AMBIVALENT BELONGINGS:

A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF

SECOND GENERATION CRETAN IMMIGRANTS IN CUNDA

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Thesis Abstract

Neşe Kaya, "Ambivalent Belongings: A Discourse Analysis of Second Generation

Cretan Immigrants in Cunda"

This thesis analyzes the discourse of second generation Cretan immigrants whose

forefathers were forcibly relocated to Cunda via the population exchange between

Greece and the Republic of Turkey in 1924. The aim is to analyze the identity

construction of the second generation Cretan immigrants to understand their

positioning in relation to the migration, migrancy and to the "others" and to reveal

the situational, social, historical and political processes that influence and frame their

identity formation. In the analysis, we focus on the choice of grammatical voice,

pronouns and vocabulary seeking to link the analysis at the level of language with

the historical, political and cultural contexts and the discourses and the ideologies in

action.

A strongly felt ambivalence regarding the issues above emerges as the

strongest characteristic of the data. The migration is represented as both

"compulsory" and "voluntary" depending on particular contexts. We also observe

that the population exchange is set as a milestone in the lives of the immigrants

keeping its profound impact. The most frequently raised aspect of identity is

ethnicity, specifically "Turkish" and "Cretan". The participants position themselves

as both Turkish and Cretan switching from one to the other as required by the

immediate interactional context. In addition, the ambivalence that the second

generation immigrants display is also linked to the historical, political and cultural

contexts, the other discourses and ideologies in action.

Tez Özeti

Neşe Kaya, "İkili Aidiyetler: Cundadaki İkinci Kuşak Giritli Göçmenlerin bir Söylem İncelemesi"

Bu tez ataları 1924'te Yunanistan ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti arasında yapılan nüfus mübadelesi kapsamında Cunda'ya yerleştirilen ikinci kuşak Girit göçmenlerinin söylemini incelemektedir. Amaç ikinci kuşak Girit göçmenlerinin kendilerini göçe, göçmenliğe ve "öteki"ne karşı nasıl konumlandırdıklarını anlamak için kimlik kurulumlarını incelemek ve kimlik kurulumunda belirleyici olan durumsal, toplumsal, tarihsel ve politik süreçleri açığa çıkarmaktır. Çalışmada dil düzeyindeki inceleme, dilbilgisel çatı, adıl ve kelime seçimlerine yoğunlaşmakta; ve bu analiz tarihsel, politik ve kültürel durumlar ve etkin olan diğer söylemler ve ideolojilerle ilişkilendirilmektedir.

Katılımcıların söyleminde öne çıkan özellik güçlü bir şekilde sezinlenen bir ikililiktir. Göç olgusu belirli durumlara bağlı olarak hem "zorunlu" hem "gönüllü" olarak yansıtılmaktadır. Göçün göçmenlerin yaşamında derin etkisini sürdürerek yaşamlarında bir dönüm noktası olarak yansıtıldığını da gözlemlemekteyiz. Bunlara ek olarak, en sık bahsedilen kimlikler "Türk" ve "Giritli" kimlikleri olmak üzere etnik kimliklerdir. Katılımcılar kendilerini birinden diğerine geçişler yaparak hem Türk hem de Giritli olarak konumlandırmaktadır. İkinci kuşak Girit göçmenlerinin sergiledikleri ikililiğin etkileşim bağlamı, tarihsel, politik ve kültürel bağlamlarla ve etkin halde olan diğer söylemler ve ideolojilerle sıkı sıkıya ilişkisi olduğunu gözlemlemekteyiz.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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TABLES

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

LINE	Each line indicates an independent clause
CAPPS	Indicates emphasis.
(1)	Numbers in parentheses indicate intervals within or between utterances. They are timed in seconds.
(.)	Indicates noticeable pause.
(( ))	Double parentheses provide information about the transcriber's description of events in the conversation such as laughter, etc.
((…))	Represents omitted speech.
" "	Quotation marks are used to mark direct reported speech.
=	Equal signs indicate latching, where one speaker's utterance is immediately followed by the other's.
-	Indicates self interruption.
[	Represents overlap between utterances.
X	Represents unintelligible words.
.	Falling intonation followed by noticeable pause (as at end of declarative sentence)
?	Rising intonation followed by noticeable pause (as at end of interrogative sentence)

ABBREVIATIONS

1P.PL	First person plural
1P. SG	First person singular
ABL	Ablative case
ACC	Accusative case
ADV	Adverbializer
AOR	Aorist
CAUS	Causative marker
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative case
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive case
IMPF	Imperfective
INST	Instrumental
INT	Interrogative
LOC	Locative case
NEG	Negative marker
OBJ	Object
OBL	Oblique case
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present
SUBJ	Subject

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Following the compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey, a great

number of Muslims migrated to Turkey from the islands of Mytilene, Crete, and the

mainland Greece. They were placed in different regions in Turkey. The process of the

population exchange and its long lasting ramifications on the relevant societies have

been studied from the perspective of history (Hirschton, 1998, 2003; Arı, 1995),

sociology (Koufopoulou, 2003), and economy (Aktar, 2003), and politics (Yıldırım,

2006) covering both pre and post migration periods in Turkey and Greece. However,

"language" as a form of social practice has attracted little attention although its

constitutive role in such social practices, namely in identity construction in general and

of the members of such immigrant communities has been widely accepted. (Baynham

and De Fina, 2005; De Fina, 2003; Edwards, 2009). This study seeks to fill this gap by

combining the investigation of a social issue, which is immigration in this case, with a

detailed linguistic analysis of interview data by second generation immigrants from

Crete. The aim is to analyze identity construction of the second generation immigrants

from Crete to Cunda through discourse analysis looking at the linguistic strategies used

by them and also to reveal the situational, social, historical and contextual processes that

influence and frame their identity formation. There are two main questions I aim to

answer:

1. How is the migration experience represented in the discourse of the descendants of immigrants from Crete? How do they position themselves in relation to the migration?

2. What are the individual and collective identities made relevant in the discourse of the second generation immigrants? What kind of cultural/social conduct or attributes are used to set up membership into communities and what are their defining characteristics?

In order to answer these questions we need analyses at two levels: analyzing language use, discourse, and communication and revealing their relationship with more abstract social practices to see what discourses, ideologies are in action in the construction of identities.

In the analysis of the presentation of the selves in relation to the migration, we will analyze "agency" in terms of the degree of commitment to the initiation and realization of the migration focusing on the choice of grammatical voice. In addition, the use of pronouns will be analyzed in order to reveal if the migration is personalized or depersonalized by the second generation immigrants who did not experience it directly. In order to understand how the migration is represented in our participants' discourse, we will focus on the linguistic referential terms used for the migration.

For the analysis of the construction and negotiation of collective identities, namely establishment membership into groups, social orientation of participants in relation to others and their strategies to build up likenesses and oppositions across

different ethnic or regional groups as well as the direct linguistic references to ethnic identities will be analyzed with a focus on the pronominal choice.

The remainder of chapter one introduces the definition of population exchange and provides the historical circumstances in which the population exchange was grounded. This chapter also describes the data collection procedure with additional information about the participants took part in the study.

Chapter two reviews the theoretical background providing definitions of the basic concepts such as language, discourse and identity and presents approaches to the analysis of identity discussing the pros and cons of these approaches. In addition, in this chapter, the approach applied in this study and the methods to be followed are presented. Moreover, choice of grammatical voice and pronouns in discursive identity construction are discussed with the presentation of the features of these structures in Turkish.

Chapter three analyzes the positionings of our participants in relation to the migration and the representation of the migration experience in our participants' discourse.

Chapter four focuses on the analysis of identity formation in terms of ethnicity. Our participants' "self" positionings in relation to the "other" are discussed and the ethnic identities made relevant are analyzed in relation to hidden ideologies and shared representations framing their positionings.

Chapter five presents the discussion of the results and conclusion.

1.1. Historical Background

Population exchange is the mutual replacement of two groups of people from one region to another by state policy or international authority on the basis of religion or ethnicity. "Massive population exchanges, agreed by governments over the heads of ordinary people" may take place following the collapse of an imperial authority, mostly in the aftermath of war, or when a new nationalist power wants to strengthen its authority (Clark, B. 2006: xii). The inducement of the compulsory population exchange of the nationals of Greece and the Republic of Turkey relates to all the mentioned conjunctures above. Population exchange was regarded as an inevitable consequence of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. It was seen as necessary to reconstruct the inconsistency of territory and nation and it was implemented because it provided an accelerated pace for the formation of the new nation-state (Keyder, 2003: 40). The re/displacement of these populations constitutes a good precedent of "ethnic engineering" for the future population exchanges in many parts of the world by proving the possibility of undertaking such exercises on huge number of people (Clark, B. 2006: xii). Several population exchanges between Nazi Germany and Italy as well as Soviet Russia and the forced movement of Muslims and Hindus, and Sikhs between India and Pakistan after partition might be given as examples of the use of re/displacement as a strategy to solve political or geographical problems or to actualize some kind of ethnic homogeneity.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century period marked by the creation of modern nation states framed the conditions of the compulsory population exchange

initiated by the governments of the Republic of Turkey and Greece with the encouragement of the international powers. (Hirschon, 2003: 3). During the disintegration period of the "multiethnic" Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires great political and demographic changes occurred throughout the territories of these empires. About two million Muslims immigrated to the interior lands of the Ottoman Empire from the territories of Austria, Russia and Greece as the Ottoman Empire lost land. Moreover, between the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and the First World War, 130.000 Greeks emigrated from the Ottoman Empire to Macedonia, Greek Islands, and mainland Greece and a similar number of Muslim Refugees fluxed to Anatolia mostly from Greek occupied territories.

Following the Word War I, the Treaty of Sevres (20 August 1920) had been signed by the Ottoman government, Sultan's representatives. This treaty favored Greece with great territorial gains while disintegrating the Ottoman Empire. Meanwhile, new political forces were arising with nationalist thoughts and these forces were preparing to fight with the aim of founding a modern nation-state under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk). The new Turkish National Movement which gained a strong position in the interior Anatolia as well as in the international political scene rejected the Treaty of Sevres and started to fight the Greek army which landed in İzmir in 1919. With the start of the Turkish War of Independence, hostilities between Turkish nationalists and the Greek Army gained tension and Greeks started to flux to the Greek-occupied zone to the west while some Muslims relocated to the interior Anatolia from the Greek-occupied areas. The Christian population in the region of İzmir was exposed to the retaliation of

the Turkish Army as well as the irregulars resulting in the immense size of exodus of this population.

The mass displacement of peoples during and after the Balkan Wars continued in late 1922, before the Lausanne Convention, over one million of the Christian population arrived in mainland Greece from the villages and the towns surrounding İzmir (Hirschon 1998:36). Finally, a new peace conference was held in Lausanne. One of the outcomes of this conference was the Convention on the Exchange of Populations, which was signed on 30 January 1923. This convention has had many decisive effects on social, economic, political structures and on the new societies formed in both Greece and the Republic of Turkey. According to the convention, Greek Orthodox inhabitants in Turkish territory and Muslim inhabitants in Greek territory were to be exchanged to live in Greece and in Turkey respectively and they were forbidden to return to their fatherlands without the permission of the relevant governments. The official exchange of populations covered about 355,635 Muslims moving from Aegean islands and mainland Greece to Anatolia. However, only 189,916 Greeks were relocated since by the time of the population exchange, over one million Orthodox Greek populations had already left Anatolia (Hirschon, 2003:14[1]; Zurcher, 1998 170:2).

For the exchange of these populations religion was the determining criterion of identity regardless of language or ethno-national identity. Keyder (2003) notes that such an understanding "was based on a religiously defined concept of ethnicity" illustrating that the concept of nation in the minds of the founders of the nation was conceived as

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[1] The official number of people exchanged is not known for certain. These figures are according to official records of Mixed Commission of Population Exchange given in Hirschon, (2003:14).

one constituted of Muslims. Thus, the exchange of populations included all Muslims and Christians such as the Turkish speaking Karamanlı Christian Orthodox and the Greek speaking Cretan Muslims though they wanted to remain out of the exchange (Keyder, 2003:42).

The Muslim population from the mainland Greece or Greek islands was relocated in different regions in the Republic of Turkey. Cunda, which is known as "Moschonisi" in Greek was one of those places that Muslim population from the mainland Greece and Greek islands was replaced in. The town was named "Ali Bey" officially after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey "as part of its nationalistic effort to turkify all Greek place-names" (Koufopoulou, 2003:210). Cunda, which is under the government of the Ayvalık municipality, is situated in Edremit Bay, north of İzmir, in north-western Turkey. Cunda, like many other regions at that time, witnessed very traumatic events before the population exchange. According to Clark (2006), hundreds of civilians including children were taken away and killed with the exception of some children sent to orphanages in Cunda in 1922 (Clark, 2006:25). Clark (2006) He states that these civilians were exposed to reprisal for the killing of a local Muslim judge by some Greek irregulars in the preceding years. Koufopoulou (2003) on the other hand states that Cunda had already been vacated by the Christians who had been either exchanged or had fled beforehand.

Koufopoulou (2003) points out that about 4500 Muslim immigrants were placed in Cunda although most of them left the island in the following years. The first Muslim population arriving in the island was immigrants from the island of Mytilene. Muslim Cretans on the other hand arrived in Cunda in 1924 after the arrival of the

Turkish speaking Muslim immigrants from Mytilene Island (Koufopoulou, 2003:211212). Directly relevant to our study are the following Cretan speaking Muslim immigrants from the Crete Island. This population spoke "Kritiki" (Cretan dialect of Greek) and did not speak any Turkish when they arrived.

1.2. Data Collection and Participants

1.2.1. Data

The data used in this study come from interviews with ten second generation Cretan immigrants living in the Turkish island Cunda. The data of our study is composed of the transcriptions of 13 hours of audio recordings. The interviews were transcribed in their entirety in a slightly modified orthography reflecting the nature of conversational language. The data was collected in September 2009, in Cunda for a larger project on language contact phenomenon[2] that included the interaction between the Cretan spoken in Cunda and Turkish.

The interviews were conducted by one of the principal investigators and myself. For data collection, we used semi-structured interviews asking questions that were typically general prompts to get the participants speak about the migration, cultural background and language. Some of the interviews were group interviews while some were done on an individual basis. There were two researchers present in all sessions but

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[2] Preservation of linguistic heritage: Asia Minor (Anadolu) Greek and its interaction with Turkish. (Principal investigators A. Ralli (University of Patras, Greece) and A. Göksel (Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.)

one. The participants already knew one the interviewers who had already taken part in

the interviews in Cretan six months prior to the interviews in Turkish. The interviews

took place either at the homes of the participants or in the office of the NGO called

Cunda'yı Güzelleştirme Derneği (Association of Embellishment of Cunda).

1.2.2. Participants

The names of our participants are Ahmet, Ayşe, Filiz, Gülsima, Yakup, Hakan, Zehra,

Tarık, Kemale and Feride (pseudonyms for reasons of confidentiality). Two of the

participants were born in Crete and came to Cunda when they were very young; one was

one and half years old and the other was five years old. The rest of the participants were

all born in Cunda. In this study, we prefer to refer to all the participants as second

generation although two of them were born in Crete because they migrated when they

very young.[3] The distribution of age among our participants ranges from 45 to 91. Four

of the participants are female and seven are male. (See Table 1 and Table 2 for the

distribution of the participants by age and sex.)

Most of our participants are bilingual speakers of Turkish and Cretan. Some of

the third generation immigrants state that they understand Cretan but cannot speak the

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[3] The term "First generation immigrant" is ambiguous referring to the people who experience migration or to the people whose parents have migrated. Depending on the understanding of the term "First generation immigrant", "second generation immigrant" may refer to the first generation born in the new country, or the first generation born to parents who were themselves born in the new country. For instance, Cooper et al., (2009) refer to first generation immigrants as the people who experience migration and second generation as the children of the immigrants who are born in the settlement place. On the other hand Lomsky and Rapoport, (2001) refer to first generation as the descendants of the people whose parents migrated.

language. Since the island is quite small, most of the participants knew each other.

Furthermore, among the participants there were relatives and close friends.

Table 1 Distribution of Participants by Age

Age	40-50	60-70	70-80	80-
Number	1	2	4	3

Table 2 Distribution of Participants by Sex

Sex	Male	Female
Number	4	6

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter we will present the basic concepts such as language, discourse and

identity focusing on their relation to each other and to the society reviewing various

approaches to these concepts. We will also discuss different approaches to identity such

as *conversation analysis*, *membership categorization analysis, narrative analysis,*

positioning theory and *critical discourse analysis.* Then, we will discuss the status of the

choice of grammatical voice (active-passive and causative voice) and pronominal choice

in the analysis of identity in discourse analysis. The features of these grammatical

structures in Turkish will also be the focus in this chapter.

2.1. Language, Discourse and Identity

The basic assumption of this study is that language has a central role in the construction

of both personal and group identities. Many social theorists such as Bourdieu, Derrida,

Gramsci, Foucault, Giddens, and Habermas have drawn attention to the significant role

of language in society and especially to its prominent role in people's making sense of

their being (Flowerdew, 2008). Language is expressed in discourse practices, which

create, recreate and constantly frame the social relationships and the socio-cultural

constructs that people use to make sense of their existence (Foucault, 1975). Joseph

(2004) also states that language and identity are ultimately inseparable, and thus

language use should be focused on in the analysis of identity construction in order to understand the historical, political, social and cultural structures that frame discourses.

Hence, in the studies of events like migration which has long lasting social ramifications and of the identity formation of the people undergoing it, language as "the commonest form of social behavior" is of utmost importance in two-way having a pivotal role also on "the production, maintenance and change of social relations" as well as on building knowledge (Fairclough, 2001).

Studies of language concerning with wider issues and with how language, meaning, and society interrelate rather than only descriptions of the grammar at the level of sentences are associated with discourse analysis. There are several perspectives on - approaches to- discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis has been described as a "cross-discipline" which research in fields as diverse as sociology, anthropology, linguistics, psychology, literature, and other disciplines, has contributed to. Given its cross-disciplinary nature, it is no surprise that the definitions of the terms "discourse" and "discourse analysis" and approaches to discourse analysis reflect a range of variation depending on the field and/or particular visions within a field. Jaworski and Coupland (1999:1-3) give ten definitions of discourse from a variety of perspectives. Although these definitions cover differences with a considerable range, there are some main concerns among them: Discourse is (1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language in use, and (3) a broader range of social practice including nonlinguistic instances of language as well. The meaning of the term "discourse" in my study relates to all the core concerns above but not solely to the "language in use" view of discourse. As stated by Jaworski and Coupland (1999:3), discourse is more than "language in use" by nature of being in connection with social,

political, cultural, and historical formations. Language reflects social order as well as shaping social order and the individual's interaction with society.

Another issue relates to the relationship between discourse and the social. (Fairclough, 1992; 2001) describes a dialectical relationship between discourse and the social. Discourse and society are mutually constitutive being in a dialogical relationship with each other (Fairclough, 2001). Discourses pervade society and influence people's perception as well as being recreated and reproduced in this process. In other words, discourse is both socially constitutive and socially constructed and produces "situations", "objects of knowledge", relationships between people and groups of people who reproduce and shape discourses in turn (Wodak and Fairclough, 1997; 2010). In addition, discourses are context reflecting since they depict reality in addition to reproducing reality by constructing parameters and conceptual frameworks according to which people judge and perceive other people, their actions and their own experiences (Fairclough 1992; van Dijk 1997).

It is no surprise that the different perspectives on "discourse" and "discourse analysis" have their reflections on the studies of identity as well. The discursive methods for analyzing identity are at two opposite extremes: These are the micro-level approach and the macro-level approach to identity. The micro-level approaches that have the greatest impact on the studies of identity are *conversation analysis* and *membership categorization analysis*. *Narrative analysis, positioning theory* and *critical discourse analysis* are grouped together since they link micro-level analysis of identity to macro-level layer of analysis.

Before introducing these approaches, another dualism in the theorization of the term "identity" should be discussed. These theories are grouped as the "essentialist" and

"constructionist" views which belong to two different paradigms in the development of theories of identity. The essence of the word "identity", whose stem is the Latin *idem*, is similarity or sameness (Edwards, 2009:19). According to Benwell and Stokoe, (2006), the word identity first appears as "identitie" in 1570, referring to "the quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature, properties, or in particular qualities under consideration; absolute or essential sameness; oneness" (OED 2002 in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:18). No surprise, then that the essentialist view of identity as stable, unified, and as an expression of something innate follows from the word's etymology.

Essentialist theories situate identity as something in persons; "as a product of minds, cognition, the psyche, or socialization processes". Within this approach, identity is a given category which is "absolute and knowable" "project of the self".

Constructionist theories challenge and also confirm the essentialist approach to identity by taking identity as socially constituted, fluid, fragmentary but also retaining the notion of pre-discursive understanding of identity. (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:21). In other words, although this view emphasizes the social aspects of identity, since they also underline people's orientation to consistency, and also since they emphasize that identity might be people's being "subject" to or taking up pre-discursive positions, they still support the view of identity as stable and fixed. Thus, for constructionist approaches, identity is "whatever people agree it to be" and their positioning in relation to particular events or others in a particular historical and cultural context. (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:9)

The post-structuralist theories strictly reject the "internal" view of identity and emphasize that identity is discursively constructed. (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:29) state

that there may be two ways of approaching to a discursive view of identity. Identity might be viewed as a discursive performance, construction of identity in interaction, or it might be viewed as a historical set of structures with regulatory power on identity. Despite these different perspectives of identity among the post-structuralist views, discourse based approaches all underpin the central role of language and interaction and view identity as constructed in talk and also as a dynamic, fluid and shifting process which can reproduce and destabilize discursive order. (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:34)

2.2. Approaches to the Analysis of Identity

Coming back to the micro and macro debate in discursive methods for analyzing identity, it must be noted that it is impossible to give a comprehensible view of the theoretical work in all the fields concerned with discourse and identity. However, I shall concentrate on some of the approaches which have had great impact on studies on discourse and identity.

Conversation analysis which was developed by the work of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson investigates the production and interpretation of everyday conversation focusing on the turn-by-turn organization and/sequence of interaction and treats identity as context bound, indexical "accomplishments of social actors" (Fairclough, 2001[1989]:9). Scholars in the conversation analysis emphasize that identity is locally occasioned in talk-in-interaction and look for indexical categories of identity membership that are made relevant in a particular context. Resisting to the analysis of all sorts of "pre- or post"- theorizing about the political, historical or macro- cultural implications of any interaction, they refrain from making connections between the local/

micro level analysis and the macro structures or wider systems of social institutions, societies and cultural meaning making. (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:35-38)

Another method for analyzing identity is *membership categorization analysis* proponents of which are Antaki and Widdicombe (1998b) and Hester and Englin (1997). They developed Sack's (1974, 1995) ideas on categorization focusing on it as a central discourse process in constructing and negotiating identity. They treat categorization as reflecting the ways in which members of a culture put their experience into categories with associated features. They analyze how these categories are created, managed, produced and made relevant in discourse stressing on the centrality of the local occasioning of identity categories. In other words, they look at identity categories emerging in interaction circumstances with no existence outside the local interactional context. While *conversation analysis* focuses on turn-by-turn sequences and organization of talk in the analysis of identity, membership categorization analysis focuses also on "the situated and reflexive use of categories in everyday and institutional interaction, as well as interview, media and other textual data" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:38-39)

Most of the scholars working on identity agree on the ideas proposed both by *conversation analysis* and *membership categorization analysis* which are grouped under the view of identity as *social constructionism* since they recognize that identity is built and negotiated in discourse. However, both of these approaches are criticized for disregarding the wider systems of social, historical, cultural meaning making and hence, not linking the occurrence of local identities to shared ideologies and beliefs, and/or power relations which are believed to have impact on identity construction (Fairclough, 2001[1989]; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; De Fina *et al* 2006).

Narrative analysis approach which combines micro- and macro- level analysis by linking the immediate context of storytelling and structural analysis of narratives as, i.e. beginnings, ends with wider "master narratives, cultural story lines" and/or shared ideologies and beliefs in the analysis of identity has its roots in diverse fields such as sociolinguistics, psychology, and anthropology (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 43). Although each of these fields develops different theories of narrative analysis, the core argument that they all agree on is that people make sense of their lives, the events they experience and of their belonging or opposition to groups by telling or negotiating stories (De Fina, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2002). Narrative analysts study on the forms of stories people situate themselves within, the identities people perform or claim in stories and on the grounds of the stories being told in particular ways or in particular orders. Starting from Labov's (1972) model numerous narrative analysts focused on the components of a narrative which Labov describes as an *abstract, orientation, a complicating action, an evaluation, a result, and a coda* and (Ochs and Capps, 2001:173), as the *setting*, an *unexpected event*, a *psychological/physical response*, an *unplanned action*, an *attempt* or *object/state change*, and a *consequence*.

Narrative analysis approach to identity is mostly criticized regarding the problem with "what constitutes a tellable story". Many narratives do not fit the pre-determined idealized categories or schemes suggested, and thus make narrative analysis lose its explanatory power (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 2; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:134).

Another method that combines the micro- and macro level of analysis of identity is *critical discourse analysis.* Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary political approach which aims to reveal the ideological functions of language, societal

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power asymmetries, and hierarchies and also to identify the "discourses" that operate "interdiscursively" to maintain these power asymmetries (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Proponents of critical discourse analysis treat language as one of the semiotic practices that mediates, influences, and constructs people's experiences and identities. Identity within critical discourse analysis is viewed as constituted in the grammar of language at two levels: Representation level relates to the relationship between the selves and the social events. The "expressive" level on the other hand is the dimension revealing the attitudes of the selves, their positioning and the hidden ideologies. In other words, identity is treated as an expression of an ideological position though it is constructed at the local discursive layer. In terms of methodology, both micro-level analysis of the language of the texts and the social and cultural contexts in which they emerge are concerns of critical discourse analysts. Linking these layers of analysis by revealing the hidden ideologies and its relation to historical and political events is of great importance because they are produced and imposed upon people through dominant discourse and ideologies (Fairclough, 2001).

Critical discourse analysis is mostly criticized for being a "top down" approach and analyzing identity in a political and cultural frame and also for bringing pre-determined and thus taken-for-granted categories such as gender to the analysis (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:45).

The criticisms to the above approaches to the analysis of identity are valid for my study as well. The analysis and interpretation of the identity construction of immigrants necessitates not only an analysis of the identity claims at the level of sentences or the immediate context of interaction but also its linkage to wider systems of social circumstances or societies because the phenomenon of identity formation in the

discourse of descendants of people who were relocated via population exchange has complex relationships mediated through wider discursive, social practices and historical set of structures which have decisive power on identity. These relationships may not necessarily be apparent in the local level of interaction. For instance, the second generation immigrants' use of ethnic labels for themselves or others, or their use of the first person plural pronoun when they talk about the migration event may not reveal any significance at the micro-level context. However, the analysis of these positionings linking the micro- level observations to macro- level contexts and paying attention to the social, cultural and historical contexts that frame them would reveal how these positionings emerge, what ideologies as well as what power relations have been at the scene and more specifically what processes the immigrants go through and how these processes are framed.

