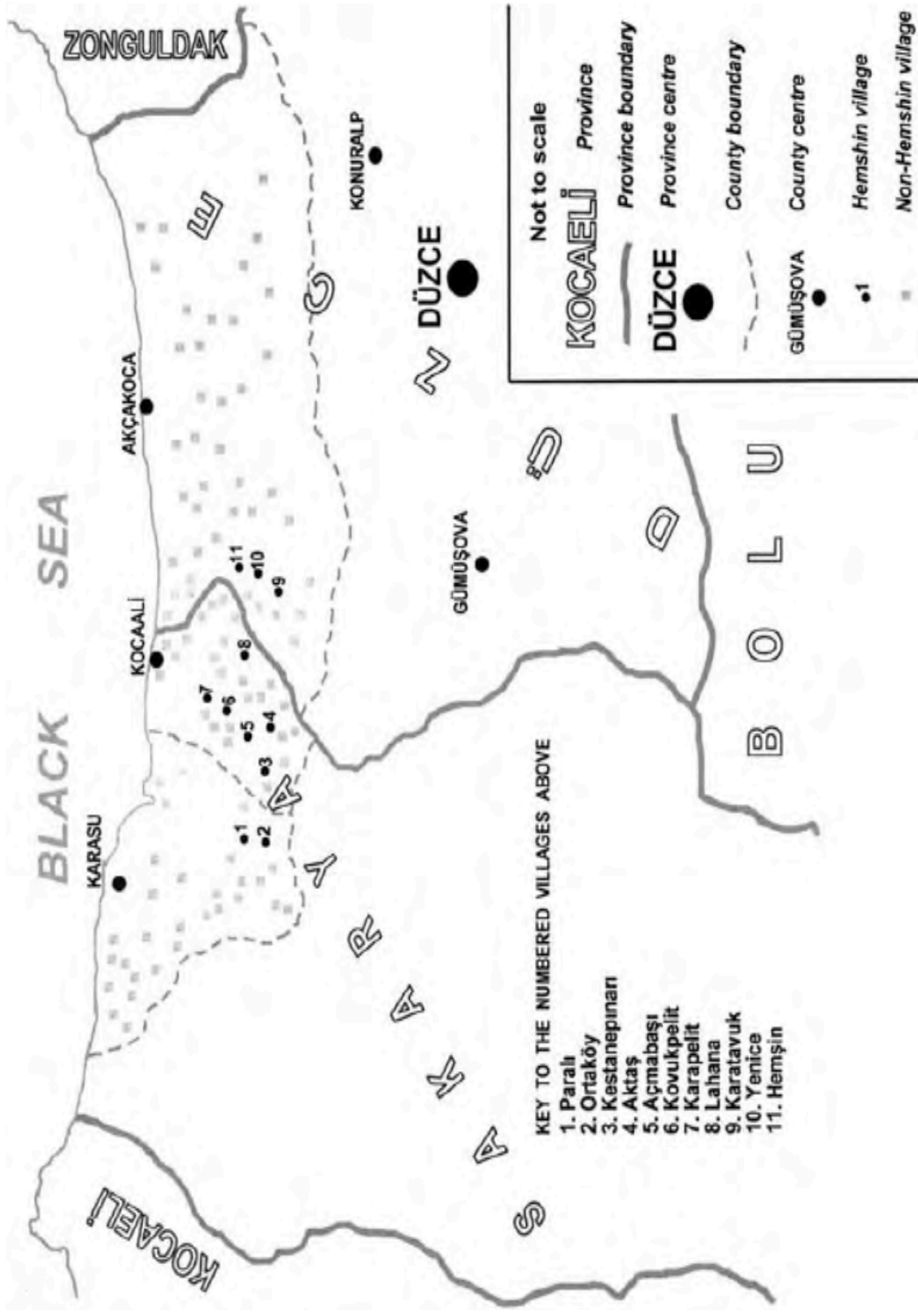


BA. = BAYBURT SA. = SAKARYA
 GÜ. = GÜMÜŞHANE TE. = TEKİRDAĞ
 KO. = KOCAELİ ZO. = ZONGULDAK

