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HERITAGE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE OF UYGHUR DIASPORA IN MUNICH

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Abstract

This thesis aims to establish the main outline of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Uyghur diaspora in Munich, which is the centre of Uyghur political activism in Germany and Europe. The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, introduced by Giles et al. (1977), was adopted to address the notion of heritage language maintenance. The objective data was collected from secondary sources and subjective vitality perceptions were collected from 36 first- and second-generation Uyghur speakers with the help of Subjective Vitality Questionnaire introduced by Bourhis et al. (1981). The questionnaire was adapted to this thesis with four additional questions, and the respondents were asked to focus only on the vitality perceptions of Uyghur community. Additionally, data from 24 second-generation Uyghur students enrolled at Uyghur Mother Language School was collected in order to address the concept of heritage language education. The purpose in this regard was to determine the students' degree of biliteracy and bilingualism by using the Language Rating Scales (self-ratings) of reading, writing, speaking, and understanding tasks in Uyghur and German languages. The collected objective data from various sources, the subjective vitality perceptions, and the Uyghur students' self-ratings of language skills were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The results demonstrated the current outline of the Uyghur diaspora in terms of language maintenance. It was indicated that Uyghurs in Munich act as a distinct entity with collective values. A noteworthy amount of scepticism was determined among the respondents regarding the future aspect of Uyghur language maintenance. Nevertheless, the majority of the respondents showed positive attitudes for the future of Uyghur as a heritage language in Munich. The results of the Language Rating Scales identified a gap between bilingualism and biliteracy levels amongst Uyghur students, with lower proficiency in the heritage language literacy skills and a dominance of the German language. Overall, it is believed that the results of this study contributed to filling in the context of heritage language maintenance of Uyghur diaspora in Munich.

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION 1
2. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE OF HERITAGE SPEAKERS: DEFINITION AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH 4
2.1. Defining language maintenance and shift 4
2.2. Heritage languages and heritage speakers 5
2.3. Ethnolinguistic vitality and the influential factors behind language maintenance 6
2.4. Heritage language education 10
3. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY THEORY: OVERVIEW AND CRITICISMS 13
3.1. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory 13
3.1.1. Objective and subjective vitality measures 15
3.2. Criticisms of ethnolinguistic vitality theory 17
4. METHODOLOGY 20
4.1. Research design 20
4.2. Data collection 21
4.2.1. Objective vitality 21
4.2.2. Subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ) 22
4.2.3. Sampling process for SVQ 24
4.2.4. Language rating scales (LRS) 25
4.3. Methods for analysis 26
4.3.1. Quantitative Analysis 26
4.3.2. Analysis of the objective vitality 27
4.4. Ethical considerations 28
4.5. Limitations 28
4.6. Summary 29
5. RESULTS 30
5.1. Results of the subjective vitality questionnaire 30
5.2. Results of the language rating scales 33
6. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION 39
6.1. Analysis of the ethnolinguistic vitality measures 39
6.1.1. Objective vitality 39
6.1.2. Subjective vitality perceptions 42
6.2. Analysis of the language rating scales 45
6.3. Discussion 47
6.3.1. Ethnolinguistic vitality of Uyghur diaspora in Munich 47
6.3.2. The degree of bilingualism and biliteracy among Uyghur HL students 51
6.4. Summary 53
7. CONCLUSIONS 55
References 59
Appendices 62

List of Tables and Figures

Figure 1. A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (from Giles et al. 1977: 309): Page 14

Table 1. The results of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire: Page 31

Table 2. The results of questions 22-24: Page 32

Table 3. The results of question 25: Page 32

Table 4. Overall vitality measures for G1 and G2: Page 33

Table 5. Results of Language Rating Scales in writing skills: Page 34

Table 6. Results of Language Rating Scales in speaking skills: Page 35

Table 7. Results of Language Rating Scales in reading skills: Page 36

Table 8. Results of Language Rating Scales in understanding skills: Page 37

Table 9. Overall results of the Language Rating Scales: Page 37

"Our exile organisations have been our way of replacing the cities and villages we have lost".
-Henning Mankel

1. INTRODUCTION

The city of Munich in Germany has been the centre for political activism of Uyghur people around the globe. In the European context, a number of non-governmental organisations, such as the *World Uyghur Congress (WUC)* and the *European Union of East Turkistan* have been the pioneers of representing the collective interest of the Uyghur people. The emergence of the Uyghur diaspora in Munich, on the other hand, is parallel to the emergence of these organisations, especially *WUC*. The organisation has been welcoming Uyghur refugees since its foundation in 2004. Since then, the Uyghur community in Munich has been actively promoting its culture and advocating for the rights of Uyghur people both within and outside of Uyghur homeland.

According to Isa (2023), the first Uyghur refugees arrived in Munich during the Cold War with the intention of working at *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, whose purpose was to broadcast anti-communist propaganda in Europe. The Uyghurs who arrived via Turkey initially commenced their employment with the purpose of broadcasting radio channels in Uyghur language. Subsequently, they invited their family members to reunify with them in Munich, which resulted in the emergence of a small Uyghur community (Isa 2023).

At the end of the Cold War and fall of the Soviet Union, more Uyghurs arrived in Munich and with the increasing numbers, the first political activist organisation, *The European Union of East Turkistan* was founded. This foundation led to the increased immigration of Uyghurs to Germany and other Western European countries. As the number of Uyghurs increased, organisations such as *World Uyghur Youth Congress* and *East Turkistan National Congress* were found and finally, in 2004, the two organisations were merged into *World Uyghur Congress* (Isa 2023). The establishment of the Uyghur diaspora in Munich has a historical background that includes these key events.

The Uyghurs that have immigrated to Germany have brought their cultural resources with them as well, in the same vein as other dispersed communities. They play an active role in the promotion and representation of their cultural values. The community has witnessed a growth in its size throughout the years, with currently around 800 Uyghurs in Munich and 1500 in all of Germany (Isa 2023). The growth in numbers indicates a growth in the number of *Uyghur speakers* as well, which leads to the efforts to preserve and transmit their linguistic resources, i.e., their heritage language.

Apart from the cultural events and exhibitions, Uyghur language, history, and culture is taught to second-generation Uyghurs at Uyghur Mother Language School. Students attend the weekly

classes every Saturday for approximately two hours. In addition to theoretical courses, the students attend practical courses such as traditional Uyghur dance classes. Consisting of around 80-100 students, divided into five different classes based on their age, the Uyghur Mother Language School is seen as a pioneer and a fundamental instrument for Uyghur language education in Munich context.

For the field of language maintenance (LM) and language shift (LS), migrant settings have been one of the most prominent settings of investigating such phenomena (Pauwels 2016). The Uyghur diaspora in Munich, which has received very little attention from scholars, particularly, in the field of sociolinguistics, is a non-indigenous community with distinct linguistic and cultural characteristics. The Uyghurs and their language, in this context, are a focus point of a language maintenance research. Therefore, this study is set to explore the notion of heritage language maintenance (HLM) of Uyghur diaspora in Munich.

The main aim of this thesis is to establish the ethnolinguistic vitality of Uyghurs in Munich. Particularly, the notion of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT), firstly put forward by Giles et al. (1977) is the main framework of this research, owing to its importance in providing an outlook of a community in terms of language maintenance. Since Uyghurs are a relatively understudied group, this notion will help us explore the main outline of the Uyghur diaspora with the structural variables set by Giles et al. (1977).

As the aim suggests, the target group is the Uyghurs in Munich, specifically, the first- and second-generation Uyghurs, as they are the core elements of the community. For the second-generation Uyghurs, an additional attention will be drawn on those who are enrolled at the senior classes of Uyghur Mother Language School. As a fundamental aspect of this community, the notion of heritage language education will be explored to provide an outlook to this particular constituent of language maintenance efforts.

The primary objective is to measure the ethnolinguistic vitality of Uyghurs and establish the main outline of the community. Moreover, since the nature of EVT is formed around the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality of a speech community, the most influential factors behind heritage language maintenance of Uyghurs in Munich is the secondary objective. The motive here is to both establish and compare the findings to previous studies. Finally, the third objective is to explore the degree of biliteracy and bilingualism of Uyghur Mother Language School students. As we underlined above, heritage language education has a prominent role in heritage language maintenance. Thus, the students' capabilities in their heritage language and the mainstream language will be investigated. Specifically, their degrees of bilingualism and biliteracy will be compared to each other to provide a general outlook to the heritage language education in Uyghur context.

In the light of the information that have been provided so far, the research questions are as follows:

1. How the current objective data and the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of the first- and second-generation Uyghurs in Munich can be interpreted?
2. What are the most influential factors behind heritage language maintenance of Uyghurs in Munich and how do they relate to previous research?
3. How do the self-rated proficiency levels of biliteracy and bilingualism compare among the senior class students of Uyghur Mother Language School?

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 2 presents the previous literature, definitions, and key concepts in LM. In Chapter 3, we provide a theoretical overview of the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality and criticisms. Chapter 4 explores the methodology, namely data collection tools and analysis methods. In Chapter 5, we demonstrate the main findings of the research and in Chapter 6, we provide in-depth analysis and discussions of the results. Finally, we make our conclusions and provide directions for future research in Chapter 7.

2. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE OF HERITAGE SPEAKERS: DEFINITION AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In this chapter, the field of language maintenance and shift, the notion of heritage languages and speakers, the ethnolinguistic vitality theory's implementations as a framework in language maintenance research in various contexts and the most significant factors behind language maintenance will be discussed. In other words, the study will be prefaced with a contextual overview.

2.1. Defining language maintenance and shift

As Pauwels (2016) maintains, the study of language maintenance and shift as a field of inquiry emerged in the mid-twentieth century as a result of migration flows, especially from Europe to North America, which also created language contact scenarios. In addition to language contact, this area of study is also correlated with, bilingualism, multilingualism, language death, and language change. Nevertheless, the exact genesis of this field is obscure and difficult to track, due to the fact that it is intertwined with other areas of study (Pauwels 2016). Thus, the aim of this section is to define and introduce the emergence of the field of language maintenance and shift.

Joshua Fishman (1964) is one of the authors defining language maintenance (LM) and language shift (LS) as a separate area of study. In his work, Fishman elaborated on the topic from a social perspective, rather than focusing on the linguistic features of a language:

> The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other. That languages (or language variants) sometimes replace each other, among some speakers, particularly in certain types or domains of language behaviour, under some conditions of intergroup contact, has long aroused curiosity and comment. (Fishman 1964: 32)

Fishman (1964) further divides the field into three major sub-fields: habitual language use in various contexts in intergroup contact scenarios; psychological, social, and cultural processes (i.e., extralinguistic factors) that affect LM and LS; attitudes towards language in contact settings, including directed maintenance or shift efforts. The second and third concepts are the key stones in the foundation of this study. Language contact (e.g., Uyghur and German) is the key setting in this regard, which leads to LM and LS. In other words, language contact is the cause and language maintenance or shift is the effect. Additionally, the most researched setting for the LM and LS is the migration context (Pauwels 2016), which is addressed in this study as well. The term language maintenance, therefore, is explained extensively by Pauwels (2004):

> The term *language maintenance* is used to describe a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres (Pauwels 2004: 719).

In this regard, language shift refers to the situation when the language of a person or community is gradually replaced by another language. Language shift can be labelled as language loss as well, and the process of a shift takes place not in an individual sense (i.e., language attrition), but on a societal level; the process may take one or more generations. In migration contexts, the term often refers to the abandonment of the native (or in this respect, heritage) language and adoption of the mainstream/dominant language (Pauwels 2016; Grenoble 2021). In this study, heritage language maintenance (rather than shift) is one of the centres of attention.