Hence, the approaches that focus only on the local level of analysis will not be explanatory for the study of the descendants of the immigrants from Crete in terms of identity formation. *Narrative analysis* approach will not be followed either since the text or the interview data collected for our study do not fit the story schemas described within this approach. Furthermore, *critical discourse analysis* approach will not be taken as the main method since the analysts within critical discourse analysis approach the "text" from a political stance with *a priori* identity categories though frequent references to this approach will be necessary. The method I will follow to analyze the discourse in this work will be a synthesis of the mentioned approaches paying due attention to both layers of analysis and constructing linkages between these levels and also referring to the situated historical contexts.

In the micro-level analysis, I shall pay attention to quite a range of linguistic features such as semantics, vocabulary and grammar. Some grammatical structures such as the choice of grammatical voice and pronouns will be given prominence since these linguistic structures carry more expressive value in revealing the degree of agency attributed to the "self" and the "other" positionings in relation to events or to other people in discourse.

I shall follow three stages of discourse analysis; description of the text, interpretation of the text, and explanation of the relationship between the text and wider social and historical contexts.

We shall use the term *discourse* referring to "the actual talk" as well as to refer to "a convention, a type of discourse"; i.e. the discourse of immigrants (Fairclough, 2001[1989]:24). The term *identity,* both individual and collective refers to the positionings of the participants in relation to particular events, or to "others" as well as setting membership to particular groups.

2.3. Choice of Grammatical Voice in Discourse Analysis

The analysis of the choice of "grammatical voice" revealing the degree of commitment of a person in an action is significant in our study in order to understand our participants' "self" and "other" positioning in relation to the migration. The manipulation of apparent agency by use of passive voice has been noted by many scholars in studies about dominating and dominated groups within discourse analysis.

In Sykes (1988), a report of social welfare administrators is analyzed. It is revealed that the use of passive voice with agent deletion in this report positions the welfare dependency of young African Britons as their personal characteristic rather than a result of racism observed in White controlled economy.

Trew (1979) reveals that passive voice is used to hide the agency of dominant groups in their negative actions in news media. In a report of police violence in Rhodesia, the agent of the verb *killing* was backgrounded with the use of passive structure as "Rioting Blacks Shot Dead by Police as ANC Leaders Meet" instead of an active voice structure as "Police Shot 11 Dead in Salisbury".

Van Dijk (1988) analyzes the representation of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands in newspaper headlines. The results show that only in 7% of the stories the minorities are presented as agents and in these they presented to be the agents of negative actions. They are mostly represented as the objects, experiencers, or victims of actions of other people.

Finally, Henley, Miller, and Beazley (1995) analyze the representation of rapists and victims of rape in news stories. They found that passive voice use for rape and murder was greater than the use of active voice. They also reveal that males attributed less victim harm or doer responsibility for rape to the perpetrators with the use of passive voice than with active voice. Moreover, rape is accepted more by both females and males with the use of passive voice. They further state that the choice of passive voice may not always be conscious. Rather, the combination of cultural and linguistic knowledge of passive voice and construction can be sufficient for speakers to

adopt passive voice. Johnstone (2008) also points out that when the speakers make grammatical choices to form their utterances, these structural choices relate to the participants' "self" and "other" positioning in relation to an event, action, or a situation. Hence, the speakers choice conscious or unconscious give us clues about self and other presentation in relation to the agent or doer of a given action or about the degree of commitment to a particular event or action.

Considering the use of passive voice obscuring the agency and responsibility of dominating groups with respect to their negative actions, the analysis of the use of passive voice in immmigrant accounts might provide us with the understanding of the representation of the migration as well as the degree of agency attributed to the initiators of the population exchange or to the immigrants themselves.

Most verbs are associated with one, two or three entities as part of their lexical entries defining the relation between the individuals being talked about and the real world. These entities participating in the relation are called arguments. Argument structure (valency) of verbs refers to the number of arguments a particular verb requires. The verbs requiring only one argument, the subject, have valency of 1. These verbs are also called *intransitive* verbs such as *sit, go, run.* The verbs taking two obligatory arguments have valency of 2. Another name for these verbs is transitives such as *love, hit, kill* (Carnie, 2002:49). The knowledge of the meaning of the verbs includes not only how many arguments a verb has but also the knowledge of the semantic roles that the arguments play with respect to the verb (Haspelmath, 2002:209). For example, a verb that means *break* has an agent and a patient semantic role which are mapped onto the two arguments of the verb *break.* The semantic term *agent* expresses the initiator or doer

of an action denoted by the verb while the *theme* expresses the entities that undergo

actions, are moved, experienced or perceived. In the following sentence Ali is the agent

of the action *breaking* and it is associated with the subject of the sentence. The *window*,

on the other hand is the theme being associated with the object of the sentence.


```
        SUBJ    --    OBJ
          ↓            ↓
        agent        theme
(1)     Ali    broke the window.
```
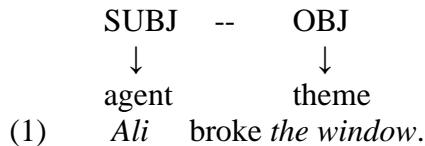

In the above sentence the *agent* is associated with the subject of the sentence. However,

there are various ways in which morphology may change the expression of arguments in

verbs, the linking of semantic roles to arguments functioning as subjects or objects. The

two of these "function changing operations (or voice)" concerning our study are passives

and causatives (Haspelmath, 2002:209).

2.3.1. Agent Backgrounding: Passive Voice

The passive voice is an operation where the agent of an action is backgrounded or

suppressed in that it is no longer mapped onto the subject of the sentence and expressed

in an optional constituent in a passive sentence. The theme which is associated with the

object of the sentence is expressed by the subject of the sentence (Haspelmath,

2002:212). The passive voice is mostly used "to portray the agents of an action as

unknown ("I've been robbed"), obvious ("The suspect was arrested"), or unknown

("Several experiments were conducted")" in addition to hiding "an agent who is known,

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or downplay the fact that an agent was involved". Speakers make choice between

passive and active voice to represent events and actions which is related to how semantic

roles are mapped onto grammatical structures (Johnstone, 2008:55). Example (2a) below

shows the mapping of the agent and theme semantic roles onto the subject and object

arguments of the verb *break*. Example (2b), on the other hand, illustrates the passive

structure where the agent of the verb *break* is backgrounded.

		Agent		Theme
(2)	a.	*Ali*	broke	*the window.*
		SUBJ		OBJ

	Theme	Agent
b.	*The window* was broken	*(by Ali).*
	SUBJ	

As seen in the example (2b), the function structure of the verb *break* as well as the

association of the semantic roles with the arguments change. The agent is no more

expressed in the subject of the sentence: instead, it is expressed in the optional

constituent of the sentence.

2.3.1.1 Passive Constructions in Turkish

In Turkish the passive is marked via the suffixes *-Il and (I)n*: 1) *-n* is attached to the

active stems ending in a vowel; 2) *-In* is attached to stems ending with the consonant "l";

3) and *-Il* is attached to stems ending with all consonants except "l" (Van Schaaik,

1999:8-9). The passive suffixes can attach both to the verbs having valency of 1

(intransitives) and the verbs having valency of 2 (transitives). The uses of these suffixes

with the transitive verbs are exemplified in examples (3-5) below:

(3)　a.　Polis　hırsız-ı　　　ar-ıyor.
　　　　　Police　thief-ACC　　search-PRES
　　　　　SUBJ　OBJ

　　　b.　Hırsız　　　　(polis tarafından)　　ara-n-ıyor.
　　　　　The thief　　police by　　　　　search-PASS-PRES
　　　　　SUBJ　　　　OBL.OBJ

(4)　a.　Polis　　　hırsız- ı　　　　　bul-du.
　　　　　The police　the thief-ACC　　find-PAST
　　　　　SUBJ　　　OBJ

　　　b.　Hırsız　　　　(polis tarafından)　bul-un-du.
　　　　　The thief　　police by　　　　find-PASS-PAST
　　　　　SUBJ　　　　OBL. OBJ

(5)　a.　Polis　　　hırsızı　　　　al-dı.
　　　　　The police　the thief-ACC　　take-PAST
　　　　　SUBJ　　　OBJ

　　　b.　Hırsız　　　　(polis tarafından)　al-ın-dı.
　　　　　The thief　　police by　　　　take-PASS-PAST
　　　　　SUBJ　　　　OBL. OBJ

In all the (a) examples above the agent semantic role is linked to the subject function and

the theme role is linked to the object function. In (b) examples, on the other hand, the

agent role is linked to the oblique object function which is optional, as indicated by the parentheses and the theme role is linked to the subject function.

In Turkish, passivization of transitive verbs is usually done in order to topicalize the direct object and to suppress the agent, the doer of the action expressed by the verb with a process of making the direct object of the verb the subject of the passive one (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:134). Note that Turkish allows for the passivization of both transitive and intransitive verbs. The attachment of passive suffixes *-Il and (I)n* to intransitive verb stems produces the impersonal passive constructions as exemplified in (6) below:

(6)   İstanbul-a   sadece   otobüs-le   gid-il-ir.
         İstanbul-DAT   only   bus-INST   go-PASS-AOR
         'It is only by bus that [people] go to Istanbul.'

In impersonal passive constructions, there is no particular doer or perpetrator of the action denoted by the verb. Therefore, such constructions cannot have agent phrases. The addition of agent phrase to these structures leads to ungrammaticality as illustrated in (7) (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:136; Van Schaaik, 1999:10-11).

(7)   * İstanbul-a   insanlar tarafından sadece otobüs-le   gid-il-ir.
         Istanbul-DAT people   by   only   bus-INST   go-PASS-AOR

One of the uses of the impersonal passive structure relevant for our study is its occurrence with the aorist marker *–Ar* to express a general property of a particular entity

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:136). In the example below, the mass in Ayşe's house is

presented as a general property with the use of the passive suffix with the negative aorist

marker –*mAz*.

(8)   Ayşe-nin   ev-i   çok pis. Ora-ya   gid-il-mez.
        Ayşe-GEN   house-3SG.POSS very dirty. There-DAT   go-PASS-NEG.AOR
        'Ayşe's house is in mass. [No one] should go there.'

2.3.2. Agent Adding: Causative Structures

We have seen that the passive voice operation changes the linking of semantic roles to

syntactic functions backgrounding or omitting one of the participants, the agent.

Causative constructions, on the other hand cause a change in the argument structure of

the verbs. "When a new participant is added to a verb, the event structure must be

enriched as well" (Haspelmath, 2002: 215). Example (9a) below illustrates a

noncausative construction of an intransitive verb and example (9b) presents the

corresponding causative construction.

                SUBJ
                 ↓
                agent
(9)   a.   Ali   koş-tu.
            Ali   run-PAST
            'Ali ran.'

```
        SUBJ        OBJ
         ↓           ↓
        causer      agent
   b.   Ayşe        Ali-yi          koş-tur-du.
        Ayşe        Ali-ACC         run-CAUS-PAST
        'Ayşe made Ali run.'
```

As seen in example (9b), the agent of the intransitive verb which is linked to the subject

function in non-causative form becomes the object of the causative construction. The

new participant with the causer role is added to the argument structure of the verb *run*

and it is expressed in the subject position of the causative construction. The following

examples illustrate the causativization of a transitive verb.

```
        SUBJ        OBJ
         ↓           ↓
        agent       theme
(10) a. Ali         kek             yap-tı.
        Ali         cake            make-PAST
        'Ali made a cake.'
```

```
        SUBJ        OBL. OBJ    D.OBJ
         ↓           ↓
        causer      agent       theme
   b.   Ayşe        Ali-ye      kek          yap-tır-dı.
        Ayşe        Ali-DAT     cake         make-CAUS-PAST
        'Ayşe made Ali make a cake.'
```

Similar to the causativization of the intransitive verbs, a new element with the causer

role is added and it is linked to the subject function of the causative construction.

However, the agent role which is linked to the subject of the non-causative form is

mapped onto the indirect object of the causative form.

2.3.2.1. Causatives in Turkish

In Turkish, the morphological causative construction is formed by the addition of the

suffixes *-DIr, -t, -It, -Ir, -Ar, -Art* on the verb stem depending on the syllable structure or

the feature of the final sound in the stem. The *-It, -Ir, Ar* or *–Art* suffixes attach to

monosyllabic stems, most of which are intransitives. The *–t* suffix attaches to

polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel, or the consonants 'l' or 'r'. Finally, the *–DIr*

suffix is used to mark causative elsewhere (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:71). The

following sentences provide examples for the uses of these suffixes to mark causative

construction in Turkish.

(11)   *-Ir* is used with some monosyllabic stems.

     a.   Bebek   düş-tü.
              The baby   fall-PAST
              'The baby fell.'

     b.   Anne   bebeğ-i   düş-ür-dü.
              The mother   the baby   fall-CAUS-PAST
              'The mother made the baby fall.'

(12)   *-t* is used with polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel or I or r:

     a.   Ali   bekle-di.
              Ali   wait-PAST
              'Ali waited.'

    b.   Ayşe   Ali-yi   bekle-t-ti.
           Ayşe   Ali-ACC   wait-CAUS-PAST
           'Ayşe made Ali wait.'

(13)   *-It* is used after a few monosyllabic stems, mostly ending in k.

    a.   Ali   kork-tu.
           Ali   get scared-PAST
           'Ali got scared.'

    b.   Ayşe   Ali-yi   kork-ut-tu.
           Ayşe   Ali-ACC   get scared-CAUS-PAST
           'Ayşe made Ali get scared.'

(14)   *-Ar or –Art* is used with some monosyllabic words.

    a.   Diken   çık-tı.
           The thorn   go out-PAST
           'The thorn went out.'

    b.   Ayşe   diken-i   çık-ar-dı.
           Ayşe   the thorn-ACC   go out-CAUS-PAST
           'Ayşe removed the thorn.'

    c.   Ayşe   diken-i   çık-art-tı.
           Ayşe   the thorn-ACC   go out-CAUS-PAST
           'Ayşe removed the thorn.'

(15)   *-Dır* is used elsewhere.

    a.   Ali   öl-dü.
           Ali   die-PAST
           'Ali died.'

b.   Ayşe   Ali-yi   öl-dür-dü.
          Ayşe   Ali-ACC   die-CAUS-PAST
          'Ayşe killed Ali.'

As the above examples illustrate, when an intransitive verb is made causative, the

subject of the simple verb becomes the object and the new element with the causer

semantic role becomes the subject of the causative construction. However, when a

transitive verb is made causative, the object of the basic verb remains in the accusative,

while the object of the causative element of the verb has dative as illustrated in (16)

below.

(16)   a.   Ali   ev-in   duvar-lar-ın-ı   boya-dı.
             Ali   the house-GEN   wall-PL-3SG.POSS-ACC   paint-PAST
             'Ali painted the walls of the house.'

       b.   Ayşe Ali-ye   ev-in   duvar-lar-ı-nı   boya-t-tı.
             Ayşe Ali-DAT   the house-GEN   wall-PL-3SG.POSS   paint-CAUS-PAST
             'Ayşe made Ali paint the walls of the house.'

2.4. Pronominal Choice in Discourse Analysis

Pronouns are indexical linguistic devices "that are used when referring to persons, things

or states of affairs that have previously been mentioned, whose referents are obvious

from the context or whose content is only partially specified (...)" (Göksel and

Kersklake,2005:230). Both linguists and anthropologists recognize the significance of

pronouns in indexing language to specific contexts and in expressing speakers' self and

other positioning in relation to particular events, topics of talk, and "others" (De Fina et. all, 2006:4).

The analysis of the use of pronouns in discourse analysis especially in studies on identity formation has taken a prominent attention since pronouns are "indexical elements par excellence pointing to concrete individuals in a specific context" and hence, "establish a relationship between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic world". Analyses of pronouns are central to connecting language and contexts since the referents of the pronouns can only be interpreted in relation the immediate and social context of interaction (De Fina, 2003:52).

However, the function of pronouns in discourse analysis is not limited to anchoring the language to the immediate situation of utterance establishing the link between the utterance and the context. Speakers may also express hidden social meanings regarding their social identities and their positioning in relation to particular events and other people or to groups of people by switching pronouns and thus, shifting their alignments and positions in the context of interaction. In other words, pronouns are powerful discursive tools for the analysis of identity formation because they both anchor the referents in the immediate context of utterance but also convey involvement, distancing as well as degree of responsibility of the people in relation to particular events or other people (De Fina, 2003:51-54). Speakers represent the relationship of the "self" to the "others" through markers of person like the pronouns such as "I", "you" and "she". This shapes the experience of the selves and of their perspectives on the world as being different from others' perspectives and captures the ways in which personal identities are constructed by identification with others as well as in contrast to others (Johnstone, 2008:156).

The social world is occupied by people such as "you" and "I" who are situated in a place and time and the references such as "I", "you" and "we" clearly have role in embedding the self and the other within both a textual and an interactional world (Schiffrin, 2006 :104). The choice of pronouns is then one of the ways to claim and express alignment and solidarity with others since humans live and interact in social groups (Johnstone, 2008:159).

The role of pronouns as systematic encoders of self and other positioning has been pointed out by many researchers. Silverstein (1976), for example, focuses on the relationship between the use of pronouns as indexical linguistic devices and identity pointing the continuous link between these linguistic elements and speaker positioning.

Brown and Gilman (1960), similarly, reveal a close relationship between the use of a pronoun and social meaning. Choices of words index that a person orients to one group or another. The use of formal and informal second person pronouns representing "power" and "solidarity" indexes the lesser or greater social equality between the interactants. In a more recent study, De Fina (2000) analyzes the choice and negotiation of collective and individual pronouns to reveal the self and other representation of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the U.S. with respect to personalization or depersonalization of the migration told by the immigrants.

Studies on pronouns in Turkish also show that the choice of pronouns gives information about one's attitudes of involvement or distance with respect to the "self" and the "other". Balpınar (1996) analyzes the uses of the second person pronouns *sen* and *siz* in Turkish and argues that pronouns display social attitudes, emotional expressiveness and social preferences in Turkish (Balpınar, 1996: 288). For example,

membership within a community triggers the use of *sen*. The factors affecting the choice

of one of these pronouns are found out to be age, sex of the speaker, sex of the

addressed, kinship status, group membership, relative position of authority (rank) and

emotional solidarity. Hatipoğlu (2008) conducts a study on the social meanings of the

second person singular pronoun *sen* in Turkish and shows that the 'solidarity *sen*' has

six different social meanings which are 'distance', 'closeness', 'blood relations', 'age',

'frequency and length of contact' and conversableness'. Speakers addressing their

listeners with *sen* want to convey to their interlocutors that they are important to the

speaker, they are the 'nearest and dearest', or that they are 'imported' members of the

family.

Given the use of pronouns as ambiguous tools which gain their meaning within

a particular context and which are used to point to the roles of speakers as well as to

constitute their positions in relation to each other, to objects and events, we consider the

analysis of the choice of pronouns useful for our study to understand our participants'

positioning with respect to the migration as well as to their membership construction

into particular groups.

The personal pronouns in Turkish are as listed in the table below:

Table 3 Personal Pronouns in Turkish

Personal Pronouns	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular	Ben	Sen (Familiar) Siz (Formal)	O
Plural	Biz	Siz	Onlar

As seen in the table 3 above in Turkish, *ben* refers to the first person singular, *sen* refers to the second person singular, *o* refers to the third person singular, *biz* refers to the first person plural, *siz* refers to the second person plural or to singular in formal contexts, and finally *onlar* refers to the third person plural. As mentioned before pronouns are used to refer to persons, things or states. Personal pronouns are specifically used to index the persons to the immediate context of interaction. They gain their reference from the immediate context. In line with this observation, some of the personal pronouns in Turkish might refer to different social meanings other than their unmarked reference.

For example, *biz* which is mostly associated with the first person plural might also refer to the first person singular in a context where the speaker modestly expresses his/her humble status (Lewis, 1967:243; Göksel and Kersklake, 2005:230). In addition to this usage, *biz* (we) might also be used colloquially referring to the first person

singular mostly by male speakers expressing the speaker's boasting of something which will be relevant to the analysis of identity claims in the thesis. This use of *biz* (we) has not been pointed out in the literature on Turkish language. However, we have asked ten native speakers of Turkish and their judgements are consistent with the proposition given in this study. The following two examples illustrate the use of *biz* (we) referring to the first person singular and expressing boast.

(17)   Biz ikinci el araba almayız.
        'We do not buy second-hand cars.'

The sentence above might be uttered in a context in which the speaker wants to express his real condition in contrast to what the interlocutor thinks about him giving the impression that he is boasting of this condition. The speaker here wants to inform the listener that he would never buy second-hand car because he can afford to buy a new car. Similarly, example (18) below portrays the context where a woman wants to pay the bill and a man does not allow her to pay.

(18)   Kızım bizi ne sandın sen?
        'Who do you take me for?'

In the utterance above, the speaker wants to state that while he could afford to pay the bill, he would not allow the woman to do so. This utterance also gives the impression that the speaker is boastful of himself.

Similar to the first person plural pronoun *biz* (we), second person plural pronoun s*iz* might also have different social meanings associated with it. *Siz* (you.pl), in addition to its second person plural reference, might also refer to the second person singular in a context where speakers address each other on formal terms or when addressing a person considered to have a higher rank, or position marking respect (Göksel and Kersklake, 2005:231).

Both *biz* (we) and *siz* (you.pl) may take the plural suffix *–lAr* in the colloquial when referring to more than one person (Lewis, 1967:65). Göksel and Kersklake (2005) also state that this use of *siz* and *biz* "has only marginally different effect" and present the contexts in which *sen* and *siz* take the plural suffix. *Biz-ler* and *siz-ler* are used when the speaker wants to "individuate the members of a group", when s/he wants to refer to "multiple groups of persons". Finally when the speaker uses the formal *siz*, s/he uses *siz-ler to* show that s/he is "referring to a group that that person belongs to (e.g. his/her family or friends, etc.), and not to that person alone" (Göksel and Kersklake, 2005:231).

<u>2.4.2. Genitive-Possessive Structure in Turkish</u>

For the purposes of our study, the presentation of the genitive- possessive constructions in Turkish is also important since we want to analyze the de/personalization of the migration and our participants' positioning in relation to the hometown and the settlement place.

In Turkish, possession is expressed by "the genitive-possessive construction" composed of two noun phrases (Göksel and Kersklake, 2005). The first noun is marked with the genitive case *-(n)In-/Im* and functions as a modifier indicating the possessor.

The pronouns in Turkish like other nouns can be inflected for the genitive case. The

form of the genitive suffix is *-(n)In/* for all the persons except for the first person. The

form of the genitive suffix for first person is *–Im.* The second noun in the genitive-

possessive construction is marked with the possessive suffix and expresses the entity

that is possessed. The possessive suffix on the second noun has to agree with the

possessor in terms of grammatical person. Table 4 presents the genitive-possessive

construction with the first nouns in the form of personal pronouns which are inflected

with genitive case and the second noun is marked with the possessive suffix agreeing

with the possessor.

Table 4 Genitive-Possessive Constructions in Turkish

Possessive Pronouns	Singular		Plural	
1st Person	ben-im kedi-m ben-im ev-im	(my cat) (my house)	biz-im kedi-miz biz-im ev-imiz	(our cat) (our house)
2nd Person	sen-in kedi-n sen-in ev-in	(your cat) (your house)	siz-in kedi-niz siz-in ev-iniz	(your cat) (your house)
3rd Person	o-nun kedi-si o-nun ev-i	(his/her cat) (his/her house)	onlar-ın kedi-si/kedi-ler-i onlar-ın ev-i/ev-ler-i	(their cat) (their house)

The agreement between the genitive marked possessor and the possessive markers on

the second noun phrase in a genitive-possessive construction allows for the omission of

the first noun phrase indicating the possessor in Turkish. When the agreeing possessive

marker is present in the construction genitive-marked pronouns as modifiers of possessive noun phrases are mostly omitted since the necessary information about the grammatical person is already available on the head of the construction. The omission of the genitive marked pronoun is exemplified in (19) below:

(19)   (Ben-im) Kalem-im   düştü.
        I-GEN   pen-1SG.POSS   fall-PAST
        'My pen dropped.'

However, there are contexts in which the use of the genitive-marked pronoun "reinforcing the possessive marker" is necessary (Lewis, 1967:66). One of these contexts is when there is ambiguity resulting from some combinations of the possessive suffixes with the plural marker –*lAr* or case suffixes starting with a vowel. (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:152). For example, the sentence *Kalemini kırdım* is ambiguous between two readings making it necessary to use the genitive marked pronoun as illustrated in (20).

(20)   a.   Kalem-in-i   kır-dı-m.
              Pen-2Sg.POSS-ACC   break-PAST-1Sg
              'I broke your pen.'

        b.   Kalem-i-ni   kır-dı-m.
              Pen-3Sg.POSS-ACC   break-PAST-1Sg
              'I broke his/her pen.'

Other contexts where the genitive marked pronoun is used can be listed as a) when the possessed entity is compared with something else, b) when it is focused, or c) when the

speaker opens a conversation or introduces a new topic in conversation as exemplified

below (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:243).

(21) a. Ben-im   araba-m   bu araba-dan daha hızlı gid-er.
          I-GEN   car-1SG.POSS this car-ABL   more fast   go-AOR
          'My car goes faster than this car.'

      b. Harca-dığ-ımız   para BEN-im   para-m.
          spend-PART-1PL.POSS   money I-GEN   money-1SG.POSS
          'The money we spent is my money.'

      c. Ben-im yeni elbise-m-I   gör-dü-n   mü?
          I-GEN new   dress-1SG.POSS-ACC   see-PAST-2P.Sg   INT
          'Have you seen my new dress?'

In Turkish, the possessive suffix on the head of the genitive-possessive construction can

be omitted informally. However, it is not possible in possessive existential sentences and

when the genitive-marked pronoun is third person (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:163).

(22) [Siz-in   tavuk_]dün   [biz-im   bahçe_]de-ydi.
      You-GEN   hen_   yesterday   we-GEN   yard_LOC-COP.3SG.PAST
      'Your hen was in our yard yesterday.'