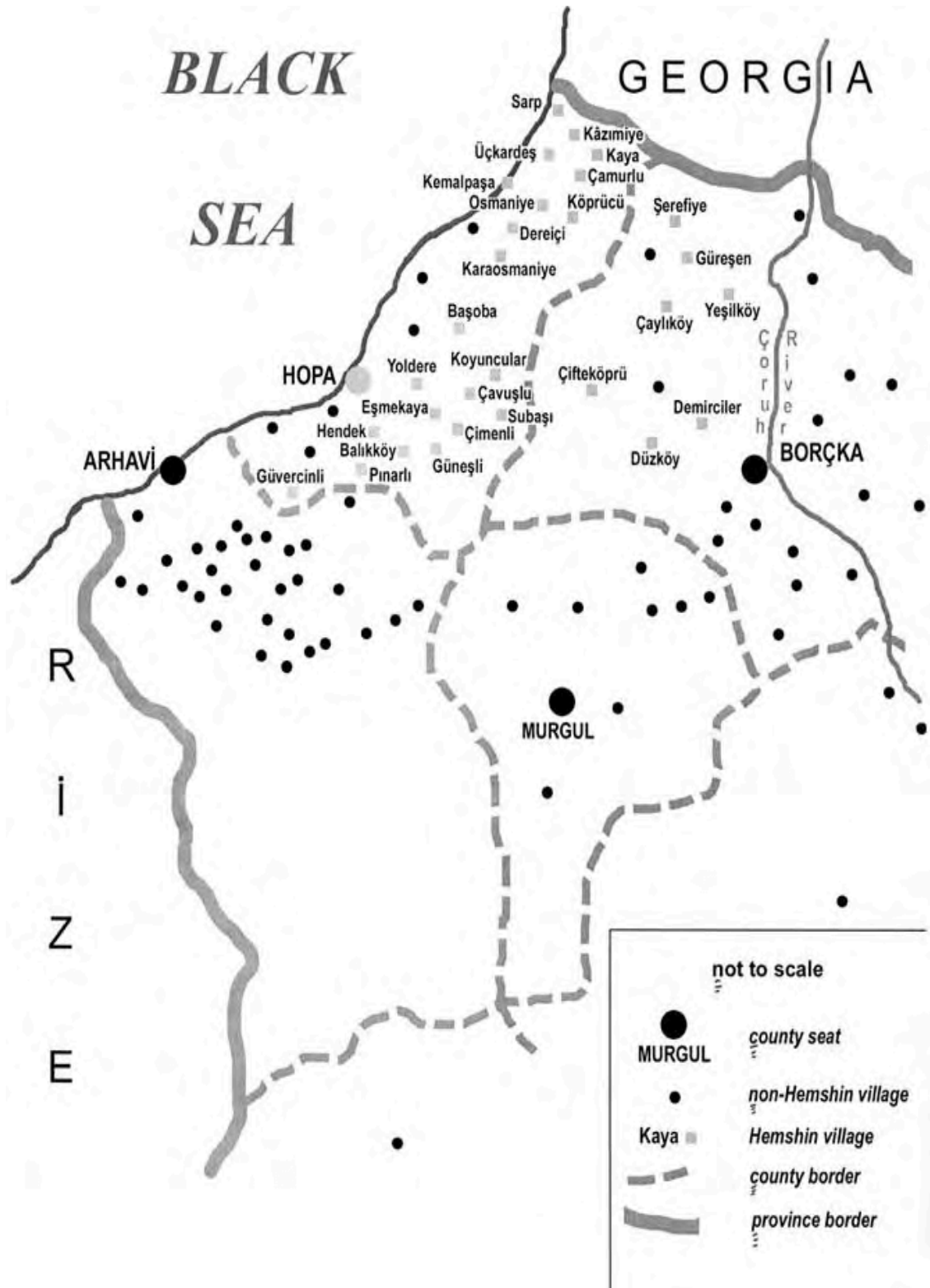
Map 1. Turkey.
Source: Hagop Hachikian (2003) in Simonian (2007)