2.2. Heritage languages and heritage speakers

The term 'heritage language' was first introduced in Canada in 1977 with the emergence of Ontario Heritage Languages Programs and it has begun to be used in 1990's by the American scholars (Cummins 2005: 585). The definition of the heritage languages and speakers vary, and an objective definition may not be precise, since the term 'heritage language' depends on the social position of the language in question, and it can be an immigrant, historical, or an indigenous language as well. The definition also depends on the distinction between majority and minority languages, since a language can be a majority language in one setting, and a minority language in another. Other widely used terms to refer to heritage languages are 'community, immigrant, ethnic, minority, ancestral, etc.' (see Montrul 2015:13). In this section, the definitions of heritage languages and heritage speakers from particular scholars will be presented and applied to Uyghur diaspora in Munich.

In the U.S context, Valdés (2005) defines heritage language as a language other than English that is spoken by immigrants and their children. Fishman (2001) categorizes heritage languages as indigenous, colonial, and immigrant heritage languages. As de Bot & Gorter (2005) note, in Europe, the term 'minority language' is used more than 'heritage language' and there has been a distinction between, in some countries, immigrant minority languages and regional (indigenous) languages (de Bot & Gorter 2005). As it was mentioned earlier, labelling a language as a heritage language is complex and depends on the local position of the language.

Determining who is classified as a heritage speaker is as complicated as defining a heritage language (HL) itself, although examples and classifications exist from different points of view. Valdes (2005: 412) defines heritage speakers from an educational standpoint: "a student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language". Even though

this definition approaches from an English-language-majority view, it can be applied to different scenarios. Montrul (2015) defines heritage speakers as early bilinguals of minority languages, because they are exposed to the HL and the mainstream language in the childhood. Montrul further aptly demonstrates the general characteristics of a heritage speaker:

- A bilingual individual who grew up in a bilingual home and has linguistic proficiency in two languages.
- The first language, or one of the first languages, spoken at home is a sociolinguistically minority (heritage) language.
- The bilingual individual is usually dominant in the societal majority language (although balanced-heritage speakers also exist).
- The heritage language is often the weaker language.
- The degree of proficiency in the heritage language ranges from minimal and receptive ability to fully fluent and native-like.
- Proficiency in societal majority language is typically native or native-like (depending on level of education) (Montrul 2015: 18).

Valdés' (2005) and Montrul's (2015) definitions and these characteristics apply for both the first- and second-generation Uyghurs in Munich as well. On the other hand, regarding the definition of HL of Uyghur diaspora, we agree with Aalberse et al. (2019), who propose a definition from an individual/ethnic point: "The language that is not the dominant language of the country but that does connect you to your roots is the heritage language" (Aalberse et al. 2019: 1) In Munich context, Uyghur language is not the majority language and is spoken solely by Uyghurs. They are not indigenous to Germany; thus, they cannot be labelled as a national minority, and the language spoken is a foreign language altogether. The second-generation Uyghurs are bilingual individuals and their proficiency in Uyghur language vary from person to person. In the light of this information, definitions, and characterisations of researchers, it can be established that Uyghur language in Munich context is a heritage language which is associated with their roots, and Uyghur immigrants are heritage speakers who have proficiency in societal language and their native language.

2.3. Ethnolinguistic vitality and the influential factors behind language maintenance

The studies, in which the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (the framework is detailed in the methodology section) have been used, mainly focus on the minority and/or immigrant communities in various contexts. The studies that have been conducted in the Turkish-speaking communities in Europe and Australia, for instance, especially in the field of language maintenance and shift, present us the most recent ethnolinguistic vitality measures of the given communities and the instances will

be mostly drawn from Turkish diaspora. In this section, the studies and research of language maintenance, shift, and ethnolinguistic vitality will be assessed and the fundamental factors behind language maintenance will be documented.

The Turkish immigrant communities in Europe are predominantly situated in the Western parts of the continent, with the population of over 5 million Turkish people living outside of Turkey (in Europe) (Hoffman et al. 2020). Several studies were conducted regarding the Turkish diaspora in Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, with a focus on the LM, LS, and ethnolinguistic vitality. The majority of the studies (Yagmur et al. 1999; Yagmur & Akinci 2003; Yagmur 2004; Wright & Kurtoglu-Hooton 2006; Yagmur & Jacobs 2015) follow the similar methods and data collection tools and focus on the Turkish communities in Western Europe and Australia. In addition, Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (SEVQ), Language Use-Choice Questionnaire (LUCQ), and Language Rating Scales (LRS) are among the main data collection tools. The selected studies, in which the EVT was implemented will be analysed.

Yagmur and Akinci (2003), in their research regarding the Turkish speakers in France, studied the intergenerational differences of language use, choice, maintenance and ethnolinguistic vitality. Specifically, the research was designed to examine the effect of ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions on language maintenance, use, and choice of Turkish speakers. Primarily using the quantitative methods, with the help of LUCQ, SEVQ, and LRS, the main factors that contribute to language maintenance were determined.

According to Yagmur and Akinci (2003), the fact that the population of Turkish immigrants generally reside in working-class suburbs provide them with an efficient network of speakers, which enables an active language use as well. The religious organisations and places of worship, such as mosques, are also among the active settings of use and language exchange. Alongside with the availability of Turkish mass media and Turkish language schools, Yagmur and Akinci (2003) state that the basic conditions for heritage language maintenance have already been met in this regard.

Additionally, Yagmur and Akinci (2003) report that high endogamy ratings, on the other hand, are also a fundamental instrument in first language maintenance. Turkish immigrants tend to marry their compatriots born in Turkey, which eventually increases the number of Turkish first-generation immigrants in France. The tendency of Turkish immigrants to commit to in-group marriages and the fact that the children being born into Turkish speaking domains show that the dominant language in domestic settings is Turkish, i.e., the first language of the children born into such families is Turkish. Moreover, in terms of language use, the results indicate that Turkish is mainly used/spoken in domestic settings and neighbourhoods, where other Turkish immigrants reside (Yagmur and Akinci 2003). Thus, it underlines the importance of endogamy and Turkish immigration to France in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish speakers. The importance of the influx of new

heritage speakers was pointed by Tamošiūnaitė (2008). In the U.S context, the results the study of two Chicago-area Lithuanian Saturday schools indicate the importance of new immigrants, and Tamošiūnaitė (2008) argues, that the recent Lithuanian immigration into the U.S plays a significant role in the Lithuanian language maintenance, and it increases the use of Lithuanian as well.

A similar study by Yagmur and Jacobs (2015), which concentrates on the Turkish speakers in the Netherlands and the role of education in language maintenance, presents that the better educated individuals have higher proficiency levels in both heritage and host languages. The authors found out that, comparable to that of France, one of the most fundamental elements of language maintenance of Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands is the fact that the Turkish immigrant population is situated in the same vicinities, providing an active environment for language use. The role of mass media and language education are reported to be the crucial elements as well, despite the lack of/very little institutional support, which is also one of the factors that determine the ethnolinguistic vitality of a community (Giles et al. 1977).

The significance of the network of speakers, i.e., when immigrants live nearby/in the same neighbourhood, can clearly be seen Wright and Kurtoglu-Hooton's (2006) study in Birmingham, UK. The authors (Wright and Kurtoglu-Hooton 2006) indicate that, despite living in a highly multicultural and multilingual city, there are some deficiencies in intergenerational language transmission. As Campbell and Christian (2003) underline, intergenerational language transmission within the community is crucial to the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. Moreover, it is thought that the main reason behind the lack of transmission is the fact that the population is scattered around the city. In addition, the adult population is employed in different working sectors, in contrast to that of France and the Netherlands, in which the Turkish immigrants mainly reside in working-class suburbs. In the case of heritage languages and communities, which rely on a number of external factors for their survivability, intergenerational language transmission is equally significant in this regard (Campbell and Christian 2003).

In the Australian context regarding Turkish immigrants, economic, educational, and social-status factors present a low vitality (Yagmur et al. 1999). However, endogamy and higher birth rates appear to play a significant role in demonstrating a higher vitality, as it is shown in France and the Netherlands contexts. Yagmur et al. (1999) note, in the same regard, that the attitudes of Turkish people towards their heritage language, and the perceived status of Turkish language, according to the results of SEVQ and LUCQ, are very low. Thus, Yagmur et al (1999) argue that the combination of both low language status and negative attitudes towards Turkish language has a detrimental effect on language maintenance. Guardado (2002) also underlines the importance of positive attitudes towards their language, as the encouragement the parents give to their children and the promotion of a positive attitude can have a contributory effect in heritage language maintenance, alongside with

cultural identity. Hence, language shift to English in second generation appears to be high and it is argued that under these negative circumstances, the language attrition of Turkish immigrants in Australia will keep taking place (Yagmur et al. 1999).

Research by Wright and Kurtoglu-Hooton (2006) has shown that the size of the population in migrant settings reportedly plays a significant role in language maintenance and shift. Regardless of the extremely positive attitudes and active strategies, communities with small number of individuals encounter critical difficulties while maintaining their language, as the results indicate in Birmingham (Wright & Kurtoglu-Hooton 2006). Other communities which possess similar characteristics as the Turkish community but with larger number of populations maintain their language. As Guardado (2002) stresses, a larger linguistic community is always a necessity.

The similar language maintenance pattern was observed in Turkish diaspora in Germany as well. Yagmur (2004) established that the most important factor behind high language maintenance figures of Turkish immigrants in Germany can be associated with the high rate of endogamy, identical to that of France and the Netherlands contexts. Moreover, institutional support, Turkish media (newspapers, Turkish TV channels via satellites, journals, etc.), and cultural activities are widely accessible, thus contributing to language maintenance (Yagmur 2004).

Additionally, Yagmur (2004) argues that, owing to the fact that the Turkish is an agglutinative language, in contrast to German, which is a fusional language, might have a positive effect on the strong language maintenance findings. This argument was based on the study of Kipp et al. (1995), which indicates that the typological differences between dominant and minority languages that are in contact effect the maintenance of the minority language. On the other hand, Yagmur further indicates a possible link between the attitudes and policies of the dominant society and the ethnolinguistic vitality of the minority group. Comparing the Australia and Germany (Yagmur 2004) regarding attitudes and language policies, even though the general attitude in Australia is in favour of promotion and maintenance of the minority languages, ethnolinguistic vitality ratings of the Turkish group indicate low values. In contrast, the negative attitude of the mainstream societies in Germany towards minorities, Yagmur (2004) argues, might have a positive effect on language maintenance, as it can be derived from the ethnolinguistic vitality values of Turkish diaspora in Germany. Overall, it can be understood that not only the internal factors such as in-group marriages, attitudes towards HL, size of the population, and social networks, etc., but also external factors such as the attitudes of the dominant society, language policies, and even the characteristics of the host language might have an impact on language maintenance as well.

This concept surely depends on the context. Attitudes on a societal level and policies in the diaspora vary between communities. Further on, one of the main points for analysis in this study, the

heritage language education, and the benefits of the concept of community schools of the immigrant/heritage communities on both micro and macro levels will be discussed.