2.4.3. Person Suffixes Marking Subject-Verb Agreement

In Turkish, the predicate is marked with the person markers indicating the grammatical

person of the subject. The person suffixes have four different paradigms each used after

certain suffixes. The paradigms for person markers attaching to the predicate are given

in table 5 below:

Table 5 Person Suffixes Marking Subject-Verb Agreement

Person Suffixes		After ▪-*DI* and *–sA* ▪ *(y)DI* and *-(y)sA*	After ▪-*mIş, -(A/I)r, -(y)AcAK, -(I)yor, -mAlI, -mAktA;* ▪ *(y)mIş* ▪nominal predicates	After ▪the optative suffix *-(y)A*[4]	After ▪the verb stem in imperative forms
1st Person	SG.	*-m (informal)*	*-(y)Im*	*-yIm*	
	PL.	*-k*	*-(y)Iz*	*-lIm*	
2nd Person	SG.	*-n (informal)* *-nIz (formal)*	*-sIn (informal)* *-sInIz (formal)*	*-sIn (informal)* *-sInIz*	*-sAnA* (informal) *-(y)In, -(y)InIz, -sAnIzA* (formal)
	PL.	*-nIz*	*-sInIz*	*-sInIz*	*-(y)In, -(y)InIz, -sAnIzA*
3rd Person	SG.	[5]		*-sIn*	*-sIn*
	PL.	*(-lAr)*	*(-lAr)*	*-sIn(lAr)*	*-sIn(lAr)*

The agreement markers on the predicate indicating the grammatical person of the subject

allow for the omission of the pronominal subjects in Turkish. Hence, it is optional for

the speaker to use a pronoun or leave the subject out entirely without a change in the

truth condition of the sentence when the intended referent is recoverable from the

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[4] The 3rd person forms -*sIn* and -*sInlar* do not attach to the optative suffix; instead they attach directly to
the verb.
[5] The absence of any suffix indicates the 3rd person singular.

discourse (Enç, 1986:195). Enç (1986) states that "sentences with pronominal subjects are more marked than their counterparts with null subjects, in the sense that they convey extra pragmatic information, i.e. information beyond the proposition they express" (Enç, 1986:206). However, similar to the use of genitive marked pronoun in genitive-possessive construction, the overt use of the subject pronouns as subjects has particular functions in some contexts. Enç (1986) presents these functions as topic shift and the mark of contrast. She states that when the speaker uses a pronoun to signal topic change s/he wishes to convey that what s/he has been talking about is not the topic anymore. Example (23) below illustrates the overt use of the pronominal subject to indicate topic change.

(23)   a.   Ali   şimdi İstanbul-da.
                   Ali   now   Istanbul-LOC
                   'Ali is in Ankara now.'

        b.   O ben-ce artık   Ayşe-yi   eski-si   kadar sev-m-iyor.
                   He I-ADV no longer Ayşe-ACC old-3SG.POSS as   love-NEG-3P.SG.IMPF
                   'I think he no longer loves Ayşe as much as he did before.'

When we take (23a) and (23b) as a piece of discourse, we see that the topics of the two is different. The topic of the sentence in (23a) is Ali while the topic of (23b) is that Ali no longer loves Ayşe as much as he did before. Therefore, the use of the pronominal subject *o* in (23b) indicates the topic shift of the speaker in his/her upcoming utterance.

    Subject pronouns are also used in other contexts such as a) when the referent of the subject pronoun contrasts with the referent of another noun phrase, b) where the

subject is focused, c) where a first or second person subject is one of a set of people

involved in some action or situation, d) where a third person subject is an entity

introduced in a non-subject position in the previous sentence (Göksel and Kerslake,

2005:241). These contexts are exemplified with the sentences in (24) below:

(24)   a.   Ali kedi-ler-I   sev-m-iyor.   Ben sev-iyor-um.
              Ali cat-PL-ACC love-NEG-IMPF.1P.SG I   love-IMP-1P.SG
              'Ali does not like cats. I like cats.'

        b.   Sana   hediye-ler-i BEN   al-dı-m.
              You.DAT   gift-PL-ACC I   buy-PAST-1P.SG
              'It was me who bought the gifts for you.'

        c.   Kola-yı   sen, Ayşe ve   Ali al-acak-sınız.
              Coke-ACC you Ayşe and Ali buy-FUT-2P.PL
              'Ayşe, Ali and you will buy the coke.'

        d.   Kitap-lar-ım-ın   hep-si   Ali-de.
              Book-PL-1P.SG.POSS-GEN all-3P.POSS Ali-LOC
              'Ali has all of my books.

              O   kitap-lar-I   yarın   getir-ecek.
              He   book-PL-ACC tomorrow   bring-FUT.3P.SG
              He will bring the books tomorrow.'

In (24a) above, the referent of the subject pronoun *ben* contrasts with the referent of Ali,

who does not like the cats. In (24b), the speaker wants her listener to know that 'it is me

who bought the gifts for you'. In (24c), the second person pronoun *sen* is one of the

people who will buy the coke. Finally, in (24d), the third person pronoun o is used since

its referent Ali is used in a non-subject position in the previous sentence.

CHAPTER THREE

POSITIONING IN RELATION TO THE MIGRATION AND TO

MIGRANCY

In this chapter, we will focus on the representation of the migration, whether it is represented as voluntary or compulsory, analyzing the choice of grammatical voice as well as the direct references to the migration. In our analysis, we explain the positioning of the migration by our participants by revealing the relationship between our participants' language use and the discourses and ideologies in action in their language use. Finally, we will analyze de/personalization of the migration in order to understand whether our participants position themselves as immigrants focusing on their use of personal and possessive pronouns.

3.1. Ambivalent Representation of the Migration Experience

In the discourse of the second generation immigrants from Crete, a strongly felt ambivalence is observed concerning the representation of the migration. This ambivalence involves the coexistence of opposing representations of the migration as both "voluntary" and "compulsory" in terms of the agency attributed to the immigrants in the realization of the migration event. As can be expected in the case of population exchange, which is a conflict induced displacement of people by state policy or international authority disregarding the agency of people undergoing it, the migration experience is represented as compulsory by our participants. What is interesting is that

the same migration is also presented as a voluntary experience with direct references to the population exchange such as *gönüllü* (voluntary) and *zorunlu değil* (not forced) in the same context by the same participants.

While the participants represent the migration as voluntary by using overt lexical items, they present its compulsory aspects in more indirect and implicit ways such as positioning the immigrants in object positions in the passive and causative structures.

The ambivalence related to the representation of the migration is seen in the extract below from Ahmet, a 91 year-old male immigrant from Crete. In this excerpt, Ahmet talks about the population exchange and its reasons commenting on some writers' views on the population exchange with reference to its being voluntary or compulsory. This account from Ahmet illustrates that the migration is first presented as inevitable hence, compulsory and then voluntary in the very same context by the same participant.

Example (1)

01	I:	Sizin babanız anneniz ne zaman gelmiş buraya cunda adasına?
02	A:	Biz buraya bin dokuz yüz yirmi dört yılında geldik mayısta.
03		ee mübadeleyle geldik.
04	I:	Siz kaç yaşınızdaydınız?
05	A:	Bakınız.
06		mübadele (0.6)
07		ben milliyetçi değilim.
08		evvela antr parantez
09		ama bazı olaylar vardır ki
10		e olduğu gibi anlatmak mecburiyetindesiniz.
11		yani bir tesir altında kalmadan
12		hiç milliyetçiliği düşünmeden
13		o şekilde konuşmak zorundasınız.
14		yoksa bağnaz bir milliyetçilik oluşturası
15		şey edemezsiniz.
16		ha bi taraf olarak eee görüşlerinizi ee aktarma etmek zorundasınız.

17	şimdi mübadeleyle geldik.
18	ama mübadele için birçok kitaplar yazıldı.
19	"Zorunlu zorlandı da götürüldü de" filan
20	bunlar hepsi palavra (0.4).
21	ben- yunanlılar benim çok yakın dostum.
22	ama o ayrı.
23	bu ayrı .
24	şimdi mübadele islam için
25	türk demiyorum.
26	dikkat buyrun.
27	islam için kaçınılmaz bir olaydı.
28	islam için kaçınılmaz bir olaydı.

((…))

29	üç seçenek vardı.
30	ya kaçmak
31	ya hırıstiyan olmak
32	ya ölümü beklemek
33	başka çare başka seçenek yoktu.

((narrative continues))

Translation

01	I:	When did your father and mother come here to the island of Cunda?
02	A:	We came here in nineteen twenty-four in may.
03		well we came through population exchange.
04	I:	How old were you?
05	A:	Look.
06		the population exchange (0.6)
07		I am not a nationalist.
08		for one thing
09		but there are such events that
10		well you have to tell them as they took place.
11		I mean you have to speak about it under no influence
12		without considering the nationalistic thought
13		you have to speak considering these
14		otherwise it would be a sectarian nationalism
15		you can't do anything.
16		well on one hand you have to deliver your opinion.
17		well we moved here through population exchange.
18		but many works have been written on the population exchange.
19		"People were moved by force and so on"
20		all these are just a load of claptrap nonsense (0.4).
21		me-I have close friends who are greek
22		yet that is another story.
23		and this is another.
24		well the population exchange was for Islam

25	that I don't say turkish.
26	please notice.
27	It was an inevitable event for muslim people
28	It was an inevitable event for muslim people
((...))	
29	there were three options
30	to escape
31	to become a christian
32	or to wait for death
33	there was no other way
((narrative continues))	

This account starts with the interviewer's question about when Ahmet's parents migrated to the island of Cunda. In line (2), Ahmet states that they migrated to Cunda in 1924 adding immediately after that they migrated via population exchange. That he chooses to mark the first person plural agreement marker on the predicate *gel-* (to come) illustrates that he sets up his membership into to the community of migrants from Crete. From the fifth line on, he starts to talk about the population exchange ignoring the interviewer's question asking how old he was when they migrated to Cunda. He then immediately presents himself as a non-patriotic person in line (7) and he underlines his not being patriotic by presenting this statement as an introduction for his story in line (8). Here he uses the adverb *evvela* (firstly) referring to his not being patriotic as the first thing in the list of things he will utter. In line (9), he starts his utterance with the contrastive conjunction *ama* (but) indicating that his upcoming utterances will contrast with what he has stated in line (7). In lines (18) through (20); he refers to the books on the population exchange which claim that the people were forced to migrate by the population exchange. He presents all these claims as *palavra* (nonsense or clap trap) in line (20) expressing his rejection to the idea that migration happened compulsorily. That he uses the quantified pronoun *hep-* (all) referring to these books indicates that he

regards all the books taking the population exchange as forced as telling nonsense things with no truth. By taking a stance against the idea that the population exchange was compulsory, Ahmet, in effect, presents the population exchange as a voluntary event.

However, after only four statements, he starts to present the migration experience as *kaçınılmaz* (inevitable), and thus compulsory. From the 14th line on, Ahmet presents the conditions triggering the population exchange to happen leaving only three choices for the people in Crete which are *kaçmak* (to escape), *hırıstiyan olmak* (to convert to Christianity), or *ölümü beklemek* (to wait for death). In this depiction, the migration seems as compulsory contrary to his former presentation of the migration as *zorunlu değil* (not forced). In fact, stating that the immigrants had no other choice but to migrate, Ahmet represents the migration as compulsory contrary to his referrings to the migration as voluntary event.

Following the disclaims stating that he is not patriotic in line (7), he foregrounds why and in what way he rejects the view that sees population exchange as forced. He adds another disclaimer in the 21st line stating that Greeks are his close friends. All these disclaimers indicate that Ahmet believes that if one presents the migration experience as voluntary s/he might be judged as a patriotic or even a *bağnaz milliyetçi* (sectarian nationalist) as he states in line (14). Ahmet distances himself from nationalists though he presents the migration experience as voluntary.

Also note that he alternates his "I" language to "you" in line (10) and goes on with "you" until the 17th line. The use of the pronoun "you" instead of "I" indicates distancing from the self acting as a self and the involvement of the hearer in the evaluation of the action. And this conveys a lower degree of responsibility compared to

the use of "I" (O'Connor, 1994). Ahmet's switching to "you" language can also be seen as a sign of his distancing himself from being nationalist.

In fact, this account is far more complex than it might seem on the surface. Population exchange, peculiar to its nature, is a forced movement of people. In addition, considering the concept of "forced migration" covering even the natural disasters let alone conflicts or conditions resulting from war, the reasons for the migration that Ahmet presents should represent the population exchange as forced. Hence, the question is why the migration experience is represented as voluntary by our participants. In order to understand the ambivalent representations of the migration not only the stated texts by our participants but also the silences should be analyzed in combination with the social, political and historical contexts.

Another account from Ahmet which represents the migration experience as compulsory and also more than inevitable makes references to the Treaty of Lausanne which is not observed in the accounts of any other participant.

Example (2)
01   I: Hiç girite gittiniz mi?
02   A: Şimdi efendim bin dokuz yüz doksan dokuz yılında-benim esasında
             giritle bi şeyim nostaljim yok.
03   neden nostaljim yok?
04   çünkü devletlerarası yapılan lozan anlaşması ile ordaki bütün haklarımızı
             kaybettiğimizi müdrik bir insanım.
05   nostaljim yok.
06   onlar güle güle otursun.
07   biz de buraya geldiğimize göre
08   biz de güle güle oturalım.
09   ee ama bin dokuz yüz- onun için hiçbi zaman için girite gideyim filan
             düşünmedim.
10   ama bin dokuz yüz doksan dokuz yılında eee bizi davet ettiler
             ((...))
11   A: Ha şimdi bakınız.
12   babamın vefatından sonra

13		babamın vefatından sonra
14		giritten gelen bütün evrakları yırttım.
15		hata.
16		hadi o zaman çok gençtim.
17		ama kayınvalidemin ölümünden sonra da
18		böle yaptım.
19		anladın mı?
20		çok kötü.
21		ama söylentiler vardı.
22		söylentiler vardı.
		((narrative continues))

Translation

01	I:	Have you ever visited crete?
02	A:	Well in nineteen ninety-nine - actually I have nothing no nostalgia for crete.
03		why don't I have any nostalgia?
04		because I am aware that we have lost all of our rights with the international lausanne agreement.
05		I have no nostalgia.
06		let them enjoy the place.
07		since we also came here
08		let's enjoy it as well.
09		hmm but in nineteen hundred- for that reason I never thought about going to crete or something.
10		but in nineteen ninety-nine hmm they invited us
		((...))
11	A:	oh now listen.
12		after my father's death
13		after my father's death
14		I tore apart all the documents coming from crete.
15		it was a mistake.
16		let's say I was too young at that time.
17		but after my mother-in-law died
18		I did the same thing.
19		do you see?
20		it is very bad.
21		but there were rumors.
22		there were rumors.
		((narrative continues))

This long account from Ahmet starts with the interviewer's question asking whether Ahmet has ever visited Crete after the migration. In line (2), Ahmet makes a self-interruption when he was about to tell the story of his visit to Crete and changes the topic to nostalgia of Crete. In lines (2) and (3), he states that he does not have any fond memories for Crete and he explains why he does not feel any nostalgia in the 4th line starting his statement with the causal connector *çünkü* (because). He presents the reason as because he is a person who is aware of the fact that they have lost all their rights in Crete with the Lausanne Treaty signed internationally. Here, we observe the strongest strategy via which the migration experience is represented as compulsory. Here Ahmet states that he is aware of the things the immigrants have to do according to the Lausanne Treaty. This indicates that he, as an immigrant, accepts these things and adheres to the convention on the exchange of the relevant populations. Moreover, the adoption of the treaty as an iron will also conveys how Lausanne Treaty as a means of power has operated on immigrants which is indicated by the statements in lines (06), (07), (08), and (9) indicating that there is nothing to do other than accepting the exchange of people but to enjoy the new settlement places for the exchanged people.

In the parts taken out, Ahmet talks about his visit to Crete and switches to the story of his father's immigrant documents presenting his regret about this since without these documents he could not find the house he was born in during his visit to Crete.

The story Ahmet tells between the 11th and the 22nd lines gives significant information about the process that immigrants went through in Cunda after the migration. In this story, Ahmet states that he tore up all of his father's documents regarding the migration after his father had died. He adds that he did the same with his mother- in-law's documents. In the 20th line he expresses his regret for tearing these

documents and then in lines (21) and (22), legalizes his action by stating that there were

rumors and why he tore the documents up. The fact that Ahmet starts his statement with

the contrastive coordinator *ama* (but) in line (21) indicates that the rumors urged him to

tear the documents up.

Finally, since the documents are documents regarding the migrancy of his

family, we can deduce that Ahmet wanted to detach from his immigrant past which can

be explained by the processes that immigrants go through as pointed out by De Fina,

(2003:143).

De Fina, (2003), states that immigration as a long-lasting process involves the

redefinition of one's identity and one's membership into larger communities in the

settlement place according to the new social and personal circumstances (De Fina,

2003:143).

As mentioned before, the representation of the migration as voluntary is

managed via more explicit and direct strategies like the use of direct references to the

migration as "voluntary". Ahmet chooses to articulate the population exchange as

voluntary in a more direct way by presenting the claims which state that the migration

was a forced one with an attribution like *palavra* (clap-trap). Millas, (2003) points out

the fact that during the nation-state- building period in the Republic of Turkey, it was

difficult for writers to refer to the population exchange as a forced since this might have

been seen as a kind of betrayal and from 1925 until the 1950s there was strict censorship

in the mass media in Turkey regarding the population exchange. This conjuncture, as

Millas, (2003) claims, was due to the pressure of one of the essential ideological aims of

the Republic of Turkey; to create a national identity based on the "Turkishness of

Anatolia" (Millas, 2003:228).

Considering that socio-historical and political discourses have an impact on framing the self and other positioning as well as being reproduced by the selves in talk, we can claim that Ahmet's representation of the population exchange with explicit references to it as voluntary but not compulsory reflects the mentioned nation-state-building discourse. Moreover, the silence about the Lausanne Treaty among our participants might also relate to what Millas (2003) points out. Mentioning the treaty would refer to the compulsory representation of the migration which would be undesirable for an immigrant community for the mentioned reasons above. In addition to the ideologies and policies in action, we also observe the reflections of the shared representations on the positioning of the migration. These shared representations, the stories about the circumstances in Crete before the migration, present the migration as compulsory. Hence, the ambivalence regarding the voluntary-compulsory representation of the migration is the result of the interrelated discourses which frame the positioning of people in relation to particular events and which are reproduced and rearticulated in turn.

The ambivalence regarding the opposing representations of the population exchange is seen in Hakan's excerpt as well. In the following extract also, we see the migration being represented as both compulsory and voluntary immediately after one another. Like Ahmet, Hakan represents migration experience as *gönüllü* (voluntary) although he also presents Crete as a place where violence against Muslims/Turks forced people in Crete to migrate.

Example (3)
```
01    H:    İşte yani güzel maniler bilirdi ba babalarımız dedelerimiz.
02          mutluydular.
03          belki ada olmasından dolayı
04          buraya çabuk ısındılar.
05          yani çabuk ısındılar.
06          ama hepsinin içinde girit bi özlemdi.
07          bütün yaşlıların içinde girit bi özlemdi.
      ((yawning))
08    I:    Yani girite gitmek isterler miydi?=
09    H:    =İsterdiler.
10          isterdiler.
11          isterdiler yani tekrardan.
12    I:    Ya da böyle gidilmeyecek bir yer olarak mı?
13    H:    Hayır yani her zaman için onların vatanıydı orası.
14    I:    Vatanımız orası derler miydi?
15    H:    E diyolardı tabi.-
16          ama sonra bi de kızıyolardı.
17          yani eski insanlar yunanlılara çok kızıyodu.
18          yani çünkü çok kötü olaylar olmuştu.
19          düşünebiliyo musunuz?
20          yani bi sabah duyuyosunuz.
21          falanca köyde bastılar.
22          on tane türkü kestiler.
23          üç gün so e o türkler de bazı bazı türkler de bunu hazmedemiyolardı.
24          onlar da toplanıyolardı iki kişi üç kişi
25          geceleyin köyün dışında buluşuyolardı.
26          gidiyolardı bi başka köye bi yunanlı köy yunan köyüne
27          onlar da gidiyolardı.
28          orda birilerini kesiyolardı.
29          çok şey kötü şeyler yani.
30    I:    Peki buna rağmen mübadele olmasaydı diye bişey hiç duyuld=
31    H:    Aa YOO YOO YOOO
32          o işte bakın.
33          orda hepsi yani yüzde doksan dokuzu hemen "Önce vatan" dediler.
34          geldiler buraya yani.
35          gönüllü gelindi.
```

Translation
```
01    H:    Well I mean our fathers and grandfathers used to know beautiful folk
      poems.
02          they were happy.
03          perhaps because it is an island
04          they got used to here in a short time.
05          I mean they got used to here in a short time.
```

06		but all of them were longing for crete.
07		all the elderly were longing for crete.
		((yawning))
08	I:	So would they like to go to crete?=
09	H:	=Yes they would.
10		they would.
11		I mean they would like to go there again.
12	I:	Or if they regarded it as a place one feels unwilling to go?
13	H:	No I mean crete was always their homeland.
14	I:	Did they refer to it as their homeland?
15	H:	Hmm of course they did.-
16		but they were also angry.
17		I mean the elderly people got really angry toward Greeks.
18		I mean terrible events took place at the time.
19		can you imagine?
20		I mean you hear one morning
21		that there was a raid on a village.
22		they slaughtered ten turks.
23		after three days hmm so those turks some of them couldn't take that lying down.
24		so they gathered together in groups of two or three
25		at night they met somewhere away from the village.
26		and headed for an another village a greek village for a greek village
27		they also headed for somewhere
28		and slaughtered some people
29		I mean these are really terrible things
30	I:	Despite all these have you ever heard that the population exchange would not have taken place=
31	H:	Aa NO NO NO
32		That is well listen
33		At this point all of them I mean a hundred percent of them just said "First comes country."
34		I mean they came here
35		they came voluntarily

In the above extract, Hakan starts with the past accounts of his forefathers after the

migration, in the settlement place, Cunda. He states that the first generation immigrants

quickly adjusted to the life in Cunda maybe because it is an island like Crete. In line (6),

he states that Crete remained always an aspiration for the first generation immigrants.

Here, Hakan chooses to use the quantifier *hepsi* (all of them) including all the

immigrants into the group of people feeling aspiration felt for the "home-land" Crete. Hakan foregrounds this aspiration by the first generation immigrants by repeating his statement in line (7). His statement in line (6) gains more emphasis with his use of the quantifier *bütün* (all) modifying the elderly people (the first generation immigrants) instead of the quantified pronoun *hep-* (all).

The interviewer's question in line (8) asking whether Hakan's forefathers would have liked to go to Crete lays the grounds of a topic change in Hakan's account. Hakan answers this question emphatically by repeating three times that his forefathers would have liked to go to Crete again in lines (9-11). Then in line (12), the interviewer completes her question asking whether Crete was seen as a place not to be returned back instead. In line (13), Hakan rejects that idea and states that it was always their native land. Here Hakan uses the time adverbial *her zaman* (always), which is on the highest position in the frequency scale of time adverbials, hence generalizes the aspiration of the first generation immigrants to Crete. In this clause, Hakan also uses the word *vatan* (fatherland) referring to Crete. At this point, the interviewer's question in line (14) asking whether first generation immigrants called Crete as their *vatan* (fatherland) causes a shift in the topic in the immediate context. Hakan answers this question with hesitation in line (15) and starts talking about the general conjuncture in Crete before the migration event. Note that the word *vatan* (fatherland) is a politically loaded word in Turkish. There are many expressions containing the word *vatan* used in military and nationalistic discourses which are frequently associated with the "loyalty" to Turkish State.[6] The interviewers' identity as Turkish, non-immigrant researchers coming from a

---

[6] "Önce vatan" (First comes the country); "Vatan bir bütündür; bölünemez" (The country is a unit; can not be separated); "Vatan sağolsun"(Country is first and faremost)

state university might have triggered this topic change. The quotation below from (Hirschon, 2003:9) also confirms that the interview context as well as the Kemalist ideologies implanted in our participants' discourse might have impact on the positioning of Hakan here.

> Kemalist Republic was intent on consolidating the state within the boundaries set up at the 1918 Mondros armistice and on building the nation within it. In such a political climate, expressions of attachment to former homelands by Rumelian Muslims from the Balkans and Greece tended to be suppressed for they might have been seen as a kind of betrayal.

(Hirschon, 2003:9)

Hence, the interviewer as a probable 'representative' of the Republic of Turkey might have triggered the Kemalist discourse to interfere into the immediate context of interaction resulting in a shift in the representation of the first generation immigrants' positioning in relation to Crete and the presentation of Crete. In lines (16) and (17), Hakan states that the first generation immigrants were angry with the Greeks and he presents the reasons from the 18th line on. In the 19th line, he involves the listeners with the rhetorical question *Düşünebiliyor musunuz?* (Can you imagine?). He then talks about the violence that took place in Crete before the migration. Here, the cause-effect relation regarding the violent events is significant since it provides us with the information about the self and the other presentation of Hakan. His story of violent experiences starts with the Greeks raiding a Turkish village and killing ten Turks. In line (22), he gives even a specific number of Turks killed by the Greeks. The "Turks" as the victims of these violent events is given overtly in the object position in the clause. From line (23) on, Hakan states that Turks also killed some Greeks because they could not bear what Greeks had been doing. As seen in the 28th line, unlike the Turks the number of the

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"Greeks" killed by the Turks is not given overtly. Here, Hakan uses the indefinite and impersonal pronoun *birileri* (some people) referring to the Greeks killed by the Turks while he could have referred directly to 'Turks'. Also note that, in line (23), Hakan makes a self repair first uttering the word Turks and then replacing it with *bazı Türkler* (some Turks). The use of the indefinite determiner *bazı* (some) picking up some Turks from the group of Turks indicates that only some of the Turks took part in these killing events and they did so as a reaction. Thus, in this story, Greeks are presented as the initiators of killings and violent experiences in Crete and the killings realized by some Turks are presented as a reaction to what had happened, and limited to as small group, not the whole community.

Following the interviewer's question if immigrants had ever said that they wished there had not been population exchange, he vehemently rejects this idea with emphatic repeated use of the negative marker *yo yo yoo* (no no no) in line (31). In line (33), he then adds that "ninety nine percent of the immigrants" preferred to migrate to Cunda choosing their "country" as a priority emphasizing that all the Turks did so with the use of the quantifier *hepsi* (all of them) and with the use of a percentage as almost a hundred percent. Note that here the referent of the word *vatan* (fatherland) shifts to the Republic of Turkey from the island of Crete in addition to the connotation of the word: *Önce vatan* (First comes the country) is a politically loaded expression as mentioned before. In line (35), he ends his account stating that immigrants migrated to Cunda voluntarily.

In the excerpt above, the representation of both the homeland Crete and the migration experience undergo shifts conveying an ambivalent positioning regarding these. The representation of Crete as a long lasting nostalgia changes to a place made

unlivable by violence. However, both of these presentations can be interpreted as indicators of the representation of compulsory migration. Although the first generation immigrants liked Crete very much, the violence experienced there forced them to migrate.

In addition to different contexts where migration experience is constructed as forced or voluntary, the linguistic structures such as the active-passive and causative constructions also reveal the degree of volition attributed to the immigrants or to others concerning the realization of the migration. When the grammatical structures that participants use are analyzed in terms of the choice of grammatical voice, it is observed that the migration is represented as compulsory.

The participants frequently use the passive and causative structures in statements regarding the migration experience obfuscating the agents of the event of coming or migrating.