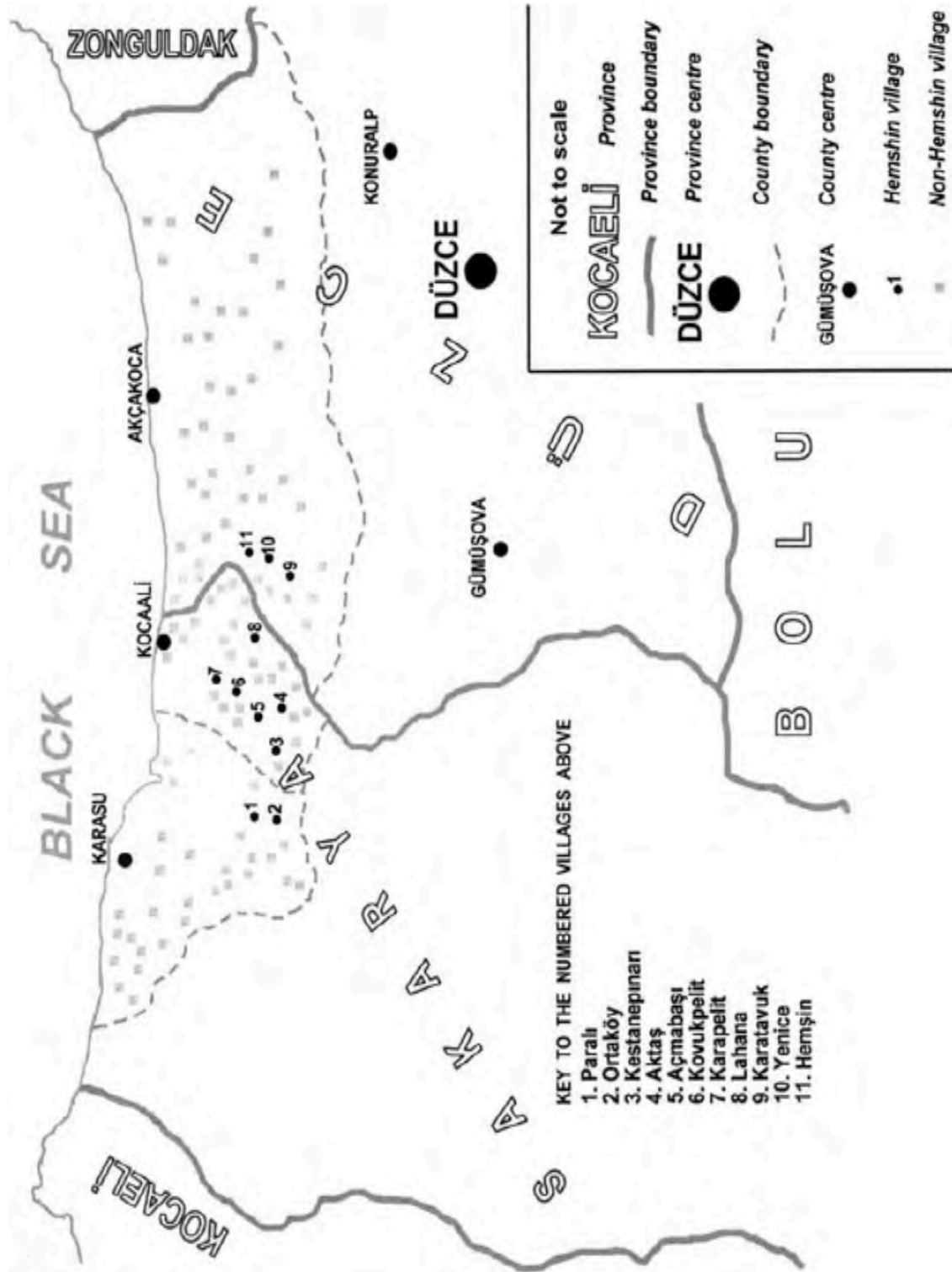
Map 2. Historical Hamshen and Hemshin Kaza
 Source: Hagop Hachikian (2003) in Simonian (2007)



Map 3. Rize Hemşinlis settlement.
 Source: Hagop Hachikian (2003) in Simonian (2007)



Map 4. Hemshin villages in the province of Artvin.
 Source: Hagop Hachikian (2003) in Simonian (2007)



Map 5. Hemshin settlement in western Black Sea areas.
 Source: Hagop Hachikian (2003) in Simonian (2007)

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