2.4. Heritage language education

Heritage language education is another concept to be analysed in this chapter. Community language schools, in this context, are establishments and educational agencies set up by the given immigrant communities and minority groups with the purpose of language teaching and cultural education. Pauwels (2016), uses the term "community schools" or "community language schools", since these types of establishments are generally initiated by the communities themselves rather than the state. Alongside with parental input/intergenerational language transmission, heritage language education, heritage language as the medium of instruction, and community schools are as significant as the rest of the factors that are listed at the end of this chapter. One benefit of the heritage language schools is that they provide an environment for students to use their language (Lee 2014), especially for the members of smaller communities, such as the Uyghur community in Munich. As it was mentioned earlier, tight social network between heritage speakers in the same neighbourhood is beneficial to LM, and the community language schools can be regarded as a similar setting.

Apart from being domains of language use on a macro level, heritage language education and community language schools have a number of benefits on a micro level as well. Bankston & Zhou (1995) in their study regarding the Vietnamese youths in New Orleans, concluded that the minority students' literacy in their ethnic language contributes to their academic achievements and that advanced bilingualism promotes academic excellence. Garcia-Vazquez et al. (1997), detected a similar link between bilingual literacy and academic achievements of Mexican - American students, stating that reading and writing skills in Spanish positively influence students' academic success. Moreover, instruction in the heritage language can assist the heritage speakers/learners increase and preserve their language and literacy skills, as well as improving their literacy attainment and cognitive flexibility (Lee & Chen-Wu 2021; Proctor et al. 2010). Hence, there appears to be a strong link between heritage language literacy and academic achievement. As Lee & Suarez aptly put (2009), in order to benefit from the advantages of additive bilingualism, reading and writing skills should be as attentive as oral skills in the heritage language. Therefore, the significance of biliteracy has been established in the literature and the role of community schools, in terms of acquisition of literacy in the HL, cannot be overlooked in this regard.

Regardless of the high levels of communication skills in the HL, heritage speakers are required to improve their vocabulary, develop literacy skills, and improve their grammatical accuracy (Montrul 2010). Since literacy is acquired through formal education and explicit learning, community

schools fill the gap in this context. Maylor et al. (2010) summarized the literature and presented a number of benefits of community schools. Among them were:

- positive identity reinforcement;
- a better understanding of one's cultural background (heritage, language, religion);
- increased community/mother tongue language skills. (Maylor et al. 2010)

These findings coincide with Otcu and College's (2010) implications of a Turkish Saturday school in the U.S context. The authors (Otcu and College 2010) claim that heritage schools help students to connect to their heritage, build a collective identity through the use of HL, and form a sense of cultural identity for the purpose of language maintenance is among the roles of heritage language schools.

The type of community school, which is also presented in this study, is 'Weekend Schools', or 'Saturday Schools'. Regarding Uyghur diaspora and their community language schools, The East Turkistan Australian Association and the Saturday Uyghur language schools, which teach Uyghur language, Uyghur customs, and arrange cultural activities were mentioned in the literature. In Virginia, U.S, the Uyghur Sunday school teaches more than fifty students the Uyghur language, traditional dances, and Islamic courses (Lee & Chen-Wu 2021). The main roles of these establishments are uniting Uyghur people and East Turkistan diaspora and emphasizing the sense of ethnic identity. As Lee & Chen-Wu (2021) state, Saturday Schools such as the ones in the U.S. and Australia, function as home for languages that are endangered, and they are essential for such communities. The Uyghur Mother Language School in Munich serves with a similar purpose, which will be demonstrated in detail.

In summary, language maintenance and shift as a field of inquiry is associated with the continued use, retention, or abandonment of a language, particularly a minority, indigenous, or even an endangered one. Heritage language maintenance can be referred as the same notion, a continued use or retention of a heritage language in immigrant settings under the dominance of a majority/host language. The entity of a dominant language (i.e., language contact) and language policies on a societal level are amongst the factors that lead to either maintenance efforts or shift. Moreover, studies from Turkish diaspora were selected to present the current trends in research regarding language maintenance, and to demonstrate how the ethnolinguistic vitality measures of an immigrant community might appear, depending on the scope and context.

The most influential factors that affect language maintenance, drawn from studies in which the ethnolinguistic vitality theory as a framework was implemented are:

- a close and active heritage/immigrant network in the vicinity;
- in-group marriage and constant inflow of new heritage speakers;
- access to mass-media in HL;

- intergenerational language transmission;
- positive attitudes towards heritage language maintenance;
- heritage language education and biliteracy.

These factors have either direct or indirect impact on the ethnolinguistic vitality measures as well. The factors that affect the LM of Uyghurs in Munich will be presented further in this study. This literature review has shown the key points in LM and LS and provided a contextual background of this research.

3. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY THEORY: OVERVIEW AND CRITICISMS

In this chapter, the theoretical framework and its components, criticisms of EVT, and analysis are documented. The main framework used in this study is the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory. In the following section, the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality theory will be elaborated.

3.1. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory

One of the frameworks used in studies regarding language maintenance and shift is the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT.) Initially introduced by Giles et al. (1977), the ethnolinguistic vitality of a speech community is "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles et al. 1977: 308), and it provides a social psychological approach to the study of language and multilingualism. Additionally, it is argued that speech communities in contact situations (i.e., ethnolinguistic; in this respect, immigrant/heritage groups) with low vitality would eventually cease to exist, whereas groups with higher vitality are more likely to exist as a distinct collective entity (Giles et al. 1977). In other words, in terms of LM and LS, the ethnolinguistic groups with low vitality will eventually go through language shift, the groups with high vitality, however, will possibly maintain their language in contact settings. The authors (Giles et al. 1977) further presented a number of structural variables that mostly affect the ethnolinguistic vitality of a speech community. These variables are status, demography, and institutional support factors. Figure 1 presents the taxonomy of these structural variables.

According to Giles et al. (1977), status factors refer to economic, social, sociohistorical, and language status. Economic status refers to the degree of control that a group possesses over its economic situation. Social status is the degree of esteem a group affords itself, i.e., low self-esteem and high self-esteem are the agents that affect a group's morale. Sociohistorical status, on the other hand, is what the group members regard as mobilizing symbols that construct a sense of 'togetherness'. In other words, historical events and struggles of an ethnolinguistic group can unite the group members in a sense that would help them act together as a group. Language status simply refers to the prestige of a language, inside and outside of the community boundaries: high prestige and low prestige will affect the vitality (Giles et al. 1977: 310-311).

In terms of demography, according to the variables pointed by Giles et al. (1977), group distribution factors include the national territory, group concentration, and proportion factors. As it was mentioned in the literature review, group concentration is one of the fundamental factors behind LM; residing in the same vicinities as other ingroup members assists in having constant verbal communication, thus contributing to language maintenance. National territory factor refers to the

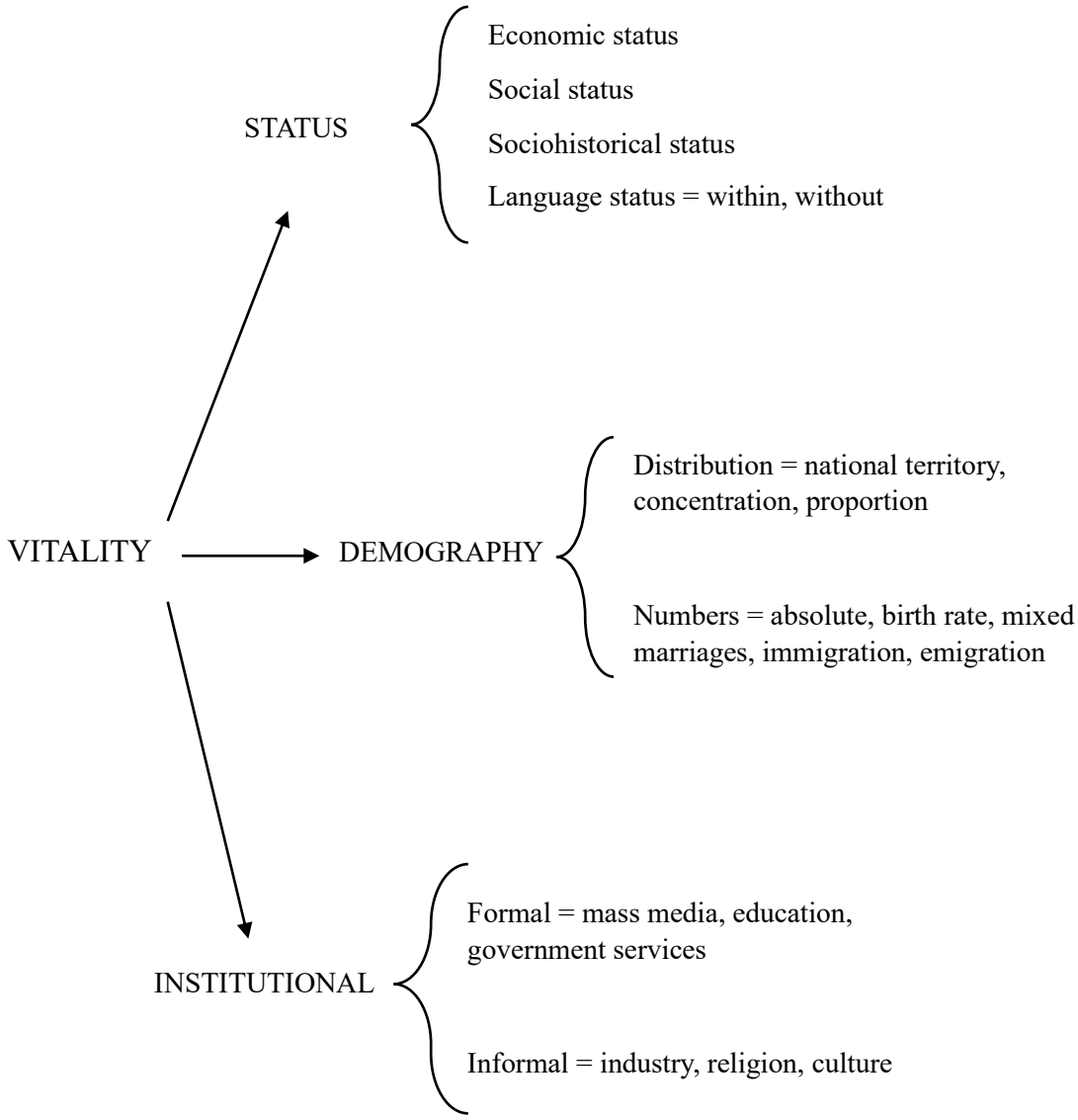

Figure 1. A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (from Giles et al. 1977: 309).

national homeland; the ethnolinguistic groups who still occupy their homeland (i.e., having an independent national state) have a higher chance of maintaining as a collective entity than those who were dispossessed or separated (either directly or indirectly) from their national frontiers. Group proportion, on the other hand, is simply the proportion of speakers of the ethnolinguistic group compared to the dominant group (Giles et al. 1977).

Giles et al. (1977) define group number factors as the factor that basically include the absolute numbers, i.e., the total number of speakers, which means that communities with large number of speakers are considered to have a greater chance of survival compared to those who are smaller in numbers. Birth rates include the aspect of high and low birth rates that contribute to the total number of members. Mixed or in-group marriages, i.e., endogamy and exogamy, and the immigration and emigration factors were also listed the vital factors behind LM in Chapter 2. The

influx of new speakers into the community increases the total number of speakers, thus contributing to the vitality, whereas emigration evidently decreases the number of speakers. Giles et al. (1977) further argue that in addition to the eventual decrease in the number of speakers in the speech community, such emigrants (in the case of moving to another setting where an entirely different language is the dominant one) will often need to acquire and master another language and eventually lose their first language (i.e., language attrition).