The extract below from Hakan illustrates the obfuscation of agency in the process of migration. Here, Hakan talks about the language problem his father and grandfather had after the migration.

Example (4)
```
01    I:      Peki dil sorunu olmuş mu?
02            geldiklerinde hiç türkçe bilmiyorlarmış.
      ((…))
03    H:      dil sorunu şöyle
04            ilk gelindiğinde
05            mesela benim babamlar sekiz kardeş.
06            dedem hiçbir kelime kelime türkçe bilmiyo.
07            tepede küçücük bir eve yerleştirdiler onları.
```

Translation
01   I: Well did they experience any language problems?
02   they didn't speak any turkish when they came.
      ((...))
03   H: Language problems such as
04   when they first came
05   my father had seven siblings.
06   and my grandfather does not know any turkish at all.
07   they placed them in a small house on a hill.

Here, Hakan starts to tell his account as a response to the interviewer's question about

language problems. In his account, immigrants are not attributed any agency as regards

migration and settlement. In line (4), Hakan chooses to use the impersonal passive

structure *ilk gelindiğinde* (when they first came) by adding the passive suffix *–(I)n* to the

intransitive verb *gel-* (to come), hence hiding the performer of the action *gel-* (to come)

and omitting the only argument of the verb, namely the subject. Migration to Cunda is

presented as subjectless and hence, agentless and the predicate is expressed with no

person marker on it.

In the statement *tepede küçücük bir eve yerleştirdiler onları* (they placed them

in a small house on a hill) in line (7), immigrants are given in the theme position of the

verb *yerleştir-* (to place) which is the predicate of a causative structure derived from the

verb *yerleştir-* (to place). That Hakan prefers to choose the causative form of the verb

yerleştir- (to place) presenting the immigrants as causes rather than the agents indicates

that migration is represented as an event that the immigrants do not have any agency in

its realization.

Turkish causative structures can be passivized with the passive suffix *–(I)l*.

Hence, another possible structural option for Hakan to choose might have been the

passivized causative form of the verb *yerleş-* which is *yerleştiril-*. In such a case the

agents of the event of *yerleştir-* (to settle) would be omitted while the patient and hence

the patient role of the immigrants *onlar* (they) in the sentence would remain the same.

This account is related to one language problem Hakan's father and grandfather

experienced with the soldiers after the migration. That Hakan does not choose the verb

yerleştiril- (to be settled)might be related to his wish to express the agents of the event

which caused all the problems experienced due to this small house on the hill.

Another participant, Zehra, also does not attribute the agent role to the

immigrants by positioning them in the object position in the sentences having the verb

getir- (to take) which is the causative form of the verb *gel-* (to come). Zehra is an 86-

year-old second generation female immigrant from Crete. She was born in Crete and

migrated to Cunda when she was one and half years old.

Example (5)
01   Z: Atatürk bizi buraya getirdi.
02   allah rahmet eylesin.
03   yunanlılar oraya gitti.
      ((…))
04   sonra getirdi bizi buraya.
05   herkese bi ev verdi.
06   I: Kendileri mi seçmiş evleri?
07   anneniz babanız kendisi mi seçmiş?
08   yoksa verilmiş mi?
09   Z: Seçmiş olur mu?
10   sana "Oraya oturacaksın" Diyordu.
11   oraya otururduk.
      ((...))
12   I: Nasıl anlatırlardı?
13   yani giriti nasıl anlatırlardı?
14   Z: Girit çok güzel bi memleket.
15   çok güzel.
16   ama ata atatürk bizi öldürmesinler deye
17   aldılar
18   aldı buraya getirdi.
19   o zaman vapur vardı.
20   vapurlarlan vapurlarlan getirdi bizi.

Translation
01	Z:	Atatürk took us here
02		may him rest in peace
03		greeks went there
	((...))	
04		he took us here later on
05		he provided everyone with a home
06	I:	Did they choose their houses?
07		did your parents choose their own houses?
08		or was the house were given?
09	Z:	Chose?
10		they were telling you "You will settle here."
11		We were settling in that place.
	((...))	
12	I:	How did they talk about?
13		I mean how did they talk about crete?
14	Z:	crete is a very beautiful land
15		It is beautiful
16		but ata atatürk to prevent them killing us
17		they took us
18		he took us here.
19		there were ferries at that time.
20		by ferries by ferries he took us by ferries.

In this excerpt, Zehra uses the causative form, *getir-* (to take), of the verb *gel-* (to come).[7] This account follows from a debate Zehra had with her son on the Greek names of the Islands of Cunda and Crete. In the sentence *atatürk bizi buraya getirdi* (Atatürk took us here) in line (1), Zehra states that Atatürk[8] took them to Cunda. Here, she uses the first person plural object pronoun *bizi* (us) which indicates her membership into the

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[7] Note that, although it is morphologically difficult to claim that the verb *getir-* is the causative form of the verb *gel-,* it is known that these verbs are etymologically related (Nişanyan, S. 2002) and the verb *getir-* is taken as derived causative form of the verb *gel-* in Lewis (1967) .

[8] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) is the founder of the Republic of Turkey who led the Turkish National Movement in the Turkish War of Independence (May 19, 1919 – July 24, 1923) and established a provisional government in Ankara. The surname "Atatürk" (Father of the Turks) was presented to Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938) by the Turkish parliament after the Law on Family Names was enacted in 1934 (Mango, 2004).

community of the immigrants from Crete. Additionally, in the sentence, the argument referring to this community is presented as the object/theme with the patient role of the sentence while Atatürk is presented as the subject with the semantic role, agent. Here, the choice of causative voice conveys that Zehra represents the migration as compulsory since the immigrants are presented as causees in the event of coming to Cunda. This observation is supported by Zehra's following utterances in lines (4-11). In line (4), she continues expanding on the topic repeating that Atatürk took them there, to Cunda. In lines (6) and (7) the interviewer asks whether Zehra's parents chose their house themselves or not. She responds to this question quoting the initiator of the migration directly. The reported sentence in line (10) is in imperative structure ordering the immigrants to settle in a particular house. She again presents the immigrants as passive actors by stating that they obeyed the order given and settled in the suggested place. The same positioning pattern of the subject and object arguments of the verb *getir-* referring to Atatürk and the immigrants respectively is repeated in the lines (16-20). In lines (12) and (13), the interviewer asks how her parents talked about Crete. Zehra states that Crete is a beautiful place in lines (14) and (15). Immediately after, she brings the topic about their migrating to Cunda again. In line (16), she starts her utterance with the contrastive connector *ama* (but) conveying that although Crete was a beautiful place, Atatürk took them to Cunda to prevent them being killed. In lines (18) and (20) she expands on the topic repeating that Atatürk took them to Cunda. In all of these sentences Atatürk is presented in the subject position with the agent/causer semantic role while the immigrants (Zehra and her parents) are presented in the object position with the patient/causee semantic role.

As the above examples have indicated, the migration is presented as voluntary with direct references to migration such as *gönüllü* (voluntary) and *zorunlu değil* (not compulsory) in the discourse of the second generation immigrants.

The voluntary representation of the population exchange can be explicated by the socio-historical as well as political discourses framing the positioning of selves in relation to particular events, in relation to the population experience in this case. The "voluntary" representation of the population exchange seems to be the reflection of the previously mentioned "Kemalist" ideologies with the aim of establishing and also sustaining the Turkish nation- state. As mentioned before, immigrants' representing the migration as an event that is not wanted would be regarded as their betrayal to the Republic of Turkey (Hirschon, 2003:9). Also, the effort presented by our participants to represent the migration experience as voluntary in spite of the fact that the population exchange was a compulsory replacement of people and that the Muslim Cretan immigrants wanted to stay in Crete can be related to the ideologies sustained to build a nation state in the Republic of Turkey. The first generation Greek speaking Cretan immigrants were among the groups of people who wanted to be excluded from the population experience (Keyder, 2003:42). This historical fact indicates that Cretan immigrants did not migrate to Cunda voluntarily. Therefore, our participants' effort to represent the migration as voluntary might be interpreted as their endeavor to claim a place by adjusting to the new socio-cultural context in the host-country.

The compulsory representation of the population exchange on the other hand, is conveyed implicitly by the frequently told stories of violence in Crete before the migration and in one case by the account from Ahmet referring to the Lausanne Treaty signed by the Greek and Turkish governments. That the Lausanne Convention which is

the legal ground for the forced migration and hence would convey the compulsory nature of the population exchange is referred by only one participant is also worth noting. The population exchange is represented as compulsory also by the choice of grammatical voice (the active-passive-causative constructions) of the participants in the accounts of the migration to Cunda though in an implicit way. The compulsory representation of the migration can be understood with reference to the shared representations and stories in the immigrant discourse. The violence stories via which the participants position the migration as compulsory reflects the shared representations and shared past experiences which frame the discourse of our participants as well as being reproduced in their discourse.

Therefore, we might suggest that the ambiguity our participants present with respect to the representation of the migration does not result from the uncertainty of our participants; instead these representations are brought up within the specific context of interaction during which we observe the impact of competing discourses, ideologies and shared representations.

3.2. Migration Experience as a Milestone

Another important point regarding the representation of the migration is that it is repeatedly presented as a milestone in our participants' lives. This shows that although our participants did not experience the migration experience themselves, in their discourse we still observe the long-term remnants of this experience. The significance of the migration experience in the discourse of the descendants of the immigrants is illustrated by the example below from Tarık, a 65-year-old male participant.

Example (6)
01 I: Babanızın dedesi ne zaman ölmüş?
02 H: Babamın dedesi?
03 biz giritten ee yirmidörtte geldiğimize göre
04 yirmiikide filan ölmüş orda.
05 yüzdört yaşındaymış.
[[
06 I: Orda ölmüş.
((narrative continues))

Translation
01 I: When did your father's grandfather die?
02 H: My father's grandfather?
03 as we moved from crete in nineteen twenty four
04 so he died around nineteen twenty two there.
05 he was a hundred and four years old.
[[
06 I: He died there.
((narrative continues))

This extract follows an account of Tarık's grandfather in Crete. In line (1), the

interviewer asks him when his grandfather died. In the following lines, Tarık tries to

figure out the date of his death taking the year of the migration as a milestone to

calculate the particular year his grandfather died. In line (3), he gives the date of the

migration from Crete as 1924 and then in line (4), he takes this year as a base and figures

out when his grand-grandfathers died and how old he was when he died. This indicates

that the date of the migration is used as a milestone in the lives of the second generation

Cretan immigrants.

        The migration date as a milestone is also used to calculate the date of a birth,

this time by two other participants, Kemale and Yakup in the extract below.

Example (7)
```
01    I:    Siz burda mı doğdunuz?
02          burda mı doğdunuz?
03    K:    Ben?
04    I:    Evet.
05    K:    burda yedi sene geçti.
06          doğdum burda.
07    Y:    yirmi dört işte.
08          otuz birde falan doğdu.
```

Translation
```
01    I:    Were you born here?
02          were you born here?
03    K:    Me?
04    I:    Yes.
05    K:    Here seven years past.
06          I was born here.
07    Y:    So the year was nineteen twenty-four.
08          she was born in nineteen thirty-one or so.
```

In this extract Kemale and Yakup cooperatively use the migration as a milestone.
Kemale is 77-year-old female immigrant and Yakup is a 62-year-old male immigrant. In
response to a question about her birth place, Kemale states that seven years passed and
she was born in Cunda in lines (5) and (6). Interestingly, she does not state after what
date seven years passed. Then Yakup comes up with a specific date, 1924 and figures
out the year Kemale was born. Note that 1924 is the year during which the migration
took place. Although neither Kemale nor Yakup mentions the migration, they use this
year as a benchmark to figure out when Kemale was born. This shows that migration is
the default historical milestone taken for granted in the discourse of the immigrants and
their descendants. The recreation of the migration is so much so that they do not even
feel the necessity to state its exact date and take it as a default starting point of their lives
in the settlement place. This in turn, indicates that migration as a social phenomenon

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appears to be creating a starting point in people's lives which is reproduced in the discourse of immigrants through generations.

3.3. Personalization of the Migration Experience

We have seen that the migration experience is still presented as a pivotal event in the discourse of our participants although most of them did not experience the migration themselves.

Another related question is the personalization or depersonalization of the experience as well as of the migrancy by the second generation Cretan immigrants. In other words, this section is on whether our participants position themselves as immigrants like their forefathers or they depersonalize the migrancy as a phenomenon of the past. The analysis of de/personalization of the migrancy and the migration is of significance in order to understand how long the impact of migration lasts and also to reveal the processes that immigrants go through in the host-country.

We can analyze the use of personal and possessive pronouns to understand how people position themselves in relation to particular events and "others" and how they form community memberships. De/personalization of the migration can also be analyzed via the stories about the homeland since these stories convey the degree of people's attachment to the homeland, Crete.

As in the case of the representation of the migration as voluntary and compulsory, there is a strong ambivalence regarding the de/personalization of the migrancy and the migration, as well. We observe that positioning in relation to both the migration event and migrancy exhibit frequent shifts in such a way that they are

personalized and then depersonalized in the same text by the same participants.

Our participants typically use the first person plural subject agreement marker on the verbs regarding the event of migrating to Cunda. Also the hometown Crete and the properties they had had there are personalized with the first person possessive markers although most of the participants had not even seen Crete or the properties there until recently since the Lausanne Treaty forbade the immigrants to return to their homelands (Hirschon, 2003:10).

However, we also observe the inflection of the verbs and nouns with third person agreement suffix in the same context. Nevertheless, the inflection of the verbs regarding coming to Cunda or of the nouns referring to the properties in Crete with the first person agreement marker is significant since our participants are second generation immigrants in terms of providing us with the information about how long the impacts of the migration last.

The example below illustrates the use of the first person agreement marker on the verb referring to the event of coming to Cunda and also on the noun *ada* (island) referring to Crete. This account is from the beginning of our interview with Zehra who came to Cunda when she was as young as one and half years old.

Example (8)
```
01    I:    siz bize hani anlatmıştınız ya arkadaşlara.
02          o zaman giritçe konuşmuştunuz.
03    Z:    He.
04    I:    Ee bize de onun gibi bişey
05          nasıl geldiniz?
06          ai yani annezini babanızı anlatmıştınız.
07          çok güzel dinlemiştik.
      ((…))
08    Z:    Ne zaman geldik biz şeye yunas(…) aman adamızdan?
09          tam hatırlamıyom ki.
```

10   bi buçuk yaşımda geldim.

Translation
01   I: You told us last time to the friends remember?
02   you spoke in cretan then.
03   Z: Yes.
04   I: Could you tell us things like those?
05   how did you come?
06   you mentioned your mother your father.
07   we listened to you with pleasure.
         ((…))
08   Z: When did we come to well Gree(...) pardon from our island?
09   I don't remember exactly.
10   I was at the age of one and half when I came.

In this excerpt, the interviewer reminds Zehra her last visit during which Zehra talked about her parents. Then in line (8), Zehra takes the turn starting to talk about the migration taking the introduction of the interviewer as a question asking when they came to Cunda. Here, she marks the verb *gel-* (to come) with the first person plural subject agreement marker *-k* positioning herself as a member of the community migrating to Cunda from Crete although she also states that she does not remember when they came. Moreover, she attaches first person plural possessive marker *–(I)mIz* on the noun *ada* (island) personalizing the island of Crete although she only lived there for only one year and a half and never went back there again. Note that in line (8) Zehra makes a self-interruption. She first calls Crete as *Yunas*, *Yunanistan* (Greece) in Turkish. However, she immediately makes a self-repair and calls Crete as *adamız* (our island). Here Zehra's self-repair shows that she refrains from calling Crete as Greece.

Zehra's use of the first person plural agreement marker on the verb *gel-* (to come) might be expected since she was born in Crete and migrated to Cunda though she

was very young. However, personalization of the migration and the properties that immigrants had owned in Crete before the migration are not restricted to Zehra but also observed in the accounts of participants who were born in Cunda. This is illustrated in the example below from Tarık, a 65 year-old male participant who was born in Cunda.

Example (9)
```
01    I:    Babanızın dedesi ne zaman ölmüş?
02    T:    Babamın dedesi?
03          biz giritten ee yirmidörtte geldiğimize göre
04          yirmiikide filan ölmüş orda.
05          yüzdört yaşındaymış.
                [[
06    I:    Orda ölmüş.
      ((narrative continues))
```

Translation
```
01    I:    When did your father's grandfather die?
02    T:    My father's grandfather?
03          as we moved from crete in nineteen twenty four
04          so he died around nineteen twenty two there.
05          he was a hundred and four years old.
                [[
06    I:    He died there.
      ((narrative continues))
```

Similar to Zehra, in this account Tarık personalizes the migration inflecting the verb *gel-* (to come) in line (3) with the first person plural agreement marker -*k* although he was born in Cunda and hence did not migrate to Cunda himself. The preference of "we" over "they" referring to the people who migrated to Cunda indicates that Tarık positions himself as an immigrant from Crete setting his membership into the immigrant community.

Personalization of the properties that the first generation immigrants had owned

in Crete also conveys that their descendants position themselves as immigrants. The

extract below, from Filiz and Gülsima illustrates the construction of attachment to the

hometown Crete and the personalization of the house Filiz's mother owned in Crete.

Example (10)
```
01    I:      Siz yani ne kadar biliyosunuz?
02    G:      Valla anlaşabiliyoruz=
03    F:      Ha işte nasılsın?
04            iyi misin?
              [
05    G:      mesela bana desinler "Hadi bi yere gidelim"
06            almanyaya veya fransaya başka ülkeye gitmem.
07            girite giderim.
08            çünkü ben lisan bildiğim için zevk alırım.
09    F:                                [
10    F:                                      Biz gittik yalnız.
11            girite gittik biz.
12            evimizi bulduk.
13            annemin evini bulduk=
                [      ]
14    I:      öyle mi?
15    F:      tabi biz gittik.
                [              ]
16    G:      Hı gittiler onlar.
      ((narrative continues))
```

Translation
```
01    I:      You I mean how well do you know?
02    G:      Well we can communicate=
03    F:      Well thinks like how are you?
04            are you fine?
              [
05    G:      for example if you said "Let's go somewhere"
06            I wouldn't like to go to another country such as germany or france.
07            I would like to go to crete.
08            because I know the language.
09            I would take pleasure in doing so.
                           [
10    F:                     We went there.
```

11		We went to crete.
12		we found our house.
13		we found my mother's house=
		[ ]
14	I:	*Is it so?*
15	F:	Yes we went.
		[ ]
16	G:	Yes they went.

((narrative continues))

In this account, following the question how well Filiz and Gülsima speak Cretan, Gülsima states that they speak it well enough to communicate and then she presents her affiliation to Crete in lines (5) through (8). In line (5), she elaborates more on the topic about their knowledge of Cretan. She states that since she speaks the language spoken there she would prefer Crete to visit with pleasure but not any other place. Note that here her statement marked with *mesela* (for example) introduces a new topic to the conversation rather than expanding on the topic about how well they speak Cretan. Then in line (10), Filiz takes the turn to tell about her visit to Crete. Note that she interrupts Gülsima's turn and starts to talk about their visit to Crete narrowing the topic Gülsima introduces down to Crete. In line (12), similar to the examples above, Filiz chooses to use the first person plural possessive marker *–(I)mIz* referring to house her parents used to live before the population exchange although she had never seen it before her visit to Crete which is quite recent and although the house does not belong to her family anymore. She states that she went to Crete and found their house there. Note that she also mentions the same house as her mother's house. The use of *annemin evi* (my mother's house) immediately follows the use of *evimiz* (our house). While her use of *annemin evi* (my mother's house) indicates that Filiz sets up distance to Crete, her use of *evimiz* (our house) shows that she constructs attachment with Crete.

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As the example above shows we observe that our participants sometimes construct themselves as the members of the immigrant community which is revealed with their choice of personal and possessive pronouns and person agreement markers.

However, we also observe that they distance themselves from the community of immigrants with the use of third person pronouns and person agreement markers. The ambivalence observed in the construction of the migration event as both voluntary and compulsory is also observed in the personalization of the migration and of migrancy. This ambivalence is illustrated by the extract below involving frequent shifts in pronominal choice and hence opposing positionings one of our participants, Ahmet in relation to the hometown Crete.

Example (11)

01	I:	Hiç girite gittiniz mi?
02	A:	Şimdi efendim bin dokuz yüz doksan dokuz yılında-benim esasında benim esasında giritle bi şeyim nostaljim yok.
03		neden nostaljim yok?
04		çünkü devletlerarası yapılan lozan anlaşması ile ordaki bütün haklarımızı kaybettiğimizi müdrik bir insanım
05		nostaljim yok.
06		onlar güle güle otursun.
07		biz de buraya geldiğimize göre
08		biz de güle güle oturalım.
09		ee ama bin dokuz yüz onun için hiçbi zaman için girite gideyim filan düşünmedim.
10		ama bin dokuz yüz doksan dokuz yılında eee bizi davet ettiler.
	((...))	
11		ee gittim.
12		babamın bağlarının olduğu yere gittim.
13		hepsi arsa oldu.
14		hepsi arsa.
15		peki nerden buldun sen bu arsaları?
16		orda şehrin suyunun dibindeydi bizim bağlar.
17		hala havuzlar duruyor.
18		bir bayan bayan yazarla gittik beraber.
19		evet hepsi şey oldu.
20		bahçemiz olduğu yer hepsi arsa oldu.

21   ee evler yıkılmış.
22   ve kendi evimi-
23   bir bayan kendi işini bırakmak suretiyle benimle iki saat uğraştı
24   ama adres yok.
        ((...))
25   hiç kimseyi bulamadık.
26   sonunda bulamadım doğum evimi.
27   yani doğduğum evi görmek istiyordum.
28   şimdi burada bi türk vardı
29   bana dedi ki "Ahmet bey biz köyden göçtüğümüz zaman göç ettiğimiz zaman sizin evinizi biliyorum sizin eviniz üç kattı"
30   Ben onu biliyorum zaten.
31   şimdi de hatırlıyorum ben.
32   şu aynadan daha büyük aynalar
33   ama altın yaldızlı çerçevelerle
34   iki tane büyük bi saat onu hatırlıyorum
35   oturma bi saat
36   yani bunları hatırlıyorum.
37   çok şeyler hatırlıyorum hatta.

Translation
01   I: So have you ever been to crete?
02   A: Well now in nineteen ninty-nine I actually am not nostalgic about crete.
03   why aren't I nostalgic?
04   because I know that we have lost all our rights there with the treaty of lausanne.
05   I have no nostalgia.
06   let them live there happily.
07   and since we've come here
08   let us be happy here.
09   well but nineteen nineteen hundred- so I never thought about going to crete
10   but in nineteen ninety-nine they invited us.
        ((...))
11   well I went there.
12   I went to the place where my father had a vineyard.
13   they are all building plots now.
14   all building plots.
15   so where did you find all these plots?
16   our vineyards were there right by the water.
17   the pools are still there.
18   we went there with a lady writer.
19   well yes they all turned out like that.
20   the places where our yard used to be all became plots.
21   hmm houses were demolished.

22	and my own home
23	a lady gave up her own work to help me for two hours
24	but there is no address.
((...))	
25	we couldn't find anyone.
26	in the end I couldn't find the house where I was born.
27	I mean I wanted to see the house I was born in.
28	so there was this turk and he said
29	"Ahmet Bey when we left the village I know your place your house was a three story house"
30	I know that already.
31	I remember that even now.
32	mirrors larger than this one
33	but with golden frames
34	two big clocks I remember that.
35	a big clock
36	I mean I remember these.
37	actually I remember a lot of things.

The example above is Ahmet's story of his visit to Crete in 1999. Ahmet starts his story as a response to the interviewer's question asking if he has ever been to Crete. In line (1), he makes a self interruption and leaves his statement about his visit to Crete incomplete. Rather, he changes the topic and states that he does not have nostalgia for Crete. He emphasizes his utterance by repeating the adverb *esasında* (in fact) twice. In line (3), he asks a rhetorical question marking that his upcoming utterance will be the explanation of why he does not have any nostalgia for Crete. After presenting the reasons in line (4), in line (5) he strengthens his statement in line (1) with another repetition. In lines (4-8), he presents the reasons of his not having nostalgia for Crete as mentioned in the previous section. His direct reference to Crete for which he does not have any nostalgia conveys that Ahmet sets up distance between himself and the hometown Crete and hence the migrancy. However, his self positioning in relation to Crete undergoes shifts in the following lines. In line (10), Ahmet introduces his story of

his visit to Crete.[9] Ahmet then depicts the place they lived before the migration in lines

from (12) through (21). In line (12), he presents the noun *bağ* (vineyard) using it in a

genitive-possessive construction. He attaches the genitive marker *–(n)In* to the noun

baba-m- (my father) and the third person singular possessive suffix *-(s)I(n)* to the noun

bağ (vineyard). In line with his previous positioning conveying his distance to Crete, he

depersonalizes the vineyards in Crete with the use of the third person agreement marker

on the noun *bağ* (vineyard). However, in line (16), Ahmet presents the same vineyard

with the first person plural possessive pronoun preceding it, *bizim bağlar* (our

vineyards). Similarly, in line (20), he personalizes the noun *bahçe* (garden) by inflecting

it with the first person plural possessive suffix *–(I)mIz*. In line (22), his degree of

personalization increases since he personalizes the house in Crete with the use of first

person singular possessive suffix *–(I)m* on the noun *ev* (house) modified by the

determiner pronoun *kendi* (own). He uses the first person possessive on the noun *ev*

(house) in line (26) as well all indicating that he constructs attachment with the entities

listed above in Crete personalizing them. Additionally, Ahmet talks about their house in

line (26) through to the end of his narrative. Between these lines he lists the things that

he remembers at the house contrary to his former statements having no nostalgia for

Crete. That he remembers even the frame of the mirror (line 33) and his last utterance

stating that he remembers lots of things conflict with what he said at the beginning of his

account. Therefore, in this account Ahmet ambivalently presents his attachment to Crete

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[9] The part taken out between the lines (10) and (11) is about the process before he visits Crete and his story of torn up documents as mentioned before.

which is revealed by his pronominal choice and references referring to the things he has memory of.

As mentioned previously, the participants' positioning in terms of de/personalization of migration event and migrancy involves ambivalence since they both personalize and depersonalize the migration. However, the use of the first person markers by our participants carry more importance since they are second generation immigrants which conveys that neither the migration experience nor the life before the migration event are represented as things in the past, rather they are still reproduced and represented in the discourse of second generation immigrants from Crete.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have analyzed the representation of the migration focusing on the degree of "agency" attributed to the immigrants in the initiation and realization of the migration. We have focused on the choice of grammatical voice as well as direct references to migration. We have shown that the representation of the migration is ambivalent being both voluntary and compulsory. We have pointed out that while the participants explicitly present the migration as voluntary, they present it as compulsory indirectly and implicitly. The analysis of the choice of grammatical voice and violence stories in Crete reveal the compulsory representation of the migration. The construction of these two opposing representation is not at random. Rather, it is strictly related to the ideologies, discourses and shared representations having impact on the language use in interaction.

Furthermore, the migration date is represented as a default milestone in our participants' discourse keeping its impact and significance as a social phenomenon in their lives.

Finally, we have analyzed our participants' positioning in relation to the migration and the migrancy focusing on their pronominal choice and references to the hometown Crete as well as the properties their forefathers had had in Crete. We have discussed that our participants' construction of attachment to the hometown and personalizing the entities there is important since it reveals not only their positioning in relation to migrancy but also how long the ramification of the migration last. Moreover, we have shown that the ambivalence observed in the representation of the migration as voluntary and/or compulsory is also observed in our participants' self positioning as immigrants or locals since they both personalize and depersonalize the migration event and present conflicting degrees of attachment with the hometown.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTING MEMBERSHIPS INTO COMMUNITIES

In this chapter we will discuss the construction of memberships into different

communities. We will analyze the cultural social conducts and attributes used to

construct collective identities raised by our participants that are basically the Cretan and

Turkish identities. We will then discuss the particular strategies our participants use to

construct membership into these communities and reveal the defining characteristics of

these identities and/or communities. We will also discuss the particular contexts in

which these identities are constructed and explain our participants' positioning regarding

collective identities with references to the ideologies and discourses in action

4.1. Ethnic Identities in Competition

Identity formation in general, whether it is ethnic, religious or gender includes

projections of selves into specific social roles and self and other alignments with groups

and communities (De Fina, 2003). Affiliation to different communities and frequent

shifts in the construction of membership into the groups are widespread in the ethnic

identity formation of the descendents of the immigrants from Crete, as well.

Ethnicity, in more traditional perspectives, is a sense of belonging to a group

based on common history, language, religion, race, and shared culture. Edwards (1977)

for example, defines ethnicity as a "sense of group identity deriving from real or

perceived common bonds such as language, race, or religion". However, the fact that

given categories such as these play a significant role in one's positioning in relation to a community does not mean that ethnic identity formation is stable, unique, and permanent. As Horowitz (1975) states that ethnicity changes when groups define and redefine the boundaries of self and the others in response to changes in their lives and/or participation in social action.

In this study, the ethnic identities claimed by the descendants of the immigrants from Crete are both Cretan and Turkish identities. The ambivalence observed in the representation of the migration and participants' positioning in relation to it is observed also in the ethnic identity formation throughout the discourse of our participants. Our participants present themselves as both Turkish and Cretan depending on the specific context of the interaction. Switching from one ethnic identity to the other is managed smoothly through transitions created by the immediate context of interaction. It is also important that these ethnic identities are never presented in opposition to each other. Either different contexts call for the construction of one or the "other" or they are co-constructed by the same person in the same context creating a hybrid ethnic identity which is *Girit Türkleri* (Cretan Turks).The construction of the hybrid "Cretan Turk" ethnic identity is exemplified with extract from Hakan below:

Example (1)
01   H: Bizim bir kısmımız konyadan gitti.
02   ne olduğunu kimse bilmiyo.
03   ha şunu yapabildi girit türkleri
04   kurtuluş savaşından önce yaşadıkları zulümü çok iyi böle özümsediler.
      ((narrative continues))

Translation
01   H: Some of us went there from konya.
02   no one knows what happened.
03   but the cretan turks managed to do this
04   they internalized the cruelty they had experienced before the turkish war
      of independence.
      ((narrative continues))

This extract from Hakan is taken from a long conversation about the origins of people

living in Crete before the migration. Here, Hakan prefers to use the label *Girit Türkleri*

(Cretan Turks) in line (3) directly referring to the immigrants from Crete. He presents

the two ethnic identities as one identity. This example not only illustrates that

participants present themselves as both Cretan and Turkish but also shows that Cretan

and Turkish identities are not conflicting labels set up in opposition to one another.

Similarly, Tarık presents himself as *Girit Türkü* (Cretan Turk) as illustrated in

the extract below:

Example (2)
01   I: Adınız neydi?
02   T: Efendim?
03   I: Adınız ne?
04   T: Tarık anda.
05   şuanda altmışbir yaşındayım.
06   I: Siz de giritlisiniz
07   değil mi?
08   T: Girit girit giritliyim.
09   evet girit türklerindenim.

Translation
01   I: What was your name?
02   T: Sorry?
03   I: What is your name?
04   T: My name is Tarık anda.
05   now I am sixty-one years old.