The institutional support factor is the amount of formal and informal support that the community receives. Informal support usually refers to the efforts and organisations that a linguistic minority creates in order to ensure their well-being for the sake of being a collective entity (e.g., religious and cultural organisations/events, language schools, etc.), whereas formal support is associated with the support from the government, such as mass media, education system, and so forth. To put differently, both formal and informal representations of the given language and its speakers of a particular group are of substantial significance (Giles et al. 1997).

The majority of these factors detailed above coincide with the factors that have become prominent in the results of the previous literature (e.g., Yagmur et al. 1999; Yagmur & Akinci 2003; Yagmur 2004; Wright & Kurtoglu-Hooton 2006; Yagmur & Jacobs 2015). As for the Uyghurs in Munich, the national territory factor will be discussed extensively in Chapter 6, since Giles et al.'s (1977) description of the notion of an ancestral homeland appears to be a complex matter in this regard, and it does not perfectly apply to the current situation of the Uyghurs and the Uyghur homeland. One of the institutional support factors, the formal education, will be discussed as a separate concept as well. In the next section, both objective and subjective vitality aspects will be discussed.

3.1.1. Objective and subjective vitality measures

Originally, Giles et al. (1977) put forward an "objective" assessment of the vitality measures of ethnolinguistic groups, using low, medium, or high vitality ratings. The structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality that were listed above represent the vitality of a speech community. Thus, the status, demographic, and institutional data gathered from secondary sources (e.g., demographic statistics, government reports, historical knowledge, etc.) assist in providing an overview of objective results. Subsequently, Bourhis et al. (1981) proposed the necessity of a "subjective" method to measure and analyse the vitality perceptions in intergroup settings.

The general idea of Bourhis et al. (1981) is centred around the question of whether the group members' perceptions of their own vitality assessment are in concordance with the objective results generated from various alternative sources. In order to elucidate this gap, the scholars have constructed a 'Subjective Vitality Questionnaire' (SVQ), a method which can be used to obtain group

members' perceptions of their own and outgroup's subjective vitality. Bourhis et al. (1981: 147) further claim that in order to establish a more reliable vitality assessment of an ethnolinguistic community, whether the groups in question will survive as a distinctive entity, the combination of gathered objective and subjective data may be crucial.

Bourhis et al. (1981: 147) further argue that the subjective data "may provide advance indication that a particular minority group is to mobilise in an ethnic revival phase not otherwise foreseeable solely on the basis of 'objective' vitality information". Moreover, should there are any missing objective data of an ethnolinguistic group, the obtained subjective data may be utilized (Bourhis et al. 1981). In other words, 'subjective' data may fill in the gaps with providing insights that could not be observed solely on the basis of objective assessment and it can be utilized as a supplementary data collection method as an additional function. Furthermore, the motives of group members' intergroup attitudes, skills, and motivations for second language learning, attitudes towards language use, and code-switching strategies can be justified by their perceived subjective self-assessments (Bourhis et al. 1981: 147). Consequently, the subjective vitality measures may assist in refining and enriching the overall ethnolinguistic vitality measures alongside with the objective data. Such subjective data can be acquired via Subjective Vitality Questionnaire. As regards to the Uyghur community, the addition of the Uyghur speakers' vitality assessment of their own group in Munich, i.e., how do they perceive their own vitality, is as crucial as the observed data in an objective manner.

Considering the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality in this respect, the following remarks can be established:

- Ethnolinguistic vitality is what makes a minority group act as a 'distinct' and 'collective' entity in intergroup situations (Giles et al. 1977).
- Three main factors; status, demography, and institutional support, and their components constitute the variables that affect the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group (Giles et al. 1977).
- The speech groups that are labelled as having a low vitality will cease to exist, whereas those with higher vitality ratings will survive as a distinct entity (Giles et al. 1977).
- Alongside with the objective data obtained from demographic, economic, sociological, and historical records, subjective perceptions of a group's vitality appear to be as significant as the former (Bourhis et al. 1981).
- Incorporating the obtained subjective data into the observed objective vitality may provide more accurate results, rather than solely being contingent upon objective results. (Bourhis et al. 1981)

The design of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire, which was also applied to this study, will be further detailed in the methodology chapter. Apart from this respect, a number of views

towards ethnolinguistic vitality theory have been developed by various scholars. In the next section, some main criticisms of EVT and its application to this study will be documented.

3.2. Criticisms of ethnolinguistic vitality theory

The notion of EVT has been subjected to a number of criticisms since its first introduction. The earlier critics were Husband and Saifullah Khan (1982), who argue that socio-structural variables of EVT that only depend on the sociological and demographic information may generate a simplified analysis of ethnolinguistic groups (in Yagmur and Ehala 2011: 104). Husband and Saifullah Khan (1982) also argue that variables may not be sufficiently independent (in Pauwels 2016: 109), in other words, the variables are interrelated, and it is risky to determine groups' vitalities as low or high (in Yagmur and Ehala 2011: 104). The authors (Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982) further point that some variables are based on dominant criteria: regarding institutional support and control factors, institutions and institutional support are controlled by the dominant group, including schools, religious establishments, etc. (in Yagmur and Ehala 2011: 105).

Tollefson (1991) focuses on the power issues of the theory. The author (1991) argues that that the relationship between majority and minority groups ultimately brings the question of power and inequality. Moreover, the author further claims that the ethnolinguistic vitality theory, which was derived from Giles' accommodation theory (Tollefson 1991), was based on variables and characteristics that are relevant from the majority's perspective, and that the theory ignores important historical and structural variables (Pauwels 2016: 110). In other words, the nature of the theory is dominant-centric; higher vitality indicates higher language and higher demographic status, and a significant support from the dominant group.

Clyne's (1991) criticism is structured around the theory's application to the Australian context. It is indicated that the theory is viable for the relatively stable minority situations (such as Welsh-English), and on binary systems involving the choice between dominant languages (Clyne 1991: 89). In the Australian context in this regard, according to Clyne (1991: 89), the dominant language is English, but the society is highly dynamic and flexible, and there are various languages in contact with English. Therefore, the conclusion of the criticism is that the model is best applicable to stable conditions.

Ehala (2010) is also among the scholars who underline the ambiguity of the theory and proposes a refinement by introducing the notion of sustainability. Given that the vitality is the ability to act as a collective entity, the author (Ehala 2010) claims that sustainability is the ability to continue existing as a group. It is argued that the group's ability to act as a collective entity is not a sufficient condition for its sustained existence, and that it needs to be distinguished from sustainability (Ehala 2010: 2). The general idea is that the group's strength and vitality shape the sustainability of a group,

and this notion is essential in dealing with the challenges. Ehala (2010: 1) further proposes a model where "vitality depends on the perception of the ingroup strength in comparison with the outgroups, the commitment of its members to the maintenance of the heritage values, cultural distinctiveness and closedness of the social networks, and the level of perceived intergroup discordance".

Yagmur and Ehala (2011) claim that the theory has not yet managed to establish itself as a genuine field of study that bridges a number of disciplines. The three main factors (status, demography, institutional support) have not been subjected to change since their first introduction. Regardless of the fact that the refinements and alternative models have been proposed (e.g., Ehala 2010), a substantial development has not been recorded (Yagmur and Ehala 2011). The authors further claim that since ethnolinguistic vitality is, by definition, what makes a group to act as collective entity, it is "essentially the feature of groupness of an ethnic community" (Yagmur and Ehala 2011). Thus, the notion of vitality is closely related to the notion on entitativity, which can be defined as the extent to which a group is perceived as being a coherent unit in which the members of the group are bonded together in some fashion (Lickel, Hamilton, and Sherman (2001) in Yagmur and Ehala (2011: 106)). It is additionally suggested that the notion of entitativity could be incorporated into vitality related research.

Following the introduction of 'subjective' vitality perceptions and the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (Bourhis et al. 1981), Allard and Landry (1986) suggested a rather cognitive approach to subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. The scholars (1986: 1) hypothesise that since inter-ethnic behaviour is mediated by individuals' perceptions of EV, the prediction of such inter-ethnic behaviours should rely on a cognitive theory framework. Furthermore, the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is viewed as a belief system, and it is maintained "that group members possess various beliefs regarding the strategies and manifestations of social identity, and that these beliefs could be analysed from a cognitive orientation theory perspective" (Allard and Landry 1986: 6). In order to assess such beliefs, the 'Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire' (BEVQ) was introduced for each belief system (general, normative, self, and goal beliefs) for the structural variables (Giles et al. 1977). Consecutively, Allard and Landry (1994) compared the two types of measures, SVQ and BEVQ. It was concluded that SVQ offers a valid estimation of objective vitality factors. Nevertheless, the combination of objective ethnolinguistic vitality measures and BEVQ may provide more valid results of group vitality owing to the fact that it "reflects more completely the cognitive-affective dispositions of group members towards ethnolinguistic groups" (Allard and Landry 1994: 142).

The critics that have been acknowledged thus far present various approaches to the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality. Over 45 years have passed since the EVT's first introduction as a framework for vitality research, and, as Yagmur and Ehala (2011) maintain, the framework has not been through a substantial change. The introduction of subjective vitality in particular, however,

appears to be a pivotal addition as it evidently innovates the theory in terms of vitality perceptions while being in accordance with the initial structural variables. The original version of the theory (Giles et al. 1977) has been found ambiguous by some (Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982; Ehala 2010), and different approaches have been proposed (Allard and Landry 1986; Ehala 2011). Despite criticisms and refinements, the theory is functional and practical results can be achieved to some extent, as it can be derived in the implications made in Chapter 2. Moreover, even though the framework and the methods could not assist in achieving the most viable results of the ethnolinguistic vitality of a speech community, it might present an initial idea of how the current status quo appears regarding language maintenance, language use, and attitudes.

Nevertheless, the criticisms are also valid; the framework could not be applied to all contexts (Clyne 1991), thus it might require functional adjustments. On the other hand, low, medium, or high vitality ratings might appear as reliable results with the use of both objective and subjective methods in the first glance, but it may not guarantee the actual trajectory of a speech community. In other words, the groups with high vitality may not be able to maintain the current level in the future, whereas those with lower vitality may enhance and enrich their resources through substantial efforts, thus increasing their chance of survival in their current setting.

As for the issue of 'stable and dynamic minorities' pointed by Clyne (1991), this standpoint is also valid. In the original work of EVT (Giles et al. 1977: 317); the speech groups that were addressed are Anglo-American, French-Canadian, Welsh, Mexican-American, and Albanian-Greek. On the other hand, Greek community in Melbourne was the focus point and the pilot group for Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (Bourhis et al. 1981). Additionally, as it was shown in Chapter 2, the EVT was implemented to Turkish immigrants in Western Europe (Yagmur and Akinci 2003; Yagmur 2004; Yagmur and Jacobs 2015), which has already an established community and history since the 1960's (Hoffman et al. 2020). Clyne's (1991) argument in this sense, can be validated by stating that the original theory and methods were first formulated around stable and already established ethnolinguistic groups. Thus, it may not be applicable for dynamic and/or young communities, as Clyne (1991) maintains.

As it was underlined above, over 45 years have passed since the EVT's first conception and, adding to the account the fact that initial target groups were rather more stable ones, the human trajectory have changed, and new migration settings emerge. Therefore, EVT may be flexed to a state where it can be applicable to such various migration settings since the immigrant communities might differ in nature. Ultimately, the aim is to interpret whether a group acts as a distinct collective entity (Giles et al. 1977). For the Uyghur diaspora in Munich, on the other hand, EVT is found to be pertinent; the current situation of the diaspora regarding ethnolinguistic vitality can be addressed via the structural variables and the SVQ for their own vitality perceptions is found to be a practical tool.

4. METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to present the design of the research, data collection methods, sampling process, and analysis techniques. Ethical considerations and limitations will also be included. In the next section, the research design will be explained.

4.1. Research design

This study is designed to investigate the current situation of the Uyghur diaspora in Munich in terms of heritage language maintenance. Since the Uyghur community in Munich is a relatively understudied ethnolinguistic community, particularly in a sociolinguistic fashion, the most suitable framework and methods were adopted in order to both provide an overview of the community in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality and, specifically, the heritage language maintenance efforts and the most influential factors behind it. The main outline of the data collection process is formed according to the structural variables affecting EV, set by Giles et al. (1977), and the required tools, and methods provided along with the framework.

As it was indicated earlier, the general concept is the heritage language maintenance, hence the adoption of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory. EVT research in its original form requires a qualitative approach (Giles et al. 1977). Since the addition of the notion of subjective vitality, a statistical aspect based on the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire has been introduced (Bourhis et al. 1981). Therefore, the main approaches in this research are both qualitative and quantitative. The particularities will be clarified further in this chapter.

The rationale of the adoption of the theory was briefly touched upon in Chapter 3. In order to consolidate the motive behind this selection, it is essential to underline the fact that the framework can be implemented, at the very least, to provide an overview of how the current ethnolinguistic vitality of a speech community, particularly Uyghurs in Munich, can emerge, and how the overview that becomes apparent can be interpreted for future developments. It was also mentioned that, according to the implications mentioned in the previous chapters, the results of an ethnolinguistic vitality research may not be absolutely viable and indubitable due to certain ambiguities of the research (Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982; Ehala 2010). Nonetheless, in this respect, the framework was adopted in order to achieve the best possible outcome in the sense of establishing the current overview of the community.

As for the notion of heritage language education, the details of which was mentioned in Chapter 2, a questionnaire-based method was employed for the students attending the Uyghur Mother Language School in Munich. As we have specifically established in Chapter 2, the main reason why the Uyghur Mother Language School is also addressed in study is the fact that education in the

heritage language, predominantly in a classroom environment, is one of the most determining factors behind heritage language maintenance. For the Uyghur community in Munich, the Uyghur Mother Language School carries an undeniable significance as it serves the purpose of providing a formal education environment for Uyghur students (predominantly second-generation) who wish to learn and/or strengthen their heritage language and literacy skills, acquire cultural, and historical information about Uyghurs and the Uyghur homeland. Moreover, following the informal heritage language acquisition in domestic domains, such formal education is solely provided in the Uyghur Mother Language School.

In sum, the main target group is the Uyghur speakers, and this research is designed to implement both qualitative and quantitative approaches to elaborate on the structural variables of EVT in the Uyghur context. In the next section, the methods used to collect both *objective* and *subjective* ethnolinguistic vitality data will be discussed.

4.2. Data collection

4.2.1. Objective vitality

As it was mentioned above, the *objective* data is collected through secondary sources. The information regarding the emergence of the Uyghur diaspora and the brief history of Uyghurs were obtained since they are intertwined with each other, meaning that the genesis of the diaspora cannot be solely observed and analysed without a historical background to some degree. Information about the Uyghur community in Munich is not so extensive in English, given that the main source of research is the internet. On the other hand, there is more information in German language. Namely, research articles, news articles, and YouTube videos are the main sources of information.

Following the structural variables determined by Giles et al. (1977), objective data about some factors are very scarce, namely the birth rates, endogamy and exogamy rates, exact number of the population, etc. This circumstance is also one of the initial limitations that have been encountered: some statistical data are not readily available. However, the inclusion of the subjective aspect appears to be a favourable solution for the time being. Further limitations will be discussed later in this chapter.

An interview with Mr Dolkun Isa, one of the most prominent figures of the Uyghur diaspora in Germany and worldwide, was conducted regarding the history of the Uyghur community in Munich, from its first appearance until current year. The participant was acquainted with a consent form about the nature of the research prior to the interview and agreed to take part in this study. Alongside with the data obtained from German news articles, a first-hand information obtained from a notable subject served as a supplementary source of information. Additionally, the topics on language maintenance efforts in the community and the establishments and cultural activities for

strengthening and promotion of the Uyghur identity were discussed. The interview was conducted in Uyghur and was transcribed using the Latin alphabet.

The purpose in this regard was to identify the general outline of the community using various resources, predominantly online. Where statistical data and accurate demographic information is not available and/or adequate, the gap was filled with data acquired from subjective resources. In the next section, subjective vitality and Subjective Vitality Questionnaire are discussed.

4.2.2. Subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ)

For the subjective aspect of the framework, the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire, initially put forward by Bourhis et al. (1981), is adopted to address the individual vitality perceptions of Uyghur speakers. We have already established the significance and the necessity of SVQ and its facilitating role in the vitality research in the previous chapters. Thus, the SVQ can be regarded not only as a questionnaire for data collection, but also as a reinforcer for the purpose of this research.

The original SVQ consists of a set of 22 questions, with each question corresponding with the initial structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (Bourhis et al. 1981). In this study, a total of 36 participants were asked to rate each question on a 7-point Likert scale. The purpose is to explore the individuals' vitality perceptions of Uyghurs in Munich and the participants were asked to only focus on the ingroup.

The questionnaire was transformed to be best suitable for the Uyghur context and was translated to German language. The rationale behind this is the fact that one of the purposes was to address the perception differences concurrently between first- and second-generation Uyghurs. In other words, the questionnaire was formed to be forwarded to second-generation as well, meaning that those who are categorised as the second-generation speakers were automatically assumed to have better German language skills than Uyghur, and assuming that the first-generation Uyghurs already speak basic German, the common language was determined to be German in this regard.

In the original SVQ, answering the questions as accurately as possible required knowledge about the variables (e.g., immigration-emigration rates). In order to clarify this aspect, the scholars (Bourhis et al. 1981) asked their participants to provide answers based on their impressions even though their knowledge about the given facts is not sufficient. The same strategy was employed, but on the format of the questions. The participants were asked to respond based on their impressions and opinions so that the respondents would not feel obligated to have exact knowledge on the topic, thus it would be easier and uncomplicated (e.g., "How many Uyghurs *do you think* are immigrating to Munich each year?", instead of "How many Uyghurs are immigrating to Munich each year?") to provide a natural evaluation. In the original SVQ, scholars address two different groups in Melbourne (i.e., Greeks and people of British descent). However, in this study, the focus will be solely on

Uyghurs and their own perceived vitality, i.e., they were not asked to rate German or any other group's vitality. Meanwhile, a question was found irrelevant and eventually was removed from the questionnaire which addresses the amount of contact between British and Greek. In this sense, the contact between Uyghur and German is beyond the scope of this thesis, so the question was not included in the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was formulated using Google Forms, and the generated link was handed out/sent to each real person in Munich. The respondents were selected individually, and, with the assistance of third-party individuals, the questionnaire was shared to WhatsApp group chats to reach out to as many respondents as possible, but was made clear that the respondents actually reside in Munich (the nearby cities of Munich in the state of Bavaria are excluded so as not to disrupt the sampling process). The participants decided to keep their identities confidential, so they were not asked to provide names, e-mail addresses, etc. As not to disrupt any data, they were required to sign-in to their Google accounts first, so each respondent would be limited to single attempt to fill the questionnaire and after submitting them, they were not allowed to edit their answers. The limitations in this regard will be discussed further in this chapter.

Four additional questions were formulated and included for separate analysis. The questions address the participants' opinions towards the current situation of the Uyghur language in terms of language endangerment, attitudes towards heritage language maintenance, and perceived significance of intergenerational language transmission. The last question is directed to gather respondents' opinions whether the second-generation Uyghurs will be able to maintain Uyghur language in the future. The rationale behind this addition of extra questions can be rather explained on separate views. On the macro level, the purpose is to discover whether Uyghur language is perceived as an endangered one by the Uyghur speakers in Munich. Whereas on the micro level, regardless of the setting, the attitudes towards Uyghur language maintenance (whether is it significant or not), and, as one of the influential factors listed in the previous chapters, the perceived significance of intergenerational language transmission is investigated among the members of the diaspora. The final question was added in order to support one particular subjective vitality question, which was formulated as "How strong and active do you think the Uyghurs in Munich will be in 20-30 years?". The question was rather ambiguous regarding which aspect of being 'strong' and 'active' was the focus on, but it is likely that it addresses the perceived future vitality of acting as a distinct entity. Regardless, a new question was added as a supplementary to the former question which focuses on the aspect of language maintenance. Based on the responses, it can be interpreted whether the members' attitudes towards such listed notions play an effective role in language maintenance efforts. The questions are also formulated in a 7-point Likert scale. In sum, the questionnaire was adapted to address the research problem in the most suitable way.

4.2.3. Sampling process for SVQ

As the topic suggests, the main target group is the Uyghurs in Munich, therefore the participants were selected amongst first- and second-generation Uyghurs. For the case of "second-generation immigrants", the deciding factor of who is classified as a second-generation was based on the fact that whether an individual was either born in a country where the parents have immigrated into and/ or they were brought to that country in question at an early age (Schneider 2016). The clear-cut definition of second-generation immigrants (i.e., a person who was born in a different country) was excluded on the grounds that most of the second-generation participants were pupils attending the Uyghur Mother Language School. Since not all students who were enrolled were born in Germany (there are some cases where they were brought at an early age), they were included in the category of second-generation.

The first-generation category consists simply of Uyghurs who have immigrated to Munich and settled permanently and who have already integrated to the new environment. As a matter of fact, in the introduction of the original SVQ, the authors (Bourhis et al. 1981) do not specify any explicit categorisation regarding who, amongst the members of the community, should be included as the respondents. Instead, the researchers who tend to focus on the analysis of ethnolinguistic vitality set their own categorisations based on focus of their research. For instance, Yagmur and Akinci (2003) investigated the intergenerational differences of language use, choice, and maintenance. Yagmur and Jacobs (2015), on the other hand, divided their focus group based on the level of education (i.e., high-educated and low-educated speakers). Moreover, a sampling process without any classification is also possible since neither a clear categorisation is provided (Bourhis et al. 1981), nor a sort of limitation is set as to who cannot be included in the sampling process. As it was mentioned before, due to the fact that this community is understudied in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality, the intergenerational differences of vitality perceptions can be considered as the first area of investigation. The remaining categorisations can be incorporated specifically for future research. Thus, the most suitable classification of respondents is first- and second-generation.

The factors such as age, gender, occupation, etc., are not included as particularities of investigation. On the macro level, the focus is on the general population of the community. In this respect, the clear-cut factor is solely based on having an ethnic background of Uyghur. Recalling the definition of ethnolinguistic vitality; that which makes a group behave as a distinct collective entity (Giles et al. 1977), it can be derived that the focus is on the notion of being an entity, and that entity consists of subjects that contribute to the existence of the community as a whole. Therefore, factors such as age, gender, and occupation can be disregarded, but they can be included in other vitality related research.

In summary, the sampling process for this questionnaire is rather plain and self-explanatory. The factors other than being a member of the community are not rigid. On the micro level, the selection of the participants is based upon the scope of the particular research. On the macro level, the members of the community act as a whole as the instruments of being an entity. In the next section, the Language Rating Scales questionnaire for the Uyghur language students is detailed.

4.2.4. Language rating scales (LRS)

As a data collection instrument, Language Rating Scales (LRS) as a questionnaire is incorporated in this research. The purpose of this inclusion is to investigate and document the Uyghur and German language skill levels of Uyghur students, who are enrolled at the Uyghur Mother Language School and regularly attend the lectures. The questionnaire was adapted from Yagmur and Jacobs' (2015) study for language maintenance and shift patterns of Turkish speakers. Initially, it was introduced by Clark (1981) as self-rating scales for foreign language proficiency. Yagmur and Jacobs (2015) developed the instrument as an extensive questionnaire and formulated to address the Turkish speakers in the Netherlands. As a consequent, it was adapted to this research in order to assess the Uyghur students' language proficiencies.

The questions are divided into four separate categories: reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Each category consists of 10 questions, and the students' skills in relevant categories, ranging from basic to more complex tasks, are investigated. The students were asked to rate the given statement (e.g., "I can understand complex sentences.", or "I can write a letter to friends and relatives.") on a 5-point Likert scale. Both Uyghur and German language were added as two main categories. The purpose is to measure the language skills in given tasks and collect as accurate responses as possible, thus it was translated to German language.

As it was underlined above, the target group is the second-generation Uyghur students enrolled at the community school. Specifically, the age of the students ranges from 15-18 (high school students). Therefore, the participants were selected amongst those who attend the senior class lectures. The pupils enrolled at junior classes that mostly consists of kindergarten and primary school children are excluded, since they have only recently began acquiring the formal heritage language education.

The rationale behind the adoption of this instrument is to create an additional area of focus for second-generation Uyghur students. Investigating the level of specific language skills will evidently demonstrate their major skill differences in language related tasks, the strongest and weakest points in Uyghur language proficiency, and the degree of German language dominance on the students. The results will draw the outline of the current situation of literacy skill levels as well, which was acquired in a formal education environment. As we maintained in Chapter 2, biliteracy of

heritage language learners has substantial benefits on the micro level, thus it will elucidate to what extent the students put significance on acquiring and/or bolstering their literacy skills in Uyghur. On the other hand, both efficiency and adequacy of heritage language education can be surfaced for further discussion.

Additionally, the results will show the fields and gaps that require special attention. To put differently, since the proficiency levels are addressed with the help of LRS, the results can also point the particular skill levels that are found to be weaker than other fields. Therefore, it can affect the future development of the Uyghur language education in Munich context.

In summary, the language proficiency of Uyghur students in both heritage and dominant languages is found to be of significance. Owing to the adoption of LRS, not only the second-generation Uyghurs, but also the Uyghur heritage language education can be touched upon. For a relatively understudied ethnolinguistic community, the notion of heritage language education can provide valuable insights into language maintenance. In the next section, the methods adopted for analysis for each data collection tool will be discussed.

4.3. Methods for analysis

4.3.1. Quantitative Analysis

The obtained data from the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire will be presented in tables in the results section. The table will consist of structural variables and the first- and second-generation respondents will be shown separately in the same table, hence they will be discussed independently, and a comparison will be provided. The average value, mean, and standard deviation of each response of each question will be calculated and presented in the table.

The obtained data will be analysed and discussed by using descriptive analysis. In other words, the outline of the results, major differences between perceived vitality of each generation, and the average mean of all values separately provided by the two groups, and the total value of subjective vitality will be exhibited. On the other hand, instead of analysing each response separately, the contributing factors (i.e., birth rates, immigration, mass media, etc.) will be combined and divided into three groups correspondingly with the main structural variables (i.e., status, demographic, and institutional support), and will be presented in a separate table. This will provide a clearer picture of the results of perceived vitality measures of each main variable and will assist in analysis and discussion. The purpose is to not only present the results as concretely as possible, but also provide an explicit analysis.

The results of the extra questions, on the other hand, will also be presented in a separate table in order not to interfere with the SVQ results. The responses will also be analysed separately by descriptive analysis. The individual perceptions of the current status of Uyghur language worldwide,

opinions towards heritage language maintenance, etc. will be analysed separately and results will be compared with the perceived subjective vitality. The SVQ results will indicate the individuals' perception of their own vitality, whereas the extra questions will address their attitudes and predictions regarding the situation of heritage language maintenance in the future.

The similar analysis technique will be applied for the results of the Language Rating Scales. Descriptive analysis will be employed, and results will be shown in tables. Each task and responses accordingly with the given skill will be presented separately. Specifically, four different tables will be created and each given task and their responses in Uyghur and German languages will be exhibited. Since tasks range from basic to complex, this will demonstrate the extent to which the students are capable of completing the tasks of varying difficulty levels in both languages. Each skill (reading, writing, speaking, and understanding) and the acquired results will be analysed separately.

In a similar manner with the SVQ, the average results of each skill, mean, and standard deviations will be calculated and added to the table. Since the sampling process of the participants has already been established, the table will solely present the results of a single type of respondent. Therefore, the production of precise and meticulous tables will result in plain and comprehensible analysis. The following section will discuss the objective vitality analysis.

4.3.2. Analysis of the objective vitality

It was noted earlier that *objective* data is collected through secondary sources. News articles in English and German languages, study reports, YouTube videos, and the interview are the main sources of data collection. The collected information will be summarised and documented in order to draw the outline of the community. The summary and the outline will be created solely within the boundaries of the structural variables of EVT. The three main variables (status, demography, institutional support) will be analysed in three different categories, similarly with the statistical analysis of SVQ.

Based on the collected information, each structural variable will be thoroughly discussed. However, since we have established previously that low, medium, and high vitality assessments are rather ambiguous and depend on strict measures, such clear-cut verdicts will be omitted during discussion. Instead, the present outline of the community based on the collected information will be drawn on, within the boundaries of the objective aspect of the framework. The major difference between the collected objective and subjective vitality results is that the analysis of the subjective vitality perceptions will be based on concrete numerical data, whereas the objective data will present the information gathered from secondary sources. Thus, the analysis will be based on the 'available' resources, rather than on the information that is expected to be readily obtainable correspondingly

with the contributing factors of EVT. To put differently, the fact that there are several gaps in the objective data pool will naturally be put into account during the analysis.

In contrast to traditional quantitative analyses that rely on strict numerical measures and definitive conclusions, such as the one mentioned above, this proposed analysis will adopt a more exploratory approach and it will allow for a deeper understanding of complex circumstances. Moreover, the oversimplification of the results will be avoided, but the initial proposal and the logic behind the theoretical framework, namely the assessments of low, medium, or high vitality, will be acknowledged regardless of their ambiguity. Furthermore, such refrain from the inflexible conclusions will provide an opening for a possible inclusion of contributional elements closely related to the structural variables of EVT. By acknowledging the nuances and gaps in this process, a comprehensive understanding of the problem will be provided.

In summary, the purpose of this particular analysis is to draw an outline of the community on the basis of ethnolinguistic vitality. The ambiguity of the initial objective vitality assessments was found unfavourable. Nevertheless, this negativity provided a practical solution of thinking beyond traditional boundaries. The adopted strategy will adhere to the tenets of objective vitality while incorporating an innovative perspective. The next section will provide ethical considerations.

4.4. Ethical considerations

Throughout the data collection process, no substantial ethical issues arose. The only event that required a significant ethical consideration was the interview with the informant. Before the interview, the nature of the study, the contribution that the interview would add on the study, and the confidential issues were discussed. A written consent form in a digital format (PDF) was issued and shared with the interviewee. The interviewed participant expressed neutrality towards maintaining anonymity in the research. The decision of disclosing the participant's identity was left to the researcher. It was ultimately decided that the participant's identity would be revealed and acknowledged wherever necessary.

The participants of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire and Language Rating Scales were informed regarding the research topic and aim prior to sending out the links to the questionnaires. On the other hand, the remaining data collection methods do not require any individual contact. Thus, in general, there were no other noteworthy ethical issues encountered during the phase of data collection.

4.5. Limitations

The most significant limitation that was encountered was the fact that the researcher is not an inhabitant of Munich. In order to overcome this issue, the majority of the data collection phase was conducted remotely. However, the interview was conducted in person. The data collection for the

LRS was conducted in person at the Uyghur Mother Language School as well; the researcher attended the lecture of one of the senior's class during his visit to Munich and distributed the links to the questionnaire. The remaining participants were contacted and were handed out the links.

With the researcher's non-residence in Munich arose another prominent limitation; the data collection phase for SVQ was highly challenging in terms of reaching out to Uyghur speakers in Munich for their participation and collect as many responses as possible. It would be beneficial to remind that the research was designed to have an overview of the status quo of Uyghur diaspora in reference to ethnolinguistic vitality. Notwithstanding the small number of responses, an analysable and processable amount of data was gathered for both first- and second-generation Uyghurs. In regards to LRS, all senior class students participated in the questionnaire and the researcher did not encounter any limitation.

Another significant limitation was encountered during data collection for objective vitality. Specifically, demographic information such as absolute number of Uyghurs in Munich, birth rates, immigration-emigration rates, etc., were not available in the case of Uyghur speakers. In reality, the reason behind such unavailability is a governmental policy: the German federal government does not collect demographic data based on ethnic background, and the size of the ethnic/national minority groups are only an estimate (Federal Ministry of the Interior). In order to eliminate this limitation, secondary sources were taken as references. The remaining demographic information is rather not available, and the results of the SVQ will be taken into account during the analysis. This limitation can be regarded as a crucial one in research based on ethnolinguistic vitality; some demographic data may not be available in all contexts. An objective demographic database can be established with the help of additional extensive statistical research focused on specific groups. Therefore, obtaining accurate data may prove challenging due to the limitations of the available resources.

The mentioned limitations did not severely inhibit the flow of the research, but might affect the results. A processable amount of data was collected as a starting point, but it should be interpreted with caution due to its limitations. The chapter will be summarised in the following section.

4.6. Summary

In summary, the main focus is on Uyghur speakers, and this research is shaped to address the notion of Uyghur language maintenance in Munich. Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory was appointed as a guideline for the design of the research but not strictly applied due to its ambiguity detected in some respects. A mixed-method approach was chosen in relation to EVT's framework. A questionnaire-based method was utilised to investigate subjective vitality perceptions and language proficiency levels in the four language modalities of Uyghur heritage language students. Ethical issues have been resolved and limitations were discussed. The results will be presented in tables in the next chapter.

5. RESULTS

This chapter aims to present the main results of this research. The findings of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire and the Language Rating Scales will be discussed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The 'objective' data gathered from secondary sources, however, will be discussed in the next chapter. As one of the main aspects of this research, the outline of the current ethnolinguistic vitality measures and perceptions of Uyghur speakers will be documented in the next section.

5.1. Results of the subjective vitality questionnaire

As it was discussed in the methodology section, the SVQ is one of the main tools of data collection. Despite the absence of a larger sample size, an interpretable amount of data was collected for analysis and the results show an outline of the community regarding ethnolinguistic vitality measures. The results were calculated and divided into two main groups. In order to differentiate the groups during the initial phase, the participants were first asked whether they were born or grew up in Germany. Individuals who answered affirmatively were considered to be part of the second-generation Uyghur group as a result. Hence, this categorisation was based on their self-identification.

In total, 26 questions were forwarded to a sample of 36 participants regardless of their age, gender, and occupation. Alongside with the first and second group categorisations, the means and standard deviations were also calculated to present the average results and degrees of variability. The degree of variability in this respect is of significance, since the standard deviations of average results will point whether there is a notable difference between perceived vitality measures of individuals. In other words, it can be determined whether the group members' perceptions are dispersed or clustered around the most popular opinion. Table 1 demonstrates the final results of the SVQ.