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06    I:     You are also from crete
07           aren't you?
08    T:     crete crete I am from crete.
09           yes I am one of the cretan turks.
```

In this example, the interviewer wants to confirm that Tarık is also from Crete with the

tag question *değil mi* (aren't you) in lines (6) and (7). After repeating that he is Cretan

three times, Tarık reformulates his response in line (9) stating that he is one of the

Cretan Turks marking hesitation. Here, Tarık uses the ablative case *–DAn* in its partitive

function and marks his group membership. Tarık chooses to use the partitive

construction *Girit Türklerindenim* (I am one of the Cretan Turks) and presents himself as

a member of the category of the Cretan Turks. His presenting himself as one member of

the category "Cretan Turks" not only indicates that he is from Crete but also conveys

that he positions all immigrants from Crete as Cretan Turks since he also sets the

category "Cretan Turk".

In both of the extracts given above, the hybrid identity as both Cretan and

Turkish is managed through the use of a direct label "Cretan Turk". The following

extract from Yakup, on the other hand, illustrates the dual ethnic identity construction as

both Cretan and Turkish and setting membership into these ethnic groups with the use of

first person plural pronoun *biz* (we) or with the use of locative existential structure *bizde*

(we have)[10].

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[10] In Turkish when the locative case marker *–DA* is attached to a noun denoting person, i.e. 'Ben-de kalem var (I-LOC pen there is) 'I have a pen', the locative existential structure expresses that the person has (temporary) possession of the given entity.

Example (3)
01   Y: Yalnız bakın.
02   bu çok ilginç bişi var.
03   bizdeki edebiyatımızda maniler aynı formatta şeyde de var.
04   girit manileri dediğimiz
05   ve o ilk iki alakasız şey
06   ee ne diyelim ona?
07   mısra.
08   ondan sonra ifade etmek istediği yani ee türkçede nasıl ise
09   aynısı giritçede de var.
10   ve bu sadece şeyde değil
11   bizde diil.
12   yani müslüman giritlilerde diil.
13   tüm girit ee giritlilerle ilgili bişey.

Translation
01   Y: But you see
02   this there is something very interesting in our literature.
03   folk poems there are in the same format in well.
04   well what we call as cretan folk poems
05   and these first two unrelated things
06   hmm how shall we call it?
07   verses.
08   well the thing one wants to express I mean hmm however it is in Turkish
09   it is the same in cretan.
10   this is so not only in well
11   not in ours.
12   I mean not only in muslim cretans.
13   the whole Crete hmm this is something related to cretans.

In this example, Yakup constructs himself as both Cretan and Turkish through

personalization of Turkish literature and Cretan language. He compares Turkish and

Cretan folk literature stating that there are Cretan folk poems in the same format of

Turkish folk poems. In line (3), he uses the locative existential structure *bizde* (we have)

denoting a possession relationship between the pronouns "we" and the entity *edebiyat*

(literature). He then marks the noun *edebiyat* (literature) with the first person plural

possessive suffix *-(I)mIz* in Turkish positioning himself as a member of the Turkish

community. In line (8) and (9) he presents the nouns *türkçe* (Turkish) and *giritçe* (Cretan) without any reference to possession. This change in use can be considered to be the transitional path from the construction of one ethnic identity to another one. The use of these nouns without possessive illustrates how Yakup constructs these ethnic identities and their membership into these communities in a coherent and smooth way. After the neutral use of the nouns *türkçe* (Turkish) and *giritçe* (Cretan), in line (11) Yakup starts to construct his Cretan identity by shifting the referent of the locative possessive pronoun *bizde* (we have) to Cretans. In line (12), he clarifies who *biz* (we) is by stating that he means Muslim Cretans this time and positions himself as Muslim Cretan. That the pronoun *biz* (we) gets different referents or sometimes is used without any specific referent indicates that *biz* (we) is ambiguous between the Turkish and Cretan referents gaining its referent from the specific context.

The examples above illustrate that immigrants from Crete construct themselves as "Cretan Turk" in a coherent manner. In addition to this, our participants position themselves as Cretan or Turkish depending on the context. Our participants use different strategies to mark their Cretan or Turkish identities. The Cretan identity construction is marked with the linguistic references to being Cretan, positive attributes to Cretan people and to Cretan language, glorified representation of the homeland Crete, and lastly through the appraisal of the preservation of Cretan culture. On the other hand, Turkish identity is constructed via presentation of Turkish origins, claims to being "good citizens" of the Republic of Turkey, expression of gratitude to the initiators of the population exchange, and lastly common naming practices in the Cretan community.

4.2. Construction of Cretan Identity

In our participants' discourse, we observe a prevalent construction of Cretan identity. In line with the definition of ethnicity as mentioned above, we observe that common history, shared culture and language play significant role in the formation of the Cretan identity. Common cultural heritage is commonly referred to across participants. Moreover, participants overwhelmingly build up relations of 'equivalence' and 'difference' to establish their Cretan identity. In other words, participants position themselves in relation to ethnic communities in relation to the "others" by incorporating their similarities with the relevant community and also by forming differences between themselves and the "others".

Cretan identity is not only constructed by direct references to being *Giritli* (Cretan) but also by the presentation of *Giritli*s (Cretans) as different from and mostly superior than other ethnic or regional groups living in Turkey. In addition to direct references to being Cretan, positive attributes such as *çalışkan* (hard-working), *sert* (tough), *asil* (noble), and *medeni* (civilized) are frequently used to construct the Cretan identity. Moreover, participants personalize the Cretan language and portray their affiliation to Cretan identity through language. Glorified representations of the hometown *Girit* (Crete) before the migration and presentation of the good old days are also among the strategies used to construct the Cretan identity. Furthermore, the components of cultural heritage such as cuisine, leisure activities and their preservation are portrayed as sources of pride in the discourse of second generation immigrants from Crete.

<u>4.2.1. Direct references to being Cretan</u>

Among various strategies to construct the Cretan identity, direct references to being

Cretan and its representation as a source of pride are quite common in the discourse of

our participants. The extract below is an example of direct and emphasized self

presentation of being Cretan.

Example (4)
01	I:	İsminiz neydi?
02	H:	İsmim hakan.
03		soyadım ercan.
04		bin dokuz yüz altmış yedi yılında cunda adasında doğdum.
05		anadan babadan giritliyiz.
06		yani yüzde yüz giritliyiz.
07		giritin hanya şehrinden geliyo köklerimiz.

Translation
01	I:	What is your name?
02	H:	My name is hakan.
03		my surname is ercan.
04		I was born in cunda in nineteen sixty-seven.
05		both my father and mother are cretans.
06		I am a hundred percent cretan.
07		we have our roots in the hanya town in crete.

In this excerpt, Hakan starts to introduce himself as a response to a question asking what

his name was. After stating his name and surname, he gives his date and place of birth

and he immediately adds that he is Cretan. Interestingly, without any prompting

reference to ethnicity he mentions his ethnic identity in line (5). He constructs his Cretan

identity with the presentation of where his roots go back to in an emphatic way by

stating that he is *yüzde yüz* (a hundred percent) Cretan by virtue of his parents in line (6).

After the 4[th] line, he switches the use of the first person singular agreement marker on the predicate –(I)m to the first person plural agreement marker -(I)z. The use of the first person plural pronoun or the subject-predicate agreement marker referring to the first person singular mostly by male speakers expresses the speaker's boasting as mentioned before. Therefore, here Hakan not only constructs his belonging to the Cretan community but also presents this as something to be proud of.

4.2.2. Positive attributes of being Cretan

As Tajfel (1981:255) suggests "sense of belonging to social categories is central to identity". In the discourse of the descendants of the immigrants from Crete, one of the most frequent strategies to construct belonging to the Cretan community is to present Cretan community with positive attributes such as "hard-working", "tough", "noble", and "civilized".

De Fina (2006:353) states that people display their positioning in relation to others with constant comparisons. The descendants of the Cretan immigrants also present themselves as "hard-working", "tough", "noble", and "civilized" in opposition to the immigrants from the island of Mytilene and to the people of Black Sea. These attributions are not only used as a strategy to define the ethnic category Cretan but also to expand the differentiation between Cretans and the mentioned groups of people.

Example (5) below illustrates the glorified representation of the Cretan people. Following an account of Tarık about his visit to Crete, Yakup and Tarık start talking about Cretan people in general and portray Cretans as *sert* (tough), *çalışkan* (hardworking), and *en iyi* (the best).

Example (5)
```
01    Y:    Giritliler biraz sert.
02          yani yunanistanda da öle.
03          gemileri ayrı .
04          uçakları ayrı.
05          herşeyleri ayrı=
06    T:    =İyi erkekler iyi kadınlar giritten çıkar.
07    I:    hım
08    T:    yani yunanistanın en iyi erkekleri en iyi kadınları girittendir.
09    I:    Erkekler sertmiş
10          kadınlar da öyle mi?
11    T:    Yok kadınlar da iyidir.
12          çalışkandır.
13          çalışkan.
14          verimli.
15          tarlaya koy
16          çift sürsün.
17          eksin.
18          kazsın.
19    I:    Erkekler napsın?
20    T:    Erkekler aynı şekilde
21          yani karadenizdekiler gibi oturmuyolar
22          da çalışıyo.
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Translation
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01    Y:    Cretans are a little bit tough.
02          I mean it is the same in greece as well.
03          their ships are different.
04          their planes are different.
05          everything is different.
06    T:    Proper women and men are from crete.
07    I:    hmm
08          I mean the best women and men in greece are from crete.
09    I:    The men are said to be tough
10          are the women so as well?
11    T:    No the women are also good.
12          they are hardworking.
13          hardworking.
14          productive.
15          you send them to the field
16          they plant.
17          they plow.
18          they harvest    .
19    I:    What about the men?
20    T:    The men as well in the same way
```

21	they are not just sitting down like the men from the black sea region.
22	they work.

This extract starts with Yakup's comment related to Tarık's account of his visit to Crete. In lines (1-2), Yakup presents Cretans as *sert* (tough) generalizing Cretan's toughness to all Cretans stating that they are recognized as such in Greece as well in line (2). Note that toughness is generally attributed to men as a positive characteristic in Turkey. Then in line (6) Tarık takes the turn and states that all the best women and men are from Crete. He repeats his opinion stating that all the best women and men in Greece are from Crete in line (8). Here, Cretans are favorably compared to other people in Greece. As a response to the interviewer's question asking whether women are tough like men, Tarık states that women are not tough but hardworking possibly because toughness is not a desirable attribute for women. Rather, being "hardworking" is favorable for women as Tarık mentions in lines (12-18). Then in lines (20-22) he presents the Cretan men as *çalışkan* (hardworking) distinguishing them from the men from the Black Sea Region in Turkey. People from the Black Sea Region are (stereo) typically known as tough, and the women as hardworking. So far, the Cretan community is presented similar to the Black Sea people. However, stating that Cretan men work unlike men from the Black Sea Region who sit around all day, Tarık criticizes men from this region for they do not work in the fields but women do the physical hard work. Therefore, we can claim that the participants are careful to avoid a possible parallelism between these two groups mentioning a distinct characteristic. In other words, our participants position Cretan people with positive attributes using the strategy of differentiating themselves first from the other people living in Greece and then from the people living in the Black Sea region

in Turkey. The strategy of differentiation reaches to a point that even the ships and

planes Cretans use are presented as different as seen in Yakup's utterances in the third

and the fourth lines in the excerpt given above.

Pride and nobility are also among the predominantly used positive attributes in

the representation of Cretan identity. The following extract from Hakan is an example of

idealized representation of Cretan people.

Example (6)
01   H: Yalnız şey giritlilerin ruhunda bir asalet var her zaman için.
02   ciddi söylüyorum.
03   yani bu şeydir
04   bütün giritliler en fakiri bile bi kibirlidir.
05   yani mesela şimdi bi internette falan bi bi gidin bakalım Giritlilerin
        sayfasına.
06   bi girin ohoo.
07   neler yazıyolar neler
08   ve hepsi de övünüyo.

Translation
01   H: Well cretans always have a kind of nobility.
02   I am serious in what I say.
03   this is well
04   even the poorest cretan is so arrogant.
05   I mean for example you can search the internet.
06   click on the cretans' webpage wows.
07   you can't believe the things they write there.
08   all of them are so proud.

This extract is an example of how being Cretan is presented as a source of pride. The

account starts with Yakup's topic change with the use of *yalnız*[11] (but). Immediately

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[11] İşsever (1996) notes the topic changing function of the contrastive conjunction *fakat* (but) in Turkish (İşsever, 1996:89).

after the use of *yalnız* (but) he uses the discourse marker *şey* (well) marking his caution and "politeness" and indicating that the upcoming utterances will be "assertions about the self or the other." (Yılmaz, 2004: iii). His upcoming utterance conveys his assessment of the Cretan people. He states that Cretans have *asalet* (nobility) in their souls. Here, he uses the time adverbial *her zaman için* (for always) and presents Cretans' "nobility" as a general property of the Cretan people. In line (2), he reinforces his statement by stating that he is serious in what he says. The statement Hakan makes in line (1) is so assertive and emphatic that he feels the necessity to say that he is serious in what he says possibly because he thinks that the hearers would not believe him. He then continues to elaborate more on the topic as seen in line (3) where he uses the connective and continuative discourse marker *yani* (I mean) one of the functions of which is to introduce an explanation or justification of a topic or a concept (Yılmaz, 2004:115).

In line (4), he justifies the claim that the Cretans are "noble" by stating that all the Cretans, even the poorest ones are so arrogant. Here, he generalizes this characteristic to all Cretans with the use of the quantifier *bütün* (all) modifying the Cretans which adds more emphasis on his statement. Moreover, he uses the additive connective *bile* (even) including "the poorest" Cretans into the group of arrogant Cretans. His use of *bile* (even) indicates that he associates being arrogant with the rich. Therefore, involving the poorest Cretans in the group of arrogant Cretans, he conveys that only being Cretan is a sufficient feature to be arrogant irrespective of one's being rich or poor. Hakan continues to expand on the topic about the Cretans' nobility in lines (5-7). In line (5), his statement starts with *yani* (I mean) again marking the example he is giving in the upcoming statement. Here, he recommends the listeners to see the webpage of the Cretans. Then he goes on talking about the website stating that the Cretans write

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on the site lots of things in line (7). He exaggerates the content of the page with the use

of the reduplicated and plural form of the wh-word *ne* (what) and the word *ohoo* (wows)

expressing the abundance although he does not mention any of the things written on the

webpage. Here, Hakan also constructs his expertise authority on the topic by referring to

the webpage of the Cretans and by indicating that he is not only knowledgeable about

the Cretans living in Cunda but also the ones in Crete. Finally, Hakan ends his account

in line (8) stating that the Cretans writing on the webpage are all proud of being Cretan.

Here, Hakan uses the quantifier *hepsi* (all of them) again and makes a generalization

including all Cretans in the group all members of which is proud of being Cretan. This

statement functioning as the coda of his account connects his examples to the main topic

of this account referring to the positive characteristics of the Cretans.

Considering the common features and characteristics to represent the Cretan

people, we may claim that presenting positive attributes to define Cretan people is

central to construct our participants' membership into the Cretan community. Positive

attributes seem to be quite significant not only to construct a basic schema in which

participants represent how Cretan community is and their membership in this

community but also to represent the social relationships both within the community and

with the "others".

Another attribution made relevant in the discourse of the descendants of the

Cretan immigrants is *medeni* (civilized). This label is the most prevalent attribute to

describe the Cretan immigrants and our participants present it especially in relation to

the "other", most typically in opposition to the immigrants from the island of Mytilene.

Interestingly, the label "civilized" is used as a cliché by all the participants and gains

different connotations by different participants in different contexts. The connotation of

the attribute "civilized" can be related to clothing style, wedding ceremonies, speaking

Greek, and having lived in the same neighborhood with Greeks in the past. They

attribute this quality of "being civilized" to their past (both in Crete and in Cunda). In

other words, they use their past to differentiate themselves from the immigrants from the

island of Mytilene in present.

The following two extracts below illustrate the presentation of Cretans as more

medeni (civilized) by Filiz and Gülsima in opposition to *adalılar* (islanders), immigrants

from the island of Mytilene, as Cretan immigrants call them. Example (7) is about how

the Cretans learned Turkish in Cunda and the eighth example is about the wedding

ceremonies of the immigrants in Cunda.

Example (7)
```
01      I:      Anneanneniz türkçe biliyo muydu?
02      G:      Biliyodu tek tük biliyodu.
03      I       O nası öğrenmiş acaba?
04      G:      E sonra buraya geldiğinde anlaşa-
05              bi ama güzel bilmiyodu.
06              tabi anlaşabiliyodu.
07      I:      Buraya geldiğinde ama-
08              ha midilliler burda olduğu için
09              Türkçeyi onlardan öğrendi öle mi?
10      G:      He evet.
11      F:      Biz de bilmiyoruz.
12              yani anneannem biliyodu .
                [       ]
13      G:       çünki
14      F:      çok güzel bilmiyodu anneannem.
15              annem biliyodu.
16              çok çok güzel biliyordu.
                [                   ]
17      G:      Hem adalılar vardı burda hem giritliler.
18      F:      öğrendiler burda öğrendiler=
19      G:      =eskiden zaten adalılar ii giritlileri pek sevmiyodular.
20              yarım gavur diyodular onlara.
21      I:      Ne diyodular?
22      F:      Yarım gavur.
```

23	I:	Giritliler onlara ne diyodu?
24	G:	Giritliler yazık bişey diyemiyordular.
		[
25	F:	bişey diyemiyordular.
		((laughs))
26		Ama giritliler ordan geldiklerinde çok medeniydi.
27		çünki yunanlılardan bi karışıktı mahallede evleri
28		anneannem diyordu
29		"Bazı bizi koruyodular bile çıkmayın bu akşam sokağa
30		bişey olucak"
31		yani o kadar yakındı.
32		ama midillide ayrı mahalleydi türklerin.
33		ondan pek onlar benim beyim bilmiyor yunancayı.

Translation

01	I:	Did your grandmother speak turkish?
02	G:	She spoke a little.
03	I	I wonder how she learned
04	G:	Hmm later when she came here she could commun-
05		but she did not speak well.
06		of course she could communicate.
07	I:	but when she came-
08		oh since the people from Mytilene were here
09		She learned Turkish thanks to them right?
10	G:	yes
11	F:	We don't know either.
12		well my grandmother knew.
		[ ]
13	G:	because
14	F:	my grandmother did not know very well.
15		my mother knew.
16		she knew very well.
		[ ]
17	G:	There were both the islanders and the cretans here.
18	F:	they learned it here=
19	G:	=in the past the islanders didn't like cretans any way.
20		they called them as half-heathen.
21	I:	What did they use to call them as?
22	F:	Half-heathen.
23	I:	What did the cretans call them as?
24	G:	Unfortunately the cretans could not say anything.
		[
25	F:	could not say anything.
		((laughs))
26	G:	But when the cretans came from there (Crete) they were very civilized.

27	because they used to live in the same neighborhood with the Greeks.
28	my grandmother said
29	"They even sometimes protected us do not go out tonight something will happen"
30	I mean they were really close to each other.
31	but in mytilene turks had a separate neighborhood.
32	so my husband does not know greek that well.

As mentioned before, the immigrants from Crete always construct themselves as "civilized" in opposition to the "islanders". The example above not only depicts the context where the participants feel the necessity to construct themselves as civilized but also illustrates the process of managing group membership and the ingrained ideologies regarding Turkish language having impact on this process.

As pointed out previously, the Cretan immigrants did not speak Turkish when they migrated to Cunda. Thus, this account of Filiz and Gülsima starts with the interviewer's question asking whether Gülsima's grandmother spoke Turkish. In line (2), Gülsima states that her grandmother knew a little Turkish. Upon the question of the interviewer asking how she learned Turkish, in line (4), Gülsima probably intends to state that grandmother could communicate. However, she makes a self-repair interrupting herself and states that her grandmother did not speak well. She then again adds that her grandmother could communicate with more certainty with the use of *tabi* (certainly) this time. At this point, the interviewer, probably because she is confused with the hesitant statements of Gülsima tries to figure out how Gülsima's grandmother learned to speak Turkish. She states that the Cretan immigrants learned Turkish from the Turkish speaking immigrants from Mytilene with a tag question. Gülsima, in line (10) approves the interviewer's claim. Then Filiz starts to provide the listeners with the

information about her mother and grandmother's level of Turkish. Similar to Gülsima,

Filiz presents contradictory information. In line (12), she states that her grandmother

knew Turkish and then in line (14), she states that her grandmother did not know

Turkish. Gülsima approving that the Cretans learned Turkish thanks to the immigrants

from Mytilene, intervenes in Filiz's statement in (12) with the causal connective *çünki*

(because) probably because she feels the necessity to present an explanation for Filiz's

grandmother's speaking Turkish. In the following lines, although Filiz continues to

present more examples for Turkish speaking family members, Gülsima again intervenes

in Filiz's turn when she states that her mother knew Turkish very well. Note that

Gülsima's intervenes only when Filiz states that her mother or grandmother knew

Turkish. Her last intervention in line (17) stating that there were both Cretan and

islander immigrants in Cunda is finally followed by Filiz's declaration of the fact that

the Cretan immigrants learned Turkish in Cunda. Note that, most of the time, when our

participants talk about the language of the first generation immigrants, they portray

hesitation and they never directly state that their parents did not speak Turkish when

they came to Cunda. This might be because of the fact that the immigrants are in search

for a place in the host country where they are surrounded by the ideologies regarding the

Turkish language the use of which is assured by the law in the Turkish constitution.[12]

Articulating the fact that the Cretan immigrants did not speak Turkish directly positions

them as foreign in the host country. This claim is supported by the presentation of the

label the islanders attribute to the Cretan immigrants as Gülsima tells in line (20) where

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[12] The third law in the constitution of the Republic of Turkey is about the unity and territorial integrity of the state in addition to the official language, flag, national anthem, and the capital of the state. *Madde 3- Türkiye Devleti, ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bir bütündür. Dili Türkçedir.* (The Republic of Turkey, with its country and nation, is an inseparable unit. Its language is Turkish.) (T.C 1982 Anayasası, 2010:36)

the topic of the conversation shifts to the relationship between the immigrants from Crete and Mytilene. In lines (19-20), Gülsima states that islanders never liked Cretans and they called Cretans as *yarım gavur* (half-heathen). Filiz approves Gülsima by repeating that islanders used to call Cretans as *yarım gavur* (half-heathen) in the following line. The Cretan speaking Muslim immigrants, the islanders, differed from the Turkish speaking Muslim immigrants only with respect to the language they spoke. The word *gavur* (half-heathen) in Turkish means the person who is not Muslim. Hence, the Cretan immigrants despite being Muslim are called as *gavur* (half-heathen) because they did not speak Turkish. This challenges the place of the Cretan immigrants in the Republic of Turkey where a strict emphasis is put on speaking one language, Turkish. Hence, the hesitation our participants present about the knowledge of Turkish results from their being positioned as half-heathen by the islanders and the ideologies about Turkish language. Also note that our participants' construction of Cretan membership here is managed via presentation of what "others" attribute to this community. De Fina (2006:353) states that people express how others position them in addition to conveying their own way of looking at themselves and the members of the community they set memberships.

The above analysis illustrates the context in which our participants feel the necessity to construct the Cretan immigrants as "civilized" in opposition to the islanders. In line (26), Gülsima takes the turn stating that the Cretans were very *medeni* (civilized) when they came from Crete. Her utterance starts with the contrastive conjunction *ama* (but) which marks a contrastive relationship with the previous utterances and the following ones and which indicates a topic shift. The topic of the conversation changes to the Cretan people being *medeni* (civilized). Cretan people in contrast to their

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positioning as *yarım gavur* (half-heathen) is presented with a positive attribute. In line (27), Gülsima presents the justification of her previous statement which is marked by the causal connector *çünkü* (because). She states that since the Cretans lived in the same neighborhood with the Greeks, they were "civilized" as opposed to the islanders and the Turks who lived in separate neighborhoods from the Greek's. Here, the connotation of being "civilized" is living with the Greeks in the same neighborhood. This seems to be highly related to the preceding context because it explains not only why the Cretans are "civilized" but also why the Cretan immigrants speak Cretan but not Turkish. As seen in the last line, she explains why her husband does not speak Greek as because people lived in separate neighborhood with the Greeks in Mytilene. In lines (28-32), she talks about the close relationship between the Cretans and the Greeks with direct quotation from her grandmother. The presentation of the close relationship with the Greeks by our participants is significant because the Greeks are represented as the symbol of "civilization" here though in most of the cases our participants refrain from using the label Greek. Here, we again observe the reproduction of the Kemalist ideologies regarding the civilization of the Turks. Kemalism focused on Turks' joining the ranks of the contemporary civilization taking the "West" as a benchmark since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey (Parla &Davison, 2004: 138). Hence, living in the same neighborhood with the Greeks who are "western" and "civilized" provides the Cretan immigrants with a higher position in the Turkish society since they adjust to the desired western life style more easily compared to the "others", to the islanders.

The following example also illustrates the representation of the Cretans as more "civilized" than the islanders. Note that in the above example the connotation of being

"civilized" is presented as sharing the same neighborhood with the Greeks. In example

(8), this connotation shifts to not having tambourine players in the wedding ceremonies.

Example (8)
01   I: Gençliğinizde midilliden gelenlerin adalıların düğünlerine de gider
        miydiniz?
02   G: giderdik.
              [   ]
03   F: çağırdıkları
                       [
04   G: Onların düğünleri biraz şeydi daha köy düğünleri gibi
05   kınalar yakıyodular -bizim=
06   F: =Bizim gibi değildi.
07   G: Bizim giritlilerin daha medeni.
08   I: Kına yok muydu sizde?
09   G: Yapılıyodu kına.
10   ama onların tefçi geliyodu.
11   tef çalardı.
12   bilmem ne yapardı başka türlü.
13   I: E sizin nasıl daha medeni hani?
14   G: Ne bileyim.
15   normal kına.
16   biz tefçi kadın getirmiyoduk giritliler.
        ((narration continues))

Translation
01   I: When you were young did you used to go to the wedding ceremonies of
        islanders as well?
02   G: Yes we used to.
              [   ]
03   F: When they invited
                            [
04   G: Their weddings were more like village weddings
05   they used to put henna – ours=
06   F: =Their weddings were not like ours.
07   G: The weddings of the cretans ours were more civilized
08   I: Didn't you have henna in your weddings?
09   G: We had henna.
10   but a woman playing tambourine used to come to their wedding
        ceremonies.
11   she played the tambourine.
12   and I don't know what else she did.

13	I:	but why was yours more civilized?
14	G:	I don't know.
15		we had normal henna.
16		we the cretans didn't used to bring the woman playing tambourine.

In this account, the interviewer asks whether the Cretans joined the wedding ceremonies of the islanders. Both Gülsima and Filiz state that they used to join. However, in line (4), Gülsima immediately adds that the ceremonies of islanders are more like *köylü düğünü* (peasants' ceremonies). Here, Gülsima starts her statement with the use of the third person plural possessive pronoun *onların* (their) referring to the wedding ceremonies of the islanders setting up the "we" vs. "they" opposition from the beginning of her account. She then adds that the islanders applied henna, presenting this as the reason for not being "civilized". In line (7), she states that the wedding ceremonies of the Cretans are more "civilized". At this point, she positions herself as Cretan with the use of the first person plural possessive pronoun *bizim* (our) personalizing Cretan wedding ceremonies. Following the interviewer's question asking whether the Cretans did not use henna, she states that they also used to use henna. Here, we see that henna which is generally associated with the eastern traditions is presented as the source of being "uncivilized". However, in line (8), probably because she notices the contradiction upon the interviewer's question, she continues to find the differences in the ceremonies of the islanders so that she can position the Cretans more "civilized". She states that the islanders had tambourine players in their ceremonies. The interviewer being unable to associate the tambourine players with being "uncivilized" asks in what way they are more civilized. Gülsima then refraining from giving more information ends her turn stating that she does not know the difference and repeating her previous answer.

This account is significant because it visibly illustrates the process through which people make sense of the social categories and assign meanings to these categories. As seen in the analysis, the social category Cretan is associated with the label "civilized" which is an empty attribute in terms of its meaning and which gets its meaning from the very specific context in interaction. The above examples show that the connotation of the label "civilized" shifts from living in the same neighborhood with the Greeks to not having henna first and then to not having tambourine players in the wedding ceremonies.

Moreover, the two extracts above illustrate how our participants represent and negotiate their belonging to the Cretan community and how they maintain the construction of self and other categorization through identification strategies. The pronoun choice of our participants displays how our participants categorize and position the "self" and the "other". Note that throughout the seventh example, our participants choose the third person plural pronoun or the agreement marker referring to the Cretans. This does not mean that they identify themselves as non-Cretans. Rather, this is a strategy they use to maintain their belonging to this community because of the mentioned existence of negative characteristics of the relevant community such as not speaking Turkish and being "half-heathen". Note also that the eighth example follows from the seventh in Filiz and Gülsima's interview data. In previous studies on identity, it has been claimed that membership loyalties, the way people relate to social groups and also the meaning given to social categories are constantly revised by the people according to local circumstances in different social contexts (De Fina 2006: 355). Therefore, the pronoun shift in Filiz and Gülsima's accounts result from the meaning of the labels referring to the Cretan community. When the referent for Cretan community is

"half heathen" they set up a distance between themselves and the Cretan community and when the referent is "civilized" they present themselves as members of the community with the use of "we" language. Thus, the switch from the "they" language to the "we" language happens when the Cretan people are labeled with positive attributes. Therefore, these examples show that our participants change their pronoun choice depending on the positive or negative attributes to the relevant community as a strategy to maintain their membership and hence, negotiate their membership in the Cretan community rather than displaying it.

4.2.3. Glorification of Crete

In the discourse of the descendants of the immigrants from Crete, affiliation with the hometown Crete is also commonly used to construct Cretan identity. References to the hometown Crete and to the good old days before the migration are frequently mentioned across participants. Crete is often romanticized and presented as having "fertile lands" and abundant life conditions in our participants' accounts. These accounts are mostly shared stories about the nostalgia of Crete that our participants' forefathers felt in Cunda after the migration. The following account from Filiz and Gülsima is about the first generation immigrants' homesickness of Crete and the good old days in Crete before the migration.

Example (9)
01   I: Peki anneniz nasıl anlatıyodu?
02   F: Annem nasıl anlatıyordu nasıl anlatıyordu.
03   "Ölmeden gideyim" Diyordu.

04		"Girite gideyim her şeyimiz bol hiç parayla bir şey almıyorduk şimdi burda Diyor "Kilo kilo alıyoruz mesela mandalini portakalı"=
05	G:	=Anneannem de öyle anlatıyodu.
		[ ]
06	F:	"burda" Diyor "portakalı mandalini tavuklara atıyorduk böle böle".
07	G:	Anneannemin bahçelerinde her şeyi her ağacı vardı.
		[ ]
08	F:	Bahçeleri vardı.
09	G:	öyle anlatıyodu.
10		tevekkeli de değil.
11		"Şimdiki çocukların gözü aç" Diyor.
12		"Biz" Diyor "Köfünlerle getiriyoduk"
13		ceviz her şeyler boldu=
14	F:	=herşey boldu.

Translation

01	I:	Well what was your mother telling?
02	F:	What my mother was telling.
03		Ah she used to say "I wish I could go before I die".
04		"I wish I could go to Crete we had everything in abundance there we were not buying anything with money there" she said "Now here we buy tangerines and oranges kilos by kilos=
05	G:	=My grandmother used to tell the same things too
		[ ]
06	F:	"here" she said "we were throwing oranges and tangerines to hens like this
07	G:	In my grandmother's garden they had everything every kind of trees
		[ ]
08	F:	they had gardens
09	G:	She used to tell like this
10		No surprise
11		She said "The children are greedy now".
12		"We" She said "We were bringing things in baskets".
13		nuts and everything were abundant=
14	F:	=everything was abundant.

This account starts with the interviewer's question asking what Filiz's mother said about Crete. Filiz prefaces her account of her mother's stories about Crete with an emphatic reduplication of the question asked by the interviewer in the second line. She goes on stating that her mother wished that she could go to Crete again before she dies. The

sentence *Ölmeden gideyim* (I shall go before I die) in line (3) illustrates the first generation's strong attachment to the hometown Crete since visiting Crete is taken as one of the things to be done before one dies. Filiz emphasizes that her mother used to long for Crete by repeating the direct quotations from her mother. She then starts to talk about the good old days in Crete in line (4). She presents Crete as a wealthy place via her mother's story which is about the abundant life conditions in Crete. In line (7) Gülsima takes the turn and supports Filiz's account with her grandmother's story stating that they also used to live in wealth. Here, the glorified representation of Crete is constructed as opposed to the settlement place. Gülsima underscores the difference by comparing the children's behavior in Cunda and in Crete in the past, commenting on how children are now insatiable. In Cunda, they grow up deprived as they live in a place where you buy things by kilos compared to Crete where you have baskets of things and throw the surplus to hens. This example illustrates the romanticized representation of the hometown Crete which is constructed as the place the first generation feels homesickness for and as a "fertile land" providing the people with abundant life conditions.

The glorification of wealth in Crete reaches such an extent that it may sound like a fantasy rather than a fact in some accounts in which even the halter of the horses are said to be golden. We cannot tell whether these statements are true or not, but regardless of that, this is also a reflection of the romanticized image of Crete.

Example (10)
01   G: Onun babası çok zengindi.
02   giritte "Atının yuları" Diyo şeydi "Altından"
03   o kadar zengindi.

04   o buraya getirdi koca koca kasalar burdan şuraya kadar sandıklar eşya
            altınlar mı şeyler çeyizler bakırlar herşey
            ((narration continues))

Translation
01   G: his father was very rich.
02   they say "In crete his horse's halter was golden"
03   he was that rich.
04   he brought here big cases lots of chests belongings a lot of golden things
            dowry and copper everything.
            ((narration continues))

This extract follows from the migration stories telling that most of the immigrants had to come to Cunda leaving their properties in Crete. Gülsima then starts to talk about her son-in-law's father who was an exception in taking most of his properties to Cunda. She states that he was so rich in Crete that even the halter of his horse was golden. She further exalts the belongings they brought to Cunda with emphatic reduplication *koca koca* (very big) and by listing all the things they brought.