The results show the perceived vitality measures between the first- and the second-generation Uyghurs. The total of 21 different factors represent the taxonomy of structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (see Chapter 3). In some cases, two different questions are correlated with a single variable. The table was organised accordingly with the taxonomy of structural variables and the questions that correspond with the given variables (see Bourhis et al. 1981). Table 2 and Table 3 show the results of the additional four questions that were added as supplementaries to the initial questionnaire. The overall results of the SVQ in four main categories will be presented in Table 4.

As it was indicated earlier, the results of the questions in Table 2 and Table 3 are separately shown in order not to disrupt the SVQ results and will be subjected to separate analysis. Similarly with Table 1, Table 2 consists of first- and second-generation Uyghurs' measures of additional questions on a 7-point Likert scale, with mean and standard deviations. These findings allowed the new points of interest to emerge that were rather not addressed in the subjective vitality questions.

Table 1. The results of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire.[1]

Structural Variables of Ethnolinguistic Vitality	G1		G2	
	n = 18		*n* = 18	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
1) Proportion of the Uyghur population in Munich	2.22	1.83	2.28	1.74
2) Perceived status of Uyghur language in Munich	2.50	1.86	2.61	1.42
3) Perceived language status of Uyghur internationally	2.06	1.35	2.83	1.58
4) Amount of Uyghur language used in governmental services	1.83	1.34	1.61	1.09
5) Birth rates	3.00	1.57	3.72	1.27
6) Uyghurs' control over business in Munich	4.33	1.71	4.44	1.54
7) Uyghur language used in Munich mass media	1.61	1.46	2.33	1.24
8) Perceived social status of Uyghurs	3.00	1.61	3.33	1.28
9) Concentration of Uyghur population in Munich	1.89	1.32	3.06	1.92
10) Uyghur language used in Munich schools	1.61	1.58	1.61	1.24
11) Immigration rate of Uyghurs	2.06	1.16	3.06	1.39
12) In-group marriage rate	3.72	1.90	4.44	1.65
13) Amount of political power held by Uyghurs in Munich	3.17	2.04	2.56	0.98
14) Uyghur language use in Munich business sector	2.61	2.03	2.39	1.50
15) Emigration rate of Uyghurs	2.06	1.63	2.28	0.83
16) Pride of Uyghur cultural history	5.56	1.79	5.72	1.49
17) Uyghur language use in religious establishments	2.56	1.85	2.50	1.50
18) Representation of Uyghur culture in Munich	3.39	2.00	4.06	1.66
19) Perceived strength of Uyghur community in Munich	4.50	1.69	4.89	1.57
20) Perceived wealth of Uyghur community in Munich	3.89	1.64	3.50	1.10
21) Perceived future strength of Uyghurs in Munich	4.06	1.83	4.56	1.76

[1] 1 indicates the lowest and 7 indicates the highest value.

Table 2. The results of questions 22-24.

The results of questions 22-24	G1		G2	
	n = 18		*n* = 18	
	Mean	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
22) Perceived language endangerment status of Uyghur	4.95	2.15	5.22	1.59
23) Perceived significance of heritage language maintenance	6.61	0.85	6.56	1.04
24) Perceived significance of intergenerational language transmission	6.67	0.85	6.56	0.92

Table 3. The results of question 25.

Do you think that the second-generation Uyghurs in Munich will be successfully able to maintain Uyghur language in the future?	Answers			
	Yes	**No**	**Maybe**	**No idea**
G1 (*n= 18)*	55.6%	5.6%	33.3%	5.6%
G2 (*n= 18)*	27.8%	22.2%	38.9%	11.1%
Total (*n= 36)*	41.7%	13.9%	36.1%	8.3%

Table 2 shows the results of questions 22-24, which address the participants' perceptions on particular concepts, such as language endangerment status, perceived significance of HLM and intergenerational language transmission. Table 3, on the other hand, shows the percentages of the final question which addresses the future aspect of language maintenance, specifically for the second-generation Uyghurs. As it was pointed in the previous chapter, one particular question was rather ambiguous (How strong and active do you think the Uyghurs in Munich will be in 20-30 years?), and it was not clear which aspect of being 'strong' and 'active' was being addressed. In order to elaborate the initial question, an additional question with multiple answers was forwarded to the participants. This supplementary question draws the attention from 'strong' and 'active' to language maintenance of second-generation. In contrast to the previous questions in which 7-point Likert scales were used, this question was formulated with multiple choices in order to provide the respondents a variety of opinions to select from to compensate the ambiguity of the former question. However, it can be seen that not every option indicates a definitive opinion. The reason behind such formulation is to not pressure the respondents to make a clear-cut decision on the matter, similarly with the "low, medium, high" vitality measures. Moreover, providing non-definitive answers seemingly created additional foci for analysis, especially the percentage differences between first- and second-generation. Thus,

the findings were divided into two groups and the overall percentage was calculated in order to present the overall opinions of the participants.

The presentation of the results within four different main variables indicates the overall vitality measures for each structural variable. Each subjective vitality question corresponding with the constituting factors was assembled in the relevant main variables. The mean values and standard deviations were calculated once more. Table 4 shows the overall vitality measures for each category.

Table 4. Overall vitality measures for G1 and G2.

Structural Variables of Ethnolinguistic Vitality	**G1** ***n*** **= 18**		**G2** ***n*** **= 18**	
	Mean	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Status Factors	3.40	2.04	3.60	1.75
Demographic Factors	2.49	1.69	3.14	1.65
Institutional Support and Control Factors	2.64	1.95	2.69	1.65
Perceived Vitality	4.15	1.70	4.31	1.59

The table indicates the overall results of the SVQ. It is important to note that such categorisation will be beneficial for further analysis. The motive behind this is to refrain from calculating the total average of measures, i.e., estimating the results of both groups to determine a final overall value. Furthermore, this type of statistical presentation will allow us to analyse and discuss each variable independently.

In order to combine the results within each main category, each response to each question that is related to the relevant variable was taken into account. For instance, the responses of each demographic factor related question were combined and their mean values and standard deviations were calculated as a single entity. In other words, the responses of each question were treated as a unitary response to singular question/factor (e.g., demographic factors).

To sum up, the findings of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire were presented in separate tables and will be further analysed in this study. It is important to note that the results represent the measures of the sample group, rather than the whole Uyghur population in Munich. In the following section, the results of the Language Rating Scales will be demonstrated.

5.2. Results of the language rating scales

To investigate the language proficiency of Uyghur Mother Language School students, we administered a grand total of 40 questions to a sample of 24 participants. All participants attend the

senior classes. The questions were designed to assess the students' capabilities in completing the tasks correspondingly with the four language modalities, reading, writing, speaking, and understanding (10 questions in each skill) in both Uyghur and German languages. The findings constituted valuable results regarding the current proficiency of second-generation Uyghur students. During the sampling process for LRS, factors such as age and gender were not taken into account, since the focus is solely on the language skill levels. Table 5 shows the results of LRS for writing skill.

Table 5. Results of Language Rating Scales in writing skills (*n*=24).

Task	**Uyghur**		**German**	
I can…	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Write a letter to friends and relatives	3.13	1.60	4.54	0.93
Fill in an application form	2.50	1.44	4.46	0.93
Express my opinions in writing	2.54	1.44	4.42	0.97
Write an informative text for a newspaper	1.83	1.27	3.70	1.27
Compose a poem	1.75	1.22	3.46	1.53
Search and find the necessary words (from a dictionary) in writing a text	3.38	1.44	4.42	0.97
Use terms and expressions in composing a text	2.46	1.02	4.17	1.09
Use abstract concepts in writing	2.00	1.10	4.13	1.03
Write using complex sentences	2.17	1.20	4.13	1.08
Write a business letter	1.96	1.16	3.79	1.32

Table 5 shows the results for the writing skills in both languages on a 1 to 5 scale. The participants were asked to rate their skills in the heritage and mainstream language on varying difficulty levels. The means and standard deviations for each task were documented and will be further analysed. The remaining tables were formed following the similar fashion as in Table 5.

One of the significant aspects of the information presentation is that they provide room for extensive analysis based on various tasks. Specifically, the standard deviations will assist in comparing each given task between Uyghur and German to determine, although to a limited extent, whether the students share similar levels of language proficiency. However, the results will be analysed based on the sample size and mean values, whereas individual results will not be addressed.

Addressing the writing skill levels of Uyghur students is necessary for this study. As we have established earlier, literacy skills are taught in heritage language schools and investigating such skills in different tasks will document biliteracy levels of heritage students. The LRS results for speaking tasks is presented next in Table 6.

Table 6. Results of Language Rating Scales in speaking skills (n=24).

Task	**Uyghur**		**German**	
I can…	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Express my feelings on a given topic	3.08	1.02	4.33	1.13
Ask for clarification when I do not understand something	3.33	1.24	4.38	1.34
Correct my own speech if what I say is not understood	3.16	0.92	4.42	0.93
Offer apology (with appropriate terms)	3.46	1.22	4.46	0.93
Ask for help or offer for help	3.75	0.99	4.63	0.88
Ask for information from the others	3.63	1.01	4.50	0.88
Use abstract words in a speech	2.58	1.32	4.00	1.22
Construct complex sentences in speaking	2.75	1.22	4.13	1.12
Use idiomatic expressions and proverbs in speech	2.67	1.24	4.13	0.99
Make jokes in speech	3.00	1.38	4.58	0.88

It was noted previously that the speaking skills are acquired firstly in the home environment to some extent. Since heritage language schools provide an extra environment for an active language use and education, investigating the speaking skill levels of heritage students is of significance in this context. However, the results represent the most recent skill levels of senior class students.

The exact efficiency and adequacy of Uyghur Mother Language School in developing speaking skills will not be possible to interpret, thus it is not included in this study. Investigating such notions would require extensive research methods, and the students would have to be observed before, during, and after their study periods to identify differences. Nevertheless, the results shown in Table 6 provide notable points of interest, especially for indicating the degree of dominance of German language in the speech of second-generation heritage language students. Table 7 shows the results for reading skills.

The results display the reading proficiency of the participants. Similar to the previous results, the participants were directed to rate their reading related skills. In some tasks, understanding skills were integrated with the given task (e.g., "Understand the information in a brochure"), but the focus is still on the reading aspect of the activity.

Table 7. Results of Language Rating Scales in reading skills (*n*=24).

Task	**Uyghur**		**German**	
I can…	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Read and understand an advertisement	3.50	0.83	4.17	1.20
Understand the information in a brochure	2.75	1.19	4.29	1.12
Understand the information presented in a manual or an application form	2.13	1.23	4.17	1.09
Understand a poem	2.71	1.12	4.13	1.03
Read and understand a newspaper	2.54	1.22	4.33	1.05
Read and understand a book	2.79	1.28	4.58	0.93
Understand register specific terms and phrases in a text	2.25	1.26	4.00	1.14
Guess the meaning of the unknown words in a text from the context	2.92	1.14	4.38	1.01
Understand the abstract concepts and words in a text	2.58	1.21	4.04	1.04
Understand the texts containing complex sentences	2.58	1.25	4.13	1.08

Reading is also considered to be one of the modalities of language that is acquired in a formal educational environment. For the heritage language education, we noted that reading and writing skills are crucial notions to address in migrant situations that eventually affect the language maintenance (see Chapter 2). Moreover, documenting the reading proficiency of Uyghur students will enhance the range for analysis. Finally, Table 8 displays the results for understanding skills.