        Recall that the Cretan identity invokes positive qualities in all participants' discourse. The example above demonstrates one of the paths the participants take to draw a picture of Cunda. These are the shared stories transferred through generations and hence, still articulated in the community. The account below is another example of the construction of Crete as a good place in terms of its ethnic composition. In this extract, two participants, Tarık and Hakan, present a story cooperatively and construct Crete as a better place than the island of Mytilene, which is represented as inferior to Crete attributing this to Gypsy people's existence in Mytilene.

Example (11)
01   T: Bir de şey ee (0.4) ayrım yapmayım.
02   bir de çingene yoktu giritte.
03   son gelecekleri zaman buraya girit türkleri
04   bi vapur göndermişler.
05   toplanmış oradaki giritle rum- türkle rum halkı sahile.
06   "Eğer gelirse girite kesicem" Dedi.
07   girdirmediler.
08   H: Nereye gitti sonra o vapur?
09   T: Midilliye
        ((Laughs))

Translation
01   T: Also well (0.4) I don't want to be discriminatory.
02   additionally there were no gypsies in crete.
03   when the cretan turks were about to come here
04   people had sent a ferry.
05   the cretan and the greek people- turks and greeks had gathered together at
        the coast
06   "If he comes to crete I will slaughter him." he said.
07   they didn't allow the ferry to reach there.
08   H: Where did that ferry go then?
09   T: To Mytilene
        ((laughs))

In this account, Tarık starts telling his story with a disclaimer of discrimination.

However, he then goes on stating that there were no Gypsy people in Crete. The Greek

and Turkish people living in Crete did not allow Gypsy people to enter the island. Hakan

then asks where these Gypsy people went afterwards in line (8) and Tarık immediately

states that Gypsy people went to Mytilene. Tarık's answer is followed by the laughs of

all the others. Here, the constant oppositions set up between Cretans and people from

Mytilene turn into differentiation of the two places when the context is related to Crete

as a hometown. What is interesting is that having Gypsy people in a place or not is the

label attributed to the two places. Crete is represented as better than Mytilene since

there are not any Gypsy people living there. Therefore, this account not only presents

Crete as a superior place in opposition to Mytilene but also conveys information about

the relationship of Cretan people with the people from Mytilene as well as with the

Gypsy people.

This account of Tarık and Hakan was recorded in *Cunda'yı Güzelleştirme*

Derneği (The Association of Embellishment of Cunda) and there were three participants

and some other people in the room. This account gives the public performance effect.

All the participants present in the room seemed to know this story. This indicates that

this story is a shared one among our participants. De Fina (2006) emphasizes the

importance of shared representations in building and management of social identities in

immigrant stories and lives stating that people negotiate who they are and characterize

both themselves and others in common ways in shared stories and representations.

Therefore the examples with the shared group representations surrounding our

participants' discourse are important to recognize how our participants form their group

identities and react to other communities.

4.2.4. References to Cretan Language

Language is frequently taken as one of the sina qua none entities in ethnic identity

formation by both social constructionist views and traditional views of ethnic identity.

The traditional perspectives on identity place language as a major category that

determines membership to ethnic groups (De Fina, 2000), likewise the social

constructionist and the post structuralist views keep its significant role in ethnic identity

formation albeit treating identity as fluid and constructed in interaction.

The Cretan language is also frequently mentioned in the discourse of our participants. The participants construct themselves as Cretan through either affiliation to Cretan or by attributing positive labels to Cretan. The following extract from Filiz and Gülsima illustrates the role the Cretan language plays on constructing attachment to Crete and to Cretan community.

Example (12)
01	I:	Siz yani ne kadar biliyosunuz?
02	G:	Valla anlaşabiliyoruz=
03	F:	Ha işte nasılsın?
04		iyi misin?
		[
05	G:	mesela bana desinler "Hadi bi yere gidelim"
06		almanyaya veya fransaya başka ülkeye gitmem.
07		girite giderim.
08		çünkü ben lisan bildiğim için zevk alırım.

Translation
01	I:	You I mean how well do you know?
02	G:	Well we can communicate=
03	F:	Well things like how are you?
04		are you fine?
		[
05	G:	for example if you said "Let's go somewhere"
06		I wouldn't like to go to another country such as germany or france.
07		I would like to go to crete.
08		because I know the language.

In this excerpt, Filiz and Gülsima talk about their level of knowledge of Cretan. When they are asked what their level of this language is, Gülsima states that they speak Cretan enough to be able to communicate, in line (2). In lines (3) and (4) Filiz tells the expressions she can say in Cretan. Then Gülsima takes the turn in line (5) and states that since she knows the language she would prefer to go to Crete instead of other countries

such as France or Germany. Speaking the language spoken in the hometown is presented

as a kind of bridge tying our participants to the hometown Crete.

Recall that in the construction of Cretan identity, attributing positive labels to

being Cretan is a common strategy that participants use. This strategy is also observable

regarding the Cretan language. Cretan is frequently mentioned with positive attributes

across participants. In the following extract Tarık portrays the Cretan language with

positive attributes comparing it with Turkish.

Example (13)
```
01    T:    Annem dört yaşında gelmiş buraya.
02          babam on iki on üç yaşında gelmiş giritten.
03          e evde tabi giritçe konuşuyolardı.
04          onlardan öğrendim.
05    I:    Sadece giritçe mi konuşuyorlardı?
06    T:    sadece giritçe konuşuyorlardı.
07          türkçe konuşuyorlardı ama yarımyamalak.
      ((…))
08    I:    Girit havası varmış.
09          onu siz oynuyor musunuz?
10    T:    Onu biliyorum ben müzik şeklinde.
11    I:    Çocuğunuz biliyo mu?
12    T:    Çocuğum giritçe anlıyo.
13          anlıyo.
14          çok iyi anlıyo.
15          ama yarın öbür gün dili çözülcek onun da.
16          yani bu girit dili arı bir dildir.
17          şöyle ki şöle ikaz edeyim ben size.
18          gerçekten arı bi dil.
19          nasıl bizim türkçede ömer seyfettinin hikayeleri var
20          "Ben" - Yabancı kelime katılmamış.
21          Diyor mesela "Ben gönende doğdum yirmi yıldan beri görmediğim bu
      şehir artık hayalimde silinmeye başladı"
22          Gibi giritçe de arı bi dil.
23          sponsor deklarasyon gibi kelimeler yok giritçede.
```

Translation
01   T: My mother came here when she was four years old.
02   my father came here from crete when he was thirteen or fourteen years
      old.
03   no surprise they used to speak the cretan at home.
04   and I learned it from them
05   I: Did they speak only cretan?
06   T: They used to speak only cretan.
07   they spoke turkish as well but it was slipshod.
      ((…))
08   I: I heard that cretans have a cretan folk dance.
09   Can you dance?
10   T: I know it in the form of music.
11   I: Can your child also do it?
12   T: My child understands cretan.
13   he understands.
14   he understands it very well.
15   yet he is going to start talking sometime soon.
16   I mean this cretan language is a pure language.
17   what I mean is that-let me tell it in this way.
18   It is really a pure language
19   as we have the stories of ömer seyfettin in our turkish
20   "Me"-it has no foreign words added to it
21   It says for example "I was born in gönen this city that I haven't seen for
      twenty years started to erase from my memory"
22   like this cretan is also a pure language.
23   cretan does not have foreign words such as sponsor and declaration

In the example above, Tarık first talks about his family stating when his parents came

from Crete. In the third line he surprisingly starts to talk about Cretan without any

prompt related to language. He states that it was natural that his parents spoke Cretan at

home using the sentential adverb *tabi* (certainly) modifying the verb *konuş-* (to speak).

This indicates that Tarık presents Cretan as the language of the people migrating from

Crete.

     In lines (8) and (9), the interviewer asks whether his child can dance the Cretan

dances. However, Tarık takes this question as asking whether his child spoke Cretan or

not and starts to talk about Cretan, maintaining the former topic which is Cretan. After

mentioning his child's level of Cretan language he starts to present Cretan with positive attributes. In line (16), he states that Cretan is an *arı dil* (pure language). This statement functions as the coda of the previously mentioned topic of his child's language level and also the introduction to the new topic, Cretan's being a pure language. In line (18) he repeats his previous statement emphasizing that Cretan is a pure language with the use of the adverb *gerçekten* (really) modifying the adjective *arı* (pure). His use of *gerçekten* (really) conveys that he commits to the truth of the statement he utters and that he wishes his listeners to believe it as well. Furthermore, in the following lines he compares Cretan with Turkish giving an example from a Turkish writer who does not use borrowed words in his writings. His comparison ends with the representation of Cretan as being superior to Turkish, because there are no borrowed words in Cretan although there are borrowed words like *sponsor* (sponsor) and *deklarasyon* (declaration) in Turkish.

Note that *arı dil* (pure language) is a politically and culturally loaded concept in Turkish due to the language reform that took place in the first decades of the Republic. In the extract above, Tarık constructs Cretan first as equal to Turkish and then superior to Turkish by using a term *arı dil* (pure language) which was articulated to praise Turkish for years in the political and institutional discourses in Turkey.

The use of the term *arı dil* (pure language) is the reflection of the nationalist discourse which embodies the Kemalist ideology. During the first years of the Republic of Turkey, great emphasis was given to the purification of Turkish. During these days the desired improvements regarding language not only included creating a *sade dil* (plain language) and *arı dil* (pure language) but also the development of a proper political and ideological language (İmer: 2001:52). Heid (2001) asserts that the

nationalism being one of the principles of Kemalist ideology, necessitated the

purification of the Ottoman Turkish which contained a great number of Persian and

Arabic words. It is also stated that having foreign words in Turkish used to be seen as a

source of national failure (Heid, 2001:19) Therefore, a number of regulations were

conducted in order to remove the Arabic and Persian words and grammatical structures

from Turkish. Atatürk approved of the new regulations about language in order to

retrieve the new Republic from the impact of the "Eastern culture" and place it in the

realm of the "secular modern civilizations" (İmer, 1976:85). With this aim the new

Latin alphabet was accepted to be used in 1928 and the *Türk Dil Kurumu*[13] (The Turkish

Linguistic Society) was founded in 1932 (Heid, 2001:24-25).

Considering all the mentioned policies regarding Turkish, it is no surprise that

the term *arı dil* (pure language) is still being articulated in dominant discourses in

Turkey and hence in the discourse of our participants.

The above examples illustrate that Cretan is praised not only because it serves

to attach immigrants to their homeland Crete but also because it is a pure language even

more than Turkish. Therefore, Cretan as a common language which immigrants attribute

positive attributes to is another strong means of managing group memberships.

4.2.5. References to Cretan Culture

As mentioned above common culture is one of the most noteworthy means to mark

one's membership into a community. The cultural heritage that immigrants from Crete

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[13] The instutition was originally named as *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti* which was replaced as *Türk Dil Kurumu* in Modern Turkish.

brought to Cunda is also commonly presented as worth preserving. The preservation of

Cretan culture is constructed as a marker of being Cretan. Positive attributes to cultural

practices such as night parties and Cretan cuisine portray participants' involvement in

the Cretan community. Cretan culture is glorified with the use of labels such as "noble"

and "western". Example (14) from Hakan illustrates how maintenance of Cretan culture

in Cunda is represented as a symbol of being Cretan.

Example (14)
01	I:	Sizin onlarla bağlantılarınız var mı?
02	H:	Var.
03		ben de üyeyim.
04		üyeyim işte.
05		fazla bi bağlantım yok.
06		ama ya hoşuma giden yönleri var.
07		mesela ben şimdi bakıyorum
08		onlardan ben daha çok bilgiye sahibim.
09		onlardan ben daha çok yaşıyorum.
10		en azından annem sağ mesela.
11		yediğim bütün yemekler girit yemeği.
12		hem de birinci elden yapılan yemekler.
13		onlar hep anılarda kalmış şeyler söylüyolar mesela.

Translation
01	I:	Do you have contact with them? (with the Cretans in crete today)
02	H:	Yes I have.
03		I am also a member.
04		I am a member you see.
05		I don't have that much contact.
06		but they have some characteristics I like.
07		well I think about them
08		and see that I have much more knowledge than they do.
09		I preserve more than they do.
10		at least for example my mum is alive.
11		and the entire dish I eat is the cretan dish.
12		and it is the food that is made first hand.
13		for example they always tell the things that remained in the past.

This extract follows a conversation about a website of Cretans living in Crete. The interviewer asks whether Hakan has contact with them. In lines (2) and (3) Hakan states that he is a member of that site and he is in touch with the Cretans. In line (4), he repeats that he is a member of that website and he ends his sentence with the discourse marker *işte* (well). Here *işte* (well) functions as a connector of distant pieces of utterances conveying that the upcoming utterance is "not necessarily the complete answer" (Yılmaz, 2004: 3) and it marks that Hakan will continue to elaborate on his membership. In the following line, Hakan states that he is not in touch with the Cretans which contradicts what he says in the preceding lines. What he states in line (4) prefaces his contradictory statement which in turn prefaces the comparisons he makes between Cretans living in Crete and in Cunda. In line (5) and (6), he states that he has no contact with them although he likes some of their characteristics. Interestingly, he starts to set up oppositions with Cretan people and constructs himself as more Cretan than the Cretans living presently in Crete. He uses the strategy of differentiation with references to cultural practices of Cretans. Stating that he lives out Cretan culture more than Cretan people living in Crete do and that all the food he eats is of Cretan cuisine he presents Cretan cuisine as a signifier of being Cretan. Furthermore, he constructs himself as a pure Cretan since he carries out Cretan culture in opposition to Cretans who always talk about things that remained in the past.

The preceding extract exemplified Hakan's construction of membership into the Cretan community in opposition to the other Cretans living in Crete. The following extract from Hakan also includes the use of positive attributes to the Cretan cuisine and its representation as a determining factor for being Cretan. However, this time the Cretan cuisine is presented with positive attributes in opposition to the cuisine of the islanders.

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Hakan constructs the Cretan cuisine as rich in opposition to the cuisine of the islanders

(immigrants from the island of Mytilene) which is portrayed as *ucuz* (low quality) and

dar (not varied).

Example (15)
```
01    H:    Yani az önce burda bi mevzu açıldı da
02          biz adalıları hakir görmüyoruz.
03          ama mesela bi haftalık- tanımasan-
04          bi haftalık yiyecek yediklerini anlatsalar
05          onların adalı veya giritli olduğunu anlayabilirsiniz.
06          çok degişiyo.
07          onlar mesela şey onlar daha daha böle ucuz yemekler daha ucuz
08          mutfakları daha dar.
09          giritlilerin sofra kültürü çok farklı.
10          yani çorba olur
11          bi yemek olur
12          bi yemek olur
13          yani iki üç çeşit yemekle sofraya oturulur.
14          yağı bile giritliler yemeğe daha bol koyarlar.
15          yani o yönden baya- mesela adalıların yaptığı yemekleri giritliler
      yemezdi.
16          zeytine gidilirdi.
17          ekibin içinde bazen adalı bayanlar da olurdu.
18          uzatılırdı.
19          ha işte kırılmasınlar diye
20          bi parça alınırdı
21          atılırdı.
22          ama içten içe gitmezdi yani.
23          bu olan şeylerdi aramızda yaşadığımız şeyler.
```


Translation
```
01    H:    So the subject being just started here
02          we don't feel contempt towards the islanders.
03          but for example for a week-imagine that you didn't know them at all
04          people told you what food they consume in a week
05          you would be able to understand that they are cretans or islanders.
06          it differs a lot.
07          they for example they have like cheap food a cheaper cuisine
08          their cuisine is very limited.
09          the eating habit of the cretans is very different.
10          I mean there would be soup
```

11	there would be a main dish
12	there would be a main dish
13	I mean they have two or three different dishes for a meal.
14	even the butter the cretans use much more butter for the meals.
15	I mean in this respect it is very –for example the cretans didn't use to eat the meals the islanders prepared.
16	people would go to olive fields.
17	and there used to be sometimes islander women as well in the group.
18	they used to offer some food
19	you know not to offend them
20	we used to take a piece of food
21	and swallow it.
22	but it would stick in our throats you see.
23	these were real stories that we experienced with them.

In the example above, Hakan starts to elaborate more on the Cretan cuisine and cultural practices. He starts to talk after Tarık and Yakup talked about the cultural practices of the Cretans in comparison to the cultural practices of the islanders. In the first line, Hakan takes the turn after a short silence following Tarık and Yakup's account. Here, Hakan states that they would not like to insult islanders. This statement is followed by a "but" clause which prefaces the upcoming statements indicating the reasons why they see Cretans as superior to the islanders. With the use of the first person plural pronoun *biz* (we) referring to the Cretans, he not only marks his membership into this community but also emphasizes that all Cretans present there agree with the idea that the Cretan cuisine is better than the cuisine of the islanders. In line (3), he starts his utterance with the word *mesela* (for example) which marks his expansion on the topic by giving more examples. He then states that one can deduce whether a person is a Cretan or an islander if s/he knows what kind of food this person eats in a week. Here, he underscores the difference between the cuisine of Cretans and the one of the islanders presenting cuisine as a determiner factor in finding out one's ethnicity. He then continues to elaborate on

the same topic presenting the cuisine of the islanders as *ucuz* (low quality) and *dar* (not

varied) in (7). In lines (9-14), Hakan emphasizes that the Cretan cuisine is much

different and rich. However, while introducing the types of dishes he only lists soup and

yemek (meal) which does not actually present the Cretan cuisine as richer. Hakan

continues to expand his examples positioning the Cretan cuisine superior to the one of

the islanders to the extent that he presents the food of the islanders as inedible. In lines

(15-21), he tells that Cretans were not eating the food the islanders cooked. When

islanders offered food to Cretans, they accepted a small piece for the sake of kindness

but hardly ate the food. This account from Hakan indicates the significant role of

cultural practices in marking one's membership in a community. It also displays the

process of our participants' recreating their involvement into the Cretan community in

opposition to the "others", to the islanders.

In addition to the accounts related to the quality of the cuisine, the way of

eating is also referred to construct Cretan identity in opposition to the islanders. In the

extract below, Filiz and Gülsima position themselves as Cretan in opposition to the

islanders referring to the cultural practice of eating.

Example (16)
```
01     F:      Bir de yalnız şey adalılar yerde yemek yiyodular.
02             bizde yoktu onlar.
03     I:      Tek şeyden mi yiyolardı tek ee tencereden?
                                    [
04     G:                           Şimdi bi sini koyuyodular
05             ben evlendiğimde iki buçuk sene kayınvalidemle oturdum.
06             yerde koyuyodular.
07             bi sinileri vardı.
08             orda yemek bi tabakta
09             mesela çorbayı koyuyodular.
10             ben yiyemiyodum.
11             sonra anladı kayınvalidem.
```

12		biz karı koca ayrı yemeye başladık.
13		bi tabaktan yiyemezdim ben.
14		sonra zamanla biz ayrı yemeye başladık.
15		-ama giritlilerde yoktu.
16		muhakkak herkesin ayrı tabağı ayrı şeyi
		[
17	F:	Bizde giritlilerde hiç ayrı masa=
18	G:	=görenek ordan öyleydi.
19		bizim adalılar hani köylerde var ya o hayattı onların.

Translation

01	F:	And also well the islanders used to eat on the floor.
02		we don't have such a habit.
03	I:	Did they use to eat hmm from one pot?
		[
04	G:	They used to put a tray
05		after I got married I lived with my mother-in-law for two years
06		they used to put it on the floor.
07		they had a tray.
08		on the tray the meal was on a single plate
09		for instance they used to serve the soup in this way.
10		I couldn't eat.
11		then my mother-in-law saw the situation.
12		me and my husband started to eat separately
13		I couldn't eat from a single plate.
14		then in due course we started to eat separately
15		-but the cretans didn't have such a habit
16		for certain everyone had their own plate. their own
		[
17	F:	We the cretans never- we had a separate table=
18	G:	=the habits were as such.
19		the islanders had the habit of the peasants.

Following a conversation related to musical instruments the Cretan people and the

islanders used to play, Filiz brings up the topic of eating styles maintaining oppositions

they set up between the Cretans and the islanders. In line (1), she states that the islanders

were eating on the floor and sets the Cretans as different by not having such habits in

line (2). She uses the third person plural agreement marker on the verb *ye-* (to eat)

referring to the islanders while she uses the existential possessive pronoun *bizde* (we have) to refer to the Cretans marking her membership into the Cretan group in line (2). Note that this style of eating on the floor but not at the table is mostly attributed to peasants' life style in Turkey. The interviewer's following question asking whether the islanders eat from one pot is also in line with this presupposition. As a response to this question, Gülsima who is married to an islander starts to tell how the islanders have their meal in lines (4-9). She states that the islanders have their meal on the floor and they eat from one pot. She further states that she could not eat like this since she was not used to eating from the same pot with other people. Therefore, she and her husband started to have dinner separately, as she states twice in lines (10) and (12). In line (15), she makes a self interruption stating that the Cretans do not have such habits and everyone definitely has their own plate on the table. Here, her use of *muhakkak* (certainly) adds more emphasis to her statement also shows her confident stance on the truth of her statement. In line (17), Filiz emphasizes that they, as Cretans eat at the table with the use of the sentential adverbial *hiç* (never) referring to eating on the floor and eating from the same pot. Finally, Gülsima ends her account by presenting the life style of the islanders as peasant life style conforming that eating on the floor is associated to the peasants' life style. Considering that our participants present themselves as "civilized" in opposition to the islanders as mentioned previously, we may state that in this account also, our participants reclaim their membership in the Cretan community in opposition to the islanders who are presented as peasants directly and thus, not "civilized".

Attributing positive labels to being Cretan is observed concerning the other Cretan cultural practices and Cretan society. The extract below from Yakup, Tarık and

Hakan illustrates the glorification of Cretan society with positive attributes such as

"western" and "noble".

Example (17)
01	I:	Buralarda denize girilir miydi?
02	T:	Denize? tabi giriyoduk.
03	Y:	Kırk sene evvel bayanlar tenis oynuyodular şortla burda=
04	I:	=Şortla?
05	Y:	Evet.

                 [   ]

06	T:	Evet.
07	H:	Evet tenis kortunda tenis oynuyodular.
08	I:	Cundalı kadınlar değil mi?=
09	Y:	=Giritliler.
10		cundalılar değil.
11		giritliler.

                [

12	I:	Giritliler.
13	Y:	Yani buraya gelen giritliler yazın şemsiyelerle geziyodular.
14	H:	Evet işte benim akşam size söylediğim gibi.
15		yani kültür daha farklı.

      ((…))

16		yani o batı batı batı giyim tarzını seçiyolardı.
17		adalılar -ne bilim adalılar daha kapalıydı.
18		daha tutucuydu.
19	I:	Peki kadınlar yani mayoyla denize giriyolar mıydı?
20	Y:	[Giriyodular .
21	H:	Giriyo
22		giriyolardı.
23	T:	Giriyolardı- kimisi giriyordu]
24		kimisi mesela uzun bi şalvar giyiyodu üzerine.

                           [

25	H:	Yaşlılarda elbise entariyle giriyodu.
26	T:	Bi de normal bi elbise şalvarın üstüne elbiseyi böle=
27	H:	=Hani o mayo o zamanlarda mayoların olmamasından kaynaklanıyodu.
28	T:	Yoktu mayo.
29		yoktu çok eskiden bundan
30	Y:	Elli ellibeş sene önce=
31	H:	=Evet çok asil bi toplum vardı o zaman.
32		o mandolin çalmalar gece eğlenceleri=
33	T:	=Ve ekseri giritli evlerde oluyodu bu mandolin çalmalar bedozallis sirtakiler filan.
34		her gece bi evde bi eğlenti oluyodu mandolinle.

Translation
01   I: Did people use to go swimming in this place?
02   T: To go swimming? sure we used to.
03   Y: Forty years ago women used to play tennis with their shorts here with
              shorts=
04   I: =With shorts?
05   Y: Yes.
              [   ]
06   T: Yes.
07   H: Yes they used to play tennis in the tennis court.
08   I: Women of cunda right?=
09   Y: =Cretans.
10   not the women of Cunda.
11   cretans.
              [
12   I: Cretans.
13   Y: I mean the ones coming here in summer used to walk around with
              umbrellas.
14   H: Yes well as I told you in the evening.
15   I mean the culture is more different
      ((…))
16   I mean they used to choose the western the western the western clothing
              style.
17   the islanders- how should I say they were more traditional
18   more conservative.
19   I: Well did the women use to go swimming with swimming suit?
20   Y: [Yes they did.
21   H: Yes they
22   T: They did- some did]
24   some for example used to wear a long trousers.
                                                [
25   H: Old ones they used to go swimming with
              dresses
26   T: And a normal dress and trousers=
27   H: =That was because there were not swimming suits in those days.
28   T: There wasn't.
29   there weren't swimming suits in the past.
30   Y: About fifty years ago=
31   H: =Yes there was a very noble society in those days.
32   playing mandolin night parties=
33   T: =And mandolin was played especially in cretan houses
      bedozallis, sirtakis etc.
34   every night there was a party with mandolin in a house.

In this example, Yakup, Tarık and Hakan talk about the social activities in Cunda in the summers in the past. The interviewer introduces the topic asking whether people used to go swimming in Cunda. Tarık responds to this question with certainty with the use of the adverb *tabi* (certainly) in line (2). Then Yakup takes the turn stating that women were playing tennis dressing shorts in Cunda forty years ago. The interviewer asks a clarification question with surprise because it was not that common for women to put on shorts in those days in Turkey. In lines (5) and (7) both Tarık and Hakan agree that women dressed in shorts in Cunda. In line (8), the interviewer again asks whether it was women from Cunda who dressed in shorts. Then Yakup responds that it was Cretan women referring to the tourist women from Crete making a clarification in line (13). Hakan then, taking dressing shorts as the signifier of "modernity" and "civilization," starts to compare the Cretans and the islanders in the following lines. In line (15), he sets up the Cretan culture more different than the one of the islanders. In line (16), he states that the Cretans preferred to dress in "western style". Here, Hakan associates Cretan's dressing in western style with modernity in opposition to the dressing style of the islanders whom he labels with attributes such as *tutucu* (conservative) and *kapalı* (secluded).

In line (19), the interviewer asks whether women used to go swimming dressing in swimming suits. All of the participants respond this question at the same time stating that women used to go swimming dressing in swimming suits. However, in line (24), Tarık adds that some people were wearing trousers and a dress which contradicts their former answer. Then Hakan immediately tells that this was because of the fact that they did not have swimming suits in those days. Here he implies that if people had had swimming suits at those times they would have worn swimming suits because the Cretan

society then was "dignified" and "western". His claim is approved by both and Tarık and Yakup in lines (28-30). In line (31), Hakan relates the "western" society with being *asil* (noble) at these times and gives playing mandolins and having night parties as examples of the nobility of that society. Tarık's immediate token in line (34) attributing these parties to only Cretan houses ensures that the "noble" society Hakan sets up should not include other groups living in Cunda but Cretans only.

The example above not only illustrates that these three participants form their membership into the Cretan community with the use of attributes such as "noble", "western", and "modern" but also reifies the significance of cultural heritage in constructing one's membership into a community. Moreover, this example confirms the claim that people not only present the features of the community to make sense of their belonging to a group but also describe the "others" to manage and maintain their memberships.

4.3. Construction of Turkish Identity

As mentioned before identity is never singular but multiple being constructed across different and intersecting discourses, practices and positionings. During the dynamic process of the formation of identity, discourses which are historically grounded and ingrained with social and political positions as well as cultural values have their continuous impact on construction and negotiation of identity. In this study also, descendants of Cretan immigrants continuously construct and negotiate their positionings in relation to the Cretan and Turkish communities while they draw on a range of competing discourses. Their production of these identities is not incomplete or

uncertain. Rather, it is a meaning making process that is recast by competing discourses. Therefore, the strategies our participants use as well as the contexts in which our participants create their Turkish identities come out to be different from the ones of the construction of the membership in the Cretan community. Rather than being at two opposites, Turkish and Cretan identities are grained dynamically with frequent switches from one to the other depending on the contexts triggering different discourses. The markers of Turkish identity construction are direct references to being Turkish, establishing historical connections with Anatolia and old Turkish states, claims for being "good citizens" of the Republic of Turkey. Furthermore, their expression of gratefulness to the initiators of the population exchange and naming practices with reference to Turkish statesmen are also indicators of our participants' constructing themselves as Turkish. Note that these differ from the strategies used to construct the Cretan identity and are strictly related to the ingrained dominant discourses and ideologies that are reproduced in turn by our participants.

4.3.1. Direct Claims to being Turkish

Using direct references to being Turkish directly is one of the frequent strategies to claim membership in the Turkish community as in the case of the formation of Cretan identity. In addition to repeated expression of being Turkish directly, some accounts present being Turkish as unquestionable. The following example from Hakan illustrates an amplified representation of the Turkish identity.

Example (18)
01   H: Bi de seksen sonrasında işte bi ara burda bi sait yüzbaşı diye biri geldi.
02   silahlı kuvvetlerin yönetime el koyduğu dönemde bundan beş on tane
        yaşlı amcamızı
03   -rahmetli oldular hepsi
04   türkçe konuşuluyo diye karakola aldılar onları
05   şey giritçe konuşuyolar diye
06   ama kimse giritlilerin türklüğünü yargı-şey yapamaz.
07   eleştiremez.
08   evet dayımı da aldılar.
09   paspas yaptırmışlar onlara.

Translation
01   H: And in the eighties there came a lieutenant called sait during the time
02   when the armed forces took control of the government some elderly
03   -they are all dead now
04   because turkish was spoken took some elderly to the police station.
05   well because they spoke cretan
06   yet no one can judge the turkishness of the Cretan people.
07   no one can criticize it.
08   yes they also took my uncle.
09   they made them mop the floors.

In this extract, Hakan tells an account which is frequently told by many participants

about language problems that immigrants from Crete experienced in the 1980s. In this

account, after the military coup in Turkey, a captain takes some elderly to the police

station because they spoke Cretan. After stating the reason why the captain took the

elderly to the police office in lines (4) and (5), Hakan immediately states that nobody

can judge the "Turkishness" of Cretan people in line (6). Here, he positions all the

Cretan people living in Cunda as Turks. Hakan's abrupt topic change illustrates that he

underscores being Turkish no matter what language the Cretan people speak. He wants

to assure that speaking a language other than Turkish does not mean that the speakers

are not Turkish. He strictly constructs the Cretan people as Turkish though they may

speak Cretan.

Furthermore, this account illustrates that our participants' positioning in relation to Turkish and Cretan communities is rather dynamic. Construction of these identities exhibit frequent recasts and switches from one identity to another. We observe that Hakan positions himself as Cretan through his account except from the underscored declaration of Turkish identity. In line (8), he states that the policemen took his uncle to the police station. This statement not only supports his story but also conveys that Hakan is also a member of the community speaking Cretan because he has Cretan speaking relatives.

Note that Hakan's account embodies not only the shared stories of the immigrants about language problems but also the official discourse of the Republic of Turkey which sets Turkish as the primary official language of the state. The law regarding the language of the state in the Turkish constitution is among the articles even the change of which cannot be offered. Therefore, Hakan, in this account underscores the "Turkishness" of the Cretan immigrants when their "Turkishness" is challenged by his story invoking the history of ideas and ideologies regarding the language and ethnic compositions in the Republic of Turkey[14]. Therefore, we may claim that the construction of Turkish identity here is invoked by the very specific context of interaction which is surrounded by other discourses such as the official discourse of the state and the ideologies about language.

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[14] *Madde 3- Türkiye Devleti, ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bir bütündür. Dili Türkçedir.*(The Republic of Turkey, with its country and nation, is an inseparable unit. Its language is Turkish..) (T.C 1982 Anayasası, 2010:36)

<u>4.3.2. Claiming Common Historical Ties with Old Turkish States</u>

Claiming common historical ties with Anatolia and old Turkish states is another marker of Turkish identity construction. It was previously mentioned that having common cultural and historical background is significant in the negotiation of belonging to a community. This observation is valid with respect to the membership construction in Turkish community, as well. Almost all of our participants tell accounts about the migration experience of Muslim Turks from Anatolia to Crete after the Ottoman Empire conquered Crete. The common historical background with Turks is constructed to such an extent that participants sometimes feel the necessity of explaining why 'Cretan Turks' speak Cretan instead of Turkish.

The excerpt from Ahmet below illustrates how Turkish identity is constructed with direct references to the common historical background with the Seljuk Empire. Seljuk Empire was a "Turko-Persian" empire which was founded by Tughril Beg in 1037 (Ravandi, 2005). Our participants frequently set common historical background with Turks referring to the Seljuk Empire because it was "originated from Oghuz Turks" (Jackson, 2002).

Example (19)
01   I: Sizin babanız anneniz ne zaman gelmiş buraya cunda adasına?
02   A: Biz buraya bindokuzyüz yirmidört yılında geldik mayısta.
03   evet ee mübadeleyle geldik.
04   ben girit kökenliyim.
05   ama köküm anadolulu
06   binaltıyüzyetmişlere dayanıyor.
07   selçuklulardan
08   selçuklulara dayanıyor benim köküm.
09   evet o zaman fazıl ahmet paşa bindokuyüz altmışdokuzda giriti aldıktan
       sonra

| 10 | | osmanlının elinde bütün yerlerinden insan getirdi. |
| 11 | | islam getirdi. |

Translation

01	I:	When did your parents come here to the island of cunda?
02	A:	We came here in nineteen twenty-four in may.
03		we came through population exchange.
04		my origins are from crete.
05		but my roots go back to anatolia
06		my roots go back to the sixteen seventies.
07		from the seljuk state
08		my roots go back to seljucks.
09		yes at the time after fazıl ahmet pasha conquered crete in sixteen sixty-nine
10		he took many people there from the ottoman territories.
11		he took islam there.

This account starts with the question of the interviewer. The interviewer asks when Ahmet's parents came to Cunda. Ahmet tells when they came to Cunda and adds that they came via the population exchange in line (3). In line (4), he presents himself as having Cretan origins. However, in line (5), he immediately adds that his roots go back to Anatolia. Here, his statement starts with the contrastive connector *ama* (but) which conveys that having Cretan origins is presented as something to be explained. In the following lines, he elaborates on his Anatolian origins giving detailed information about when Muslims migrated to the island of Crete. The evidence he presents for having Anatolian origins seems to be quite factual with specific references to the years and names of Pashas in lines (6) and (9). However, the information he gives portrays conflicts with the historical facts. His claim for Seljuk origins is not supported by the date he gives because the Seljuk Sultanate had already disappeared from the historical record at the end of the 13[th] century, in 1308, after the reign of Masud II (de Laet et al.,

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1994: 392). Hence, there was no Anatolian Seljuks Sultanate left in 1670. Another claim that does not support his Anatolian origins is that Crete did not experience a significant Muslim migration after it became a part of the Ottoman Empire. The Muslims in Crete were the Christian population who converted to Islam due to tax reasons after Crete was enacted to the realm of the Ottoman Empire (Smith, 1965:76).

In the excerpt from Tarık below, constructing a common historical background with the Ottomans is managed via a story about how "Turks in Crete" started to speak Cretan.

Example (20)
01   T: Şimdi ee önceden bizim diyelim
02   girit halkı buraya gelmezden önce
03   ve midilli halkı midillide türkçe konuşuyolardı.
04   orda mahalleler karışık olmasına rağmen
05   midilliden gelenler türkçe konuşuyolardı.
06   bizim giritlilerden sonradan ben öğrendim.
07   on on beş sene önce
08   sultan mahmut önermiş girit halkına
09   türkçe -şey giritçe konuşun diye.
10   oradaki halkla daha iyi anlaşırsınız.
11   ve "O zamandan beri giritçe konuşmaya başlamışlardı" Diyo sultan
      mahmutun zamanından bu yana giritteki türkler.

Translation
01   T: Now hmm in the past let's say
02   before cretan people came here
03   and the islanders used to speak turkish in mytilene
04   although the neighborhoods were composed of mixed groups.
05   the ones coming from mytilene used to speak turkish
06   I found out later from my cretan acquaintances.
07   nearly fifteen years ago
08   sultan mahmut suggested
09   to the cretan people to speak turkish- well to speak cretan.
10   so that they could get along better with the people there.
11   and "since that time the turks in crete started to speak cretan" they say
      from the reign of sultan mahmut on

Recall that Ahmet presents having Cretan origins as something to be explained by claiming that Muslims were relocated to Crete after it became a part of the Ottoman Empire. In Tarık's account on the other hand, migrating to Crete from Anatolia is presented as an already accepted fact. What needs to be explained is how "Turks in Crete" who spoke Turkish started to speak Cretan. In lines (3) and (5), Tarık repeats twice that the people living in Mytilene spoke Turkish. In lines (4) and (5), he states that the people coming from Mytilene spoke Turkish although they lived in cosmopolitan quarters. In line (4), he uses the emphatic adversative discourse connective *rağmen* (despite) and hence presents their speaking Turkish as something that is not expected. Tarık presents this statement as a contradiction probably because our participants generally present living in cosmopolitan quarters as the reason for speaking Cretan. In line (6), Tarık foregrounds his upcoming statements about some historical claims stating that he learned this information from his Cretan acquaintances. Here, he starts his statement with the first person plural possessive pronoun *bizim* (our) personalizing the Cretans. Note that Tarık, as a Cretan immigrant, continues to talk presenting the historical reasons for speaking Cretan. In line (7), he states that Sultan Mahmut suggested that "Turks in Crete" should speak Cretan so that they get along well with the people living there. He further states that since the reign of Sultan Mahmut, the Turks in Crete have been speaking Cretan. In his statement as seen in line (11), he presents the subject of the sentence, *Giritteki Türkler* (the Turks in Crete) in the post-predicate position. Erguvanlı (1984) states that the sentence constituents in the post-predicate position in Turkish are typically backgrounded. This indicates that here, for Tarık, it is important to keep the topic foregrounded presenting the reasons for speaking Cretan rather than presenting the Turkish origins. Unlike Ahmet, Tarık takes the migration of

Turks to Crete for granted but feels the necessity of explaining why "Turks in Crete" speak a different language but not Turkish. However, similar to Ahmet, his claims also show conflicts with the historical facts. As mentioned above, Crete did not experience a serious Muslim migration after it was conquered. The Muslim population in Crete is composed of the Christian people who converted to Islam for tax and civic advantages and these people never stopped speaking Cretan (Smith, 1965:76). Therefore, we can claim that although their accounts are not supported by the historical facts, these are the shared stories in our participants' discourse. These conflicting claims presented to construct "Turkishness" do not mean that the participants are not actually Turks or they make up their own stories but rather indicate how shared representations are created and recreated through generations to construct ethnic identities in such immigrant discourses. Our participants' construction of common historical ties with old Turkish states is strictly related not only to their being immigrants but also to the Kemalist ideologies, especially about language and ethnic composition of Turkey.

As mentioned in previous chapters, immigrants go through a process of redefining their identities and adjust to the new life in the host country in order to be able to claim a place in the host country (De Fina, 2003:143). Presentation of attachment to the host country is especially significant for Cretan immigrants for they spoke Cretan which might always be associated with not having attachment to the Republic of Turkey. The only defining character of the Cretan immigrants which match the principles of the Republic of Turkey was their being Muslim. However, we do not expect them to set their attachment to the Republic of Turkey foregrounding the attribute "Muslim". The reason for this relates to the policies followed regarding religion in the new nation state. The new Turkish Republic was leading to a modernized "secular" state starting to be

away from the religious ideologies used during the War of Independence against The Sultanate (Oran, 1997:140). Moreover, a citizen of the Republic of Turkey is depicted as following Atatürk's reforms and principles and hence loyal to his/her country. Landau (1984) also states that Atatürk wanted to mold a Turk who is civilized and also proud of his own heritage and deeply attached to his country (Landau, 1984: xiii). Therefore, construction of common historical background for our participants has an important role in the ethnic identity formation of our participants considering the Kemalist ideologies having impact on their discourse and the necessity for the immigrants to claim a place in the host country.

Fairclough (2001) underlines the significance of revealing hidden ideologies embedded in particular conventions as means of legitimizing existing social relations and familiar ways of behaving (Fairclough, 2001: 2). He states that 'common sense' assumptions which people are generally not consciously aware of are implicit in the conventions in which people interact. These assumptions are called ideologies which are closely linked to language. Hence, in the analysis of identity, it is significant to reveal the links between our participants' negotiation of their identities and the ideologies having impact on their identity formation.

4.3.3. Claims for being "good citizens"

Self-presentation of the participants as good citizens of the Republic of Turkey conforming to the state policies is another strategy used in the construction of Turkish identity. Referring to the people who migrated from Crete via the population exchange,

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participants present the essential markers of being a "good citizen of the Republic of Turkey". Landau (1984) states that "Atatürk aimed to found a modern republican state with a constitution" which is reflected in our participants' accounts (Landau, 1984: xii). There are especially several instances where participants talk about their allegiance with the Republic of Turkey and its founding principles in such a way that it almost echoes the official discourse of the state as seen in the third article of the Turkish Constitution. The third article in the constitution of the new republican nation state is about the unity and territorial integrity of the state in addition to its official language, flag, national anthem, and the capital city of the state. This article states that "Türkiye Devleti, ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bir bütündür. Dili Türkçedir." (The Republic of Turkey, with its country and nation, is an inseparable unit. Its language is Turkish (T.C 1982 Anayasası, 2010:36).

The extract from Hakan below exemplifies the construction of Turkish identity with specific references to the Republic day and Atatürk's principles and reforms and to a specific term *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı* (a citizen of Republic of Turkey).

Example (21)
```
01    I:    Peki açar mısınız onu?
02          nasıl sahip çıktılar türklüğe?
03    H:    Yani dün akşam bahsettiğim gibi
04          kızlarına- yani zulüm altında yaşıyosunuz
05          kızlarına ismet adını verdiler.
06          ismet inönünün adını verdiler.
07          buraya geldikten sonra
08          cumhuriyet bayramları burda yetmiş sene önce seksen sene önce çok
      daha güzel şekilde kutlanıyodu.
09          bak
10          enteresandır bunlar.
11          hiçbir zaman için hiçbir zaman için böle bi ayrımcılık içinde olmadılar.
12          hep aynı düşünceye sahip oldular.
13          milliyetçilik anlamında söylüyorum.
```

14		hiçbi zaman sorun yaratılmadı.
15		şuanda giritlilerin diğerleri için bi genelleme yapmayım
16		en azından bizim buradaki giritlilerin ülke görüşü siyasi görüşü ne biliyo musunuz?
17		yani siyasi görüş derken felsefesi ne biliyo musunuz?
18		atatürk ilke ve inkilaplarına bağlı türkiye cumhuriyeti vatandaşı.
19		sosyal demokrat yapıya sahip.

Translation

01	I:	Well can you dwell more on this subject?
02		how did they protect turkishness?
03	H:	Well as I mentioned last night
04		to their daughters-you live under oppression
05		they named their daughters ismet after ismet inönü
06		they named their daughters after ismet inönü
07		after they came here
08		the republic day was celebrated more joyfully than this seventy or eighty years ago.
09		look.
10		these are interesting.
11		they have never -they have never been in such a discriminative disposition.
12		they always had the same way of thinking.
13		I mean in the sense of nationalism.
14		they never created problems.
15		now the cretans- let me not to generalize for others
16		if I am to tell you the political view of the cretans living here at least
17		I mean in the sense of life perspective
18		it is being a citizen of turkish republic loyal to atatürk's principles and reforms.
19		they pursue social democrat view.

This extract follows one of Hasan's accounts about ethnic composition in Crete before the migration experience where he states that there were many people from different ethnicities in Crete and it is almost impossible to trace one's ethnic origins. He then states that "Cretan Turks" were aware of the cruelty they experienced before the Turkish War of Independence and afterwards strictly preserved their "Turkishness". The interviewer then asks what they did to preserve "Turkishness". Following the

interviewer's question, Hakan lists all the essentials of preserving Turkishness: Giving children the names of Turkish statement, celebrating the Republic Day in a better way, never causing problems in terms of nationalism, and being a social democrat conforming to Atatürk's principles and reforms. In line (5), he states that the Cretans named their daughters after İsmet İnönü[15]. İsmet is a name given to male children generally. This indicates that Hakan underlines the over-loyalty the Cretans show to the Republic of Turkey. He then extends the topic with more indications of loyalty to the state. In line (8), he states that in Cunda, the Republic Day was used to be celebrated in a better way. Note that the interviews were conducted during the week of the Republic Day. Hakan, here, might be referring to the Republic Day considering this fact. Then Hakan secures the attention of the listeners in lines (9-10) by stating that the upcoming statements are interesting. He then starts to talk directly about the loyalty the Cretans show to the Republic of Turkey. In line (11), he states that the Cretans have never been in a discriminative disposition reinforcing his statement with the use of the negative time adverbial *hiçbir zaman* (never) twice. Here, Hakan's statement not only presents Cretans as loyal citizens to the state but also exemplifies the reoccurrence of the ideologies regarding the unity and territorial integrity of the state. Hakan then goes on stating that the Cretans have always had the same way of thinking in terms of nationalism, in lines (12) and (13). This statement is also strictly linked to the mainstream Kemalist ideologies regarding nationalism circulated through public discourses, shared

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[15] İsmet İnönü was an important figure in the history of the Republic of Turkey. He was a general in the Turkish army. He worked as a prime minister when Atatürk was the President of Turkey and after Atatürk died he was elected as the second President of Turkey. He was also titled as the "Milli Şef" (National Chief) by the Republican People's Party in 1938. (Heper, 1998)

conceptualizations about the "self" and the "other" in local communities. Oran (1997) describes the ideology of the Atatürk Nationalism as aiming to construct an "inseparable" unit in terms of ethnicity (Oran, 1997:207). This aim exactly matches what Hakan tells while describing the Cretans in terms of their attachment to the Republic of Turkey.

Recep Peker, the secretary of the Republican People's Party in 1930s expands on the notion of nationalism as follows:

> We consider as ours all those of our citizens who live among us, who belong politically and socially to the Turkish nation and among whom ideas and feelings such as "Kurdism," "Christanism" and even "Lazism" and "Pomakism" have been implanted. We deem it our duty to banish, by sincere efforts, those false conceptions (…). Our party considers these compatriots as absolutely Turkish insofar as they belong to our community of language and ideal.
>
> (Alp, 1936: 253-254)

This explanation illustrates that the notion of nation is taken to be the community of language, culture and ideal. Hence, the ideologies of Kemalist nationalism aimed to ensure the unity and the cohesion of the Republic of Turkey preventing separatist movements which is reflected and reproduced in our participants' discourse as well. In lines (18) and (19) Hakan tells the characteristics of Cretans' citizenship. His definition of the Cretan immigrants' political view echoes Recep Peker's quotation given above.

The extract above illustrates the identity construction as an interactional process sensitive to local constraints as well as to wider social practices and constructs such as public discourses. The example below on the other hand illustrates how the "self" is put

into place in opposition to the "other" and also the connection between the "self" and the

"other" identification and wider social practices, discourses and representations.

Example (22)
01   H: Benim babamın anadili giritçeydi.
02   giritçe ya.
03   ya insan -mesela siz yabancı dil ingilizce biliyosunuz.
04   ama türkçe kadar konuşamıyosunuz.
05   değil mi?
06   kendinizi en rahat şekilde ifade ettiğiniz dil anadilinizdir.
07   benim babam kendini giritçe daha iyi ifade ediyodu.
08   evet benim babamın anadili oydu.
09   ama hiçbi zaman giritliler şuanda türkiyenin önünde olan sorun gibi ayrı
        bi devlet istemediler.
10   veya ayrı bi televizyon da istemediler.

Translation
01   H: My father's mother tongue was cretan.
02   cretan you see?
03   well people-for example you know English as a foreign language.
04   but you can't speak it as good as turkish.
05   can you?
06   The language that you express yourself best is your mother tongue
07   my father was expressing himself better in cretan.
08   yes my father's native language was cretan.
09   but the cretans never wanted a separate state as in the case that turkey
        faces now.
10   or they never wanted a separate TV channel.

This extract from Hakan follows from the story given in the example (18) about the

lieutenant Said taking elderly men to the police station since they spoke Cretan. In this

example, Hakan talks about the native language of his father, the Cretan language in

lines (1) through (8). He expands on the topic by giving examples from English and

Turkish mainly stating that one can express herself better in her native language.

However, the native language of the Cretans, which is Cretan but not Turkish,

challenges the linguistic component of the "Atatürk Nationalism" aiming at founding a "secular" and "homogenous" nation (Oran, 1997). Hakan, then builds the representation of the Cretans as loyal citizens to the Republic of Turkey by introducing other characters to his story and describing their unacceptable attitudes. In lines (9) and (19) he states that the Cretans never wanted a separate state or a separate TV channel. Note that although Hakan does not refer to Kurdish people directly, he talks about the Kurdish people refraining from using the name Kurdish. At these times Kurdish people were represented as in the wish of having a separate state in the public discourse and also the government decided to found a TV channel broadcasting in Kurdish. Hence, Hakan referring to Kurdish people and defining their separatist behaviors not only marks his group membership but also presents the Cretans as loyal "good citizens" complying with the policies of the state. As seen in the quotation from Recep Peker above, from the very early periods of the Republic of Turkey to the recent days, utmost importance has been given to the official language of the state, Turkish. Dumont (1984:29) expands on the language policies of the Republic of Turkey stating that Kemalists, following the policy of turkification, aimed to integrate various ethnic groups into the Turkish nation by stressing the linguistic and cultural foundations of the nation. Therefore, this account illustrates that our participants negotiate their group membership in opposition to the "other" in a process which is partly shaped by the mainstream ideologies and shared representations. Moreover, this process of identification and negotiation reflects and reproduces the relevant discourses in turn.

Gratefulness to the Turkish state, in particular to Atatürk is another commonly used strategy to construct the Turkish identity. The sentiment of gratefulness to Atatürk is rather strong across participants with the presentation of the grief felt in Crete before the migration although our participants did not experience this grief themselves. Almost all of the participants express their gratitude to Atatürk who "saved their lives" as the initiator of the population exchange. Especially among the elderly women, Atatürk is always mentioned with cultural expressions showing respect for the deceased such as "rest in peace" or "may mercy be upon his soul". This is exemplified with the extract from Filiz and Gülsima below:

Example (23)
```
01    F:    Bu yaşımıza geldik.
02    G:    geçirdik
03          çok şükür.
04          nur içinde yatsın atatürk.
05    F:    Evet nur içinde yatsın.
06    G:    Bizi rahata kavuşturdu
07          bu özgürlüğe Atatürk sebep (0.3) yaşıyoruz
08          anneannemler orda neler çekti ne üzüntüler ne korkular
09          yağları -o zaman fıçılar vardı.
10          e nasıl derler?
11          hayvandan yapılan bi fıçıydı.
12    I:    Şey ee
13    G:    Ne diyolar?
14    I:    Tulum=
15    F:    =Tulum tulum
            [              ]
16    G:    "Tulumlara" Diyo "Yağları dolduruyodular getiriyodular köyden şehre
            getiricekler satmak için böle bıçakla deliyodular yağları dökülüyodu"
17          Yani çok sıkıntılar çektiler=
18    F:    =Tabi tabi onlar da çok çekti yani.
            ((narration continues))
```

Translation
01   F: We've come to this age.
02   G: Yes we have
03   thank god
04   may atatürk rest in peace.
05   F: Yes may he rest in peace
06   G: He provided us with this comfortable life
07   we have this freedom thanks to Atatürk
08   my grandparents suffered a lot there in grief and fear
09   the butter- there were barrels at that time
10   how shall I say it?
11   a barrel made of animal skin.
12   I: Well hmm
13   G: What do they call it?
14   I: Leather bag=
15   F: =Yes leather bag
            [   ]
16   G: "Into the leather bags" She said "they put the oil into leather bags they took them to the city from the village to sell the oil they would stab the bag with knives and the oil was pouring"
17   I mean they really had difficulties=
18   F: =it is for sure that they had difficulties.
            ((narration continues))

In this extract, Filiz and Gülsima talk about the comfortable life they have compared to their forefathers who suffered before the migration. In lines (3) and (4), Gülsima presents her thanks to God and Atatürk presenting Atatürk as "provider of freedom and comfort" in lines (6) and (7). She then compares her generation with her parent's stating that her parents experienced a fearful life in Crete in line (8). In line (9), she starts to tell a story about the problems the Cretans experienced in Crete. Via this story, she expands the topic providing examples for the grief her parents experienced in Crete. In line (16), she quotes somebody and states that some people stabbed the leather bags with knives so the oil was pouring. In this quotation she states neither whom she is quoting nor who stabbed the leather bags although she probably refers to the Greek people. She ends her story with a coda repeating how her parents suffered before the migration. Filiz's

statement approving Gülsima emphasizes the grief the Cretans felt. Note that, this

depiction of Crete goes against the glorified representation of Crete by Filiz and Gülsima

mentioned before. The representation of Crete changes to an unlivable place from the

fertile lands where their forefathers had good-old days. Therefore, we can claim that

when the Turkish identity is being constructed the representation of Crete also changes

or vice versa.

4.3.5. Naming Practices

Naming practices in the Cretan community is also another frequently used strategy

through which our participants negotiate their membership in the Turkish community.

Naming their children after Mustafa Kemal or İsmet İnönü is explicitly mentioned

across participants and presented as a general characteristic of the Cretan community.

Accounts about naming practices usually figure in our participants' discourse as

supporting evidence for the faithfulness to the state or Republic of Turkey. The

following extract is from Ayşe, Kemale and Yakup. In their account, naming children

Kemal and Kemale is presented as a characteristic of Cretan people living in Turkey.

Example (24)
```
01    I:    Sizin adınız ne?
02    A:    Adım? ayşe.
03    I:    Sizin?
04    A:    Kemale.
05    I:    Kemale.
06    A:    Feride
07    I:    Ayşe kemale feride.
08    Y:    Bizde giritlilerde şey çoktur kemal ve kemale.
09    I:    Öyle mi?
10    Y:    Atatürkten kalma.
```

11	I:	Hım evet.
12	Y:	Yani mustafa kemal.
13		erkeklere kemal kızlar da kemale ismini çok kullanırız.

Translation

01	I:	What is your name?
02	A:	My name? It is ayşe.
03	I:	And yours?
04	A:	Kemale.
05	I:	Kemale.
06	A:	Feride.
07	I:	Ayşe kemale feride.
08	Y:	In our community in cretan community the names kemal and kemale are very common
09	I:	Is it so?
10	Y:	It is after atatürk.
11	I:	Hmm yes.
12	Y:	I mean mustafa kemal.
13		we have male name kemal and for females kemale commonly.

This account starts with the interviewer's meeting with Ayşe, Feride and Kemale. The interviewer asks the names of the three participants one by one and Ayşe introduces the other two to the interviewer. In line (7), the interviewer repeats the names, one of which is Kemale. At this point, Yakup takes the turn and starts to elaborate on Kemale's name probably because 'Kemale' as a women's name is not common. Although there are many men's names which have counterparts as women's name in Turkish, the women's name Kemale's usage is not common in Turkey. Hence, here Yakup feels the necessity to explain the names Kemal and Kemale are frequently used names in the Cretan community in line (8). Here he starts his statement with the use of the first person plural existential possessive structure *bizde* (we have) marking his membership into the Cretan community. In line (10), he further states that these names are after Atatürk to ensure that these names are given after Atatürk. In line (12), he reinforces his former statement

that these names are after Atatürk presenting more clarification on Atatürk's name by giving Atatürk's full name, Mustafa Kemal. Note that, he chooses to mark the predicate *çok* (many) in line (8) with the modality marker *–DIr* which is used to express permanent generalizations in nonverbal predicates (Sansa Tura, 1986:146). Here, Yakup's statement without the suffix *–DIr* would express factivity. The use of the generalizing modality marker *–DIr* adds "long-term validity or permanency, foregrounds the descriptionary or definitionary property" to this statement (Sansa Tura, 1986:146). Hence, with the use of the suffix *–DIr*, Yakup presents having the names after Atatürk as a permanent general characteristic of the Cretan community. Moreover, in line (13), Yakup marks the verbal predicate *kullan-* (to use) with the aorist suffix *–Ar* which has been stated as the counterpart of the suffix *–DIr* functioning in a parallel way semantically in verbal predicates (Sansa Tura, 1986: 152; Temürcü, 2007:143). Similar to the suffix *–DIr*, the aorist suffix *–Ar* assigns habitual reading to Yakup's statement in line (13). Therefore, Yakup presents 'naming women Kemale and men Kemal' as a habitual behavior of the Cretan community by using *–Ar* and asserting their loyalty to Atatürk and to the Republic of Turkey.

The extract from Hakan below is a more emphatic example of Turkish identity construction presenting naming practices as a characteristic of the Cretan community.

Example (25)
```
01    H:    Göçmenlik hakkaten çok kötü bir şey.
02          ama burda insanlar hakkaten çok yokluk çekti.
03          para kesinlikle yok.
04          parayla bir tek gazyağı şeker o tip şeyleri alabiliyodunuz.
05          göçmenlik- bilmiyorum yani.
06          -ve inan yani her zaman da
07          yani burda kime sorarsanız sorun
08          ben giritliler adına konuşuyorum.
```

09	dört dörtlük milliyetçi insanlar.
10	dört dörtlük milliyetçi insanlar.
11	o kadar zorluklar çektiler
12	hiçbir zaman için mesela- o dönemde giritte son dönemde doğan bütün çocuklara kemal ve mustafa ismi koyuyorlardı.
13	hatta bazen kız olursa kemale koyuyolardı.
14	kıza da ismet koyuyolardı.
15	ismet türk -şey erkek ismi.
16	mesela benim bi halam vardı
17	ismi ismetti.
18	yani o anavatana özlemden dolayı.

Translation

01	H:	Migrancy is really something very bad.
02		but people had really suffered a lot here.
03		they certainly did not have any money.
04		you could only buy things like oil and sugar with money.
05		well migrancy- I don't know
06		and believe me for always
07		well always ask whomever you want here
08		I speak in the name of cretan people.
09		they are first rate nationalist people.
10		they are first rate nationalist people.
11		they had suffered so much that
12		but they never for example- they named all the children born in Crete kemal and mustafa.
13		and sometimes even the girls were used to be named kemale
14		they also named girls ismet.
15		ismet is a turkish -well a name for males.
16		for example I had an aunt
17		her name was ismet.
18		well this is because of this longing for the homeland

In this extract, Hakan talks about migrancy and he lists the problems the Cretan immigrants experienced in Cunda in lines (1-11). Here, he presents migrancy as a difficult process that the Cretans went through stating that they had suffered a lot in Cunda from the living conditions. In lines (9) and (10), he emphasizes that the Cretans are pure nationalists by repeating his statement twice despite the difficulties they

endured. Here, Hakan probably tells the difficulties the Cretan immigrants experience to illustrate the faithfulness of the Cretans to the state. In lines (11) and (12), he makes a self interruption. His statement "they had that many difficulties…" could probably end with the presentation of some negative attitude that the Cretans have towards the state. However, Hakan here makes a self interruption and starts to talk about a positive attitude of the Cretans towards the state, which is naming practices of the community. In line (12), he states that all the children born in Crete were named either Mustafa or Kemal. Here, he uses the quantifier *bütün* (all) attributing this characteristic to all Cretans. He reinforces his generalization in line (13) with the use the additive connective *bile* (even) modifying the girls who are named Kemale or İsmet. Similar to Yakup, Hakan presents naming Cretan children after Mustafa Kemal or İsmet İnönü as indicators of loyalty to the state. Finally, in line (18), Hakan explains why the Cretans named their children Kemal, Kemale or İsmet stating that the Cretans felt longing for the *anavatan* (fatherland) which refers to the Republic of Turkey here. Recall that the referent of the word *vatan* (fatherland) is ambivalent in the discourse of our participants. Both Crete and Turkey are referred as *vatan* (fatherland) showing variation in different contexts.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed the construction of ethnic identities in the discourse of second generation immigrants. We have shown that the ambivalence observed in the representation of the migration and participants' positioning in relation to the migration and the migrancy is observed also in the construction of memberships into the Cretan and Turkish communities. We have shown that our participants present themselves as

both Cretan and Turkish and additionally as Cretan Turks with smooth transitions depending on specific contexts in interaction. They continuously construct and negotiate their positionings in relation to the Cretan and Turkish communities while they the draw on a range of competing discourses.

Furthermore, we have discussed that our participants position themselves in relation to in relation to the "others" by incorporating their similarities with the relevant community and also by presenting differences between themselves and the "others". However, Turkish and Cretan identities are never constructed in opposition to one another. Rather, they are constructed in opposition to other ethnic and regional groups such as the islanders, the immigrants from Mytilene, the people of Black Sea and to the Kurdish people.

The main strategies of constructing the Cretan identity are the use of direct references to being Cretan and positive attributes of Cretan people as well of the Cretan language, glorification of the homeland Crete and appraisal of the preservation of the Cretan cultural practices. The strategies used to construct the Turkish identity on the other hand, include constructing common historical background with the old Turkish states, presenting claims to being "good citizens" of the Republic of Turkey, expressing gratitude to the initiators of the population exchange, references to common naming practices showing loyalty to the founders of the Republic of Turkey.

Finally we noted that the construction of these seemingly opposing identities is invoked by the specific context of interaction which embodies the reflections of the mentioned political and historical processes and Kemalist ideologies.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The compulsory population exchange implemented in the 1920s between Greece and Turkey involved the re/displacement of about 1.5 million people. The exchange of people had important long-lasting ramifications and changed all aspects of life of the people undergoing it. Although the population exchange is historically distant, it has contemporary relevance to our study enabling us to understand the impact of such practices on people. The population exchange and its consequences have been the subject of inquiry in many diverse disciplines such as history, sociology, economy. However, there is little research focusing on its consequences for individuals and/or the communities and how the lives of these individuals and/or communities are in the host countries. Moreover, in the present studies, the "language" use of these individuals and communities has not taken enough attention although "language" reflects peoples' positionings in diverse discourses. "Language" also reflects the relationships between "self" and "other" positioning and the historical, social, political circumstances as well as hidden ideologies. Therefore, language is of profound importance in understanding the management and maintenance of individual and collective identities as well as in revealing their relation to society, shared representations in a society and dominant discourses such as the discourse of states and mass media. Considering these, we aimed to analyze the discourse of Cretan immigrants with a detailed linguistic analysis to understand the phenomenon of compulsory migration and positioning of the second generation immigrants in relation to the migration, migrancy and to the "others".

In the first chapter, we gave a general overview of the historical background to the population exchange and presented a general picture of the implementation of the population exchange as well as of the town, in which 4.500 Muslim immigrants were resettled, including our participants. We also presented a general overview of the type and amount of our data, the data collection process and the characteristics of our participants.

Chapter Two presented the theoretical background of our study focusing on the basic concepts such as language, discourse and identity and their relation to each other. We have discussed that language as a tool for making one's sense of being is central to the construction of individual and collective identities. We have also stated that language is the medium for creation, negotiation and maintenance of identities. Then we gave a general overview of the approaches to the analysis of identity and presented our approach to the analysis of identity. We have discussed that the analysis of identity focusing on only the local context of interaction disregarding the wider systems of social, historical, cultural constructs as well as ideologies would not be explanatory for our study since they are believed and shown to have impact on the construction of individual and collective identities. We then presented our methodology. We have stated that we would analyze the discourse of our participants at both micro and macro levels setting linkages between these levels and also referring to the situated historical contexts. We presented our stages of analysis as description of the text, interpretation of the text, and explanation of the relationship between the text and wider social and historical contexts. Finally, we overviewed the positions of the analysis of the choice of grammatical voice and pronominal choice in identity studies ending the chapter with an overview of these grammatical structures in Turkish.

Chapter Three focused on our participants positioning in relation to the migration and migrancy. We focused on the representation of the migration in our participants' discourse analyzing the accounts involving linguistic references to the migration as well as the use of grammatical voice to understand the degree of "agency" attributed to the immigrants in the initiation and realization of the migration. We showed that the representation of the migration is ambivalent being both voluntary and compulsory. Our analysis illustrated that our participants present the migration as voluntary with direct references such as *gönüllü* (voluntary). However, the presentation of migration as compulsory is managed indirectly and implicitly via the choice of grammatical voice and violence stories in Crete. We have discussed that these representations are strictly linked to the ideologies, discourses and shared representations having impact on the language use in interaction. We have also discussed that the voluntary representation of the migration might be seen as our participants' effort to claim a place in the Republic of Turkey because mentioning the population exchange as compulsory in the early periods of the state might have been seen as a betrayal to the new nation state. We explained the implicit and indirect construction of the compulsory representation as reflections of the shared stories about the migration told by the ancestors of our participants. The other indirect representation of the migration as compulsory was revealed by the choice of grammatical voice by our participants. We showed that the immigrants are presented overwhelmingly as patients undergoing the migration rather than active, volunteer doers of the migrating event.

In this chapter we also showed that the migration is presented as a milestone that is taken as a benchmark to figure out the dates of events such as birth or death in our participants' discourse. We also showed that our participants use the date of migration as

a milestone without any reference to the specific date. Considering that our participants are second generation immigrants, we stated that the migration has profound long-lasting impacts on people through generations.

Furthermore, Chapter Three presented the analysis of our participants' positioning in relation to migrancy aiming at understanding whether second generation immigrants position themselves immigrants or not. In order to reveal that we analyzed the pronominal choice of our participants with reference to the migration, the hometown Crete and to their forefathers' belongings left in Crete. We discussed that the use of the first person personal or possessive pronouns with reference to the hometown conveys the participant's attachment to the hometown Crete and hence position them as immigrants. We found that our participants ambivalently position themselves with frequent switches in the use of pronominals and in the presentation of contradicting representations of the hometown Crete.

In Chapter Four we focused on the construction of memberships into communities analyzing the socio-cultural conducts and attributes used in the construction of collective identities. Before presenting what we found in this chapter, we want to note an interesting point that we observed in the analysis of membership construction of our participants. As we have mentioned in the first chapter, in the application of the population exchange, religion was taken as the criteria to determine the populations to be exchanged disregarding their language or ethnicity. The population replaced in Turkey including the ones migrating from the island of Crete was Muslim. However, being Muslim is not generally mentioned except for a few contexts in the discourse of our participants. Considering our participants' efforts to construct the Cretan community as "civilized" and "western" rather than "Muslim", we might claim

that our participants confirm to Atatürk's reforms and modernization endeavors including secularizing the state and discouraging the veil (Landau, 1984: XIV).

Coming back to the claims of memberships in communities made relevant by our participants, we found that the most prevalent collective identities made relevant are Turkish and Cretan identities. We showed that our participants frequently switch from one ethnic identity to another presenting ambivalence. We discussed that this ambivalence does not refer to indecisiveness or uncertainty of our participants. Rather, the immediate context of interaction highly connected to the political and historical conducts and ideologies in action invoke switches from one ethnic community to another drawing on a range of competing discourses. We also noted that these identities do not oppose to each other; instead there are cases where they are co-constructed with the creation of a hybrid ethnic identity as "Cretan Turk". The oppositions observed found out to be against other ethnic and regional groups such as the islanders, the immigrants from Mytilene, the people of Black Sea and to the Kurdish people.

In this chapter we discussed that the common history, shared culture and the Cretan language play significant role in the formation of the Cretan identity. We illustrated that the strategies used to construct the Cretan identity are the use of direct references to being Cretan and positive attributes to the Cretan people as well as to the Cretan language, glorification of the homeland Crete and appraisal of the preservation of the Cretan cultural practices. Additionally, we showed that the defining characteristics of being Cretan are being "hard-working", "tough", "noble", and "civilized" and preserving the Cretan cultural practices.

The strategies used to construct the Turkish identity on the other hand, can be

listed as constructing common historical background with the old Turkish states, presenting claims to being "good citizens" of the Republic of Turkey, expressing gratitude to the initiators of the population exchange and referring to common naming practices in the community. We have also discussed that the defining characteristics of being Turkish are being loyal to the Republic of Turkey, confirming to and following Atatürk's reforms and principles. We have also discussed that the Turkish identity is sometimes constructed when the "turkishness" of our participants and hence their loyalty to the Turkish state is challenged. Therefore, we have explained this as our participants' effort to claim a place in the host country. We have further pointed out that the Turkish identity is strictly under the impact of the Kemalist ideologies about the language, the ethnic composition of the "modern", "civilized", "western", "republican" and "secular" nation- state.

Finally, considering the ambivalence our participants exhibit and the efforts they spend to manage the mentioned identities switching from one to the other we can positively claim that our study supports the views of identity as 'fluid', 'changeable' and 'multiple' and identity construction is highly interlinked with the historical, political contexts as well as ideologies and shared stories.

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