Considering the importance of effective communication skills, assessing students' listening abilities could be a viable option to explore. However, accurately evaluating students' listening proficiency necessitates additional assessments that include audio materials. In this regard, assessing

the students' abilities in completing 'understanding' related tasks in LRS was adopted since the two notions are related in some respects. In addition to the results of LRS, Table 9 demonstrates the overall results of the four tables that have been displayed so far as it will provide an extensive point of view. The results of the four tables focus on various language related tasks and students' self-ratings. The final table, on the other hand, summarises the findings of LRS in total means and standard deviations.

Table 8. Results of Language Rating Scales in understanding skills (*n*=24).

Task	**Uyghur**		**German**	
I can…	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Understand a simple talk or a story from the context	4.08	0.72	4.04	1.23
Guess the meaning of unknown words in a speech from the context	3.46	0.93	3.92	1.21
Understand someone's negative or positive opinions on a given topic	4.33	0.56	4.25	1.11
Understand a series of events explained in a speech	4.04	0.75	4.04	1.20
Understand apology	4.58	0.50	4.29	1.22
Understand a proposal or a request for help	4.38	0.92	4.20	1.14
Understand someone's wish or demand on a given topic	4.33	0.70	4.04	1.16
Understand abstract words and concepts	3.33	0.96	3.79	1.10
Understand complex sentences	3.21	1.06	3.92	1.14
Understand idiomatic expressions and proverbs	3.33	1.17	3.79	1.10

Table 9. Overall results of the Language Rating Scales (*n*=24).

Skills	**Uyghur**		**German**	
	Mean	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Speaking	3.14	1.21	4.35	1.02
Writing	2.37	1.38	4.12	1.16
Reading	2.68	1.21	4.22	1.07
Understanding	3.91	0.97	4.03	1.14

In conclusion, the results of SVQ and LRS were presented consecutively. It is significant to note that these results, especially LRS results, display the 'reported' measures. In other words, the results of the LRS represent the students' self-ratings of their own proficiency in language skills in question, and they do not include additional measurements or tests that concretely determine their actual skill levels. The identical system of logic lies behind the SVQ results; the participants were asked to provide their perceptions on various notions, and the results do not represent the factual ethnolinguistic vitality measures. However, individuals' perceptions may shape their own environment, and, ultimately, it will provide an initial standpoint for analysis.

6. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the raw data that were presented in tables in the previous chapter will be analysed and discussed. The 'objective' data gathered from secondary sources will be addressed as well. The chapter will be divided into two main sections for data analysis and discussion. In the next section, the collected data from Subjective Vitality Questionnaire and objective data will be combined and analysed.

6.1. Analysis of the ethnolinguistic vitality measures

In this section, we will provide an in-depth analysis of both objective and subjective aspects of ethnolinguistic vitality. The data gathered from various sources, despite the limitations of official data (e.g., data regarding demographic information (see Chapter 4)), and the subjective vitality measures of Uyghur community will be presented. In this respect, the aim is to draw an outline of the community with the knowledge that were gathered from available resources. The results of the SVQ will be analysed separately further in this chapter, as it not only provides the subjective measures to establish the outline, but also displays intergenerational differences in vitality perceptions. In the following section, the notion of objective vitality will be drawn on with the assistance of the taxonomy (Giles et al. 1977), which will be regarded as a 'roadmap' for analysis.

6.1.1. Objective vitality

It is significant to note that the absence of some official data was compensated with the results of the SVQ. Following the taxonomy of the structural variables provided by Giles et al. (1977), the data regarding economic, social, and sociohistorical status were determined with the help of SVQ, since there are not any available official data regarding these factors. Sociohistorical status, on the other hand, is a subjective notion rather than an objective one. As Giles et al. maintain (1977: 310-311), sociohistorical status factor is an important variable, as historical instances and struggles may bind individuals together in a sense of unity. Nevertheless, acknowledging to what extent such historical struggles are regarded by the group members as uniting symbols is a subjective matter, therefore the perceived aspect of how proud someone or some group is of their culture and history is recognised in SVQ.

Regarding the language status factor, Giles et al. (1977) state, that language status within the boundaries of a given context (in this regard, Munich), and outside the boundaries of the community is an effective factor. The status of a language is directly proportional to the vitality of an ethnic group. In this regard, Uyghur language is predominantly spoken by Uyghurs in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region with an approximately 10 million speakers (*Encyclopedia Britannica*). The

prestige status of Uyghur worldwide is lower compared to other dominant languages around the globe. In Munich context, Uyghur language is not indigenous to Germany, therefore the language status within and outside Munich is relatively low for a language the speakers of which generally consist of Uyghurs.

National territory factor is somewhat nuanced for this particular community. According to Giles et al. (1977), the ethnolinguistic groups that are split apart of their national territories have less success in maintaining their vitality, compared to those who still possess their traditional homeland. As for the Uyghurs in Munich, the Uyghur Autonomous Region in China is considered to be their ancestral homeland. However, Uyghurs are a minority group in China and in their own territory as well, and they do not possess an independent territory/country. Although Uyghurs have a distinct homeland, they are a minority group in China and lack an independent state to govern themselves. In the light of this knowledge, the national territory factor does not plainly apply for Uyghurs. For instance, this factor is applicable to Turkish immigrants in Europe; they have their own national and independent territory. Therefore, this particular factor cannot be applied for nuanced situations, such as that of Uyghurs. Nevertheless, in an attempt to make it more applicable, it can be stated that even though the Uyghurs originally belong to an ancestral homeland, they do not possess the full power of their own territory and they are in a minority position, therefore the effects of having a national territory are low in this respect. Thus, the factor in question plays an insignificant role due to its nuanced nature and inapplicability to every context.

For the remaining demographic variables, the group concentration and proportion factors are explored in SVQ as it is not possible to obtain information from other sources. However, the researcher's observations suggest that, unlike the other immigrant communities in Germany (e.g., Turkish immigrants), the Uyghur population is not concentrated in the same vicinity. In other words, the Uyghur families are rather dispersed in Munich area rather than forming a sort of neighbourhood. Therefore, the group concentrations and proportions are very low.

The demographical numbers are also considered to be the most limited factors in Munich context. As it was noted in Chapter 4, the German federal government does not collect demographic information based on ethnicity (Federal Ministry of the Interior). Various sources estimate the Uyghur population in Munich to be around 700, and 1500 in whole Germany (Ferstl, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 2019), alternatively, the number is approximately 800 in Munich and 1500 in Germany (Isa 2023). The absolute numbers of the community are relatively low under these circumstances, even though around half of the Uyghur population in Germany reside in Munich.

Factors such as birth rate, endogamy-exogamy, and emigration of Uyghurs in Munich are not specifically documented. For such factors, the SVQ is the source to refer to in this study. For the immigration numbers, on the other hand, the asylum requests are taken into account. The most recent

reports suggest that in 2019, 125 Uyghurs requested asylum in Germany (Ferstl, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 2019), other sources state the number to be around 193 (*Die Zeit* 2020). Even though there are reports that document the asylum numbers, it may not be guarantee for the asylum seekers to be placed in Munich with the majority of the Uyghurs in Germany. According to Isa, there were some occurrences when the state of Bavaria did not grant asylum, so the asylum seekers were redirected to other federal states in Germany (Isa 2023). Immigration rates in this regard are rather vague and the number of asylum requests are put into consideration, thus the SVQ is the source of information in most of the demographic factors.

For the institutional support factors, the Uyghur language is neither represented in Munich mass media, nor is being taught or used as a medium of instruction in mainstream education. However, as we have underlined on several occasions, the Uyghurs established their own community school instead, with Uyghur as the primary medium of instruction. Therefore, the notion of education may not be regarded as a clear-cut factor; with the absence of instruction in the heritage language in mainstream education, such schools can be established to compensate the necessity and to provide formal education to Uyghur students.

Even though Uyghur language is not represented in Munich mainstream mass media, the *World Uyghur Congress* operates a YouTube channel (*Dunya Uyghur Qurultiyi – DUQ TV*) to broadcast the daily bulletin in Uyghur language. The contents include the recent events regarding the ongoing ethnic issues of Uyghurs in China, the political activism of Uyghurs around the world, and cultural activities of Uyghurs in Munich. Thus, the lack of mass media representation is compensated by self-efforts of the community and the Uyghur Congress.

The remaining factors such as governmental services, industry, and religions do not display a noteworthy influence, since the Uyghur language is neither represented nor predominantly used in these fields. However, the researcher's observations suggest the existence of a mosque, where Uyghurs attend Friday prayers. The actual prayers are practiced in Arabic since it is the main language of Islam, but sermons are preached in Uyghur language instead. For the adult population, such establishments also provide a place to interact with other members of the community, even if it only occurs on a weekly basis.

Regarding the cultural factor, Uyghur community organises cultural events to promote and strengthen the sense of cultural unity among the members of the diaspora. Such activities include Nowruz Celebrations, Uyghur Language Day, East Turkistan National Day, as well as celebrating religious holidays such as Eid al-Fitr and Sacrifice Feast. These activities are predominantly organised by the notable members of the community. It can be noted that the community displays noteworthy efforts towards the preservation and promotion of the Uyghur culture.

Despite the limitations, the available data from secondary sources are obtained and analysed. Regardless of the fact that some information is not available, they are compensated with the help of SVQ. Overall, it can be suggested that the Uyghur community plays an active role in cultural and linguistic promotions. The mentioned factors and the knowledge gathered from different sources with the guidance of the taxonomy of structural variables (Giles et al. 1997) indicate a general outline of the community. In the next section, the results of the SVQ will be explored.

6.1.2. Subjective vitality perceptions

The results of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire indicate the vitality perceptions of 36 Uyghur respondents on 21 different topics, and are displayed in Table 1. In general, the majority of the G2 perceptions are higher than that of G1, and further in the overall results, second-generation Uyghurs have higher vitality perceptions than first-generation.

The largest differences are identified in mass media, group concentration, and immigration rates. The point differentials of vitality perceptions for the remaining factors are relatively close, but they are perceived higher by the second-generation. The lowest perceptions across both groups are language use in Munich schools and the amount of language use in governmental services. In reality, these two particular results are not unexpected since Uyghur language is not influential and powerful enough to be considered as an entity in Munich public sector and mainstream education system, and the respondents share similar opinions on these matters as well.

The first-generation Uyghurs display differing opinions on the amount of political power that the community possesses in Munich. The overall measures (mean values are 3.17 for G1 and 2.56 for G2) suggest lower perceptions, but the presence and the political activism of the World Uyghur Congress could be regarded a disorienting factor for G1. The WUC represents the Uyghurs in diaspora, and Munich is the centre for Uyghur political activism. However, it is a non-governmental organisation and does not have an active influence on the inner politics of Munich and Bavaria. Thus, the opinions in this regard vary (the data set has an S.D. of 2.04) among G1, as the question of "How much political influence do the Uyghurs have in Munich?" can be interpreted in two different aspects. In other words, some respondents put the existence of WUC into account, while some others perceived it from a more general standpoint of politics of Munich. As for the G2, on the other hand, the respondents provided a mean of 2.56 rating for the same question. This result indicates that the perceived political strength of Uyghurs is lower among G2 respondents than that of G1. Nevertheless, the respondents hold comparable opinions on the matter (S.D. = 0.98 for G2), suggesting that their perceptions are influenced by common factors. It is possible, that the G2 members acknowledge the existence of WUC and its political activism, but identify its influence as limited to some extent.

The highest rating across both generations and among all the factors is given to the pride of cultural history. Both first- and second-generation Uyghurs suggest being highly proud of their own culture, with the mean values of 5.56 for G1 and 5.72 for G2. Additionally, the G2 shows higher ratings than G1, and the S.D values are 1.79 for G1 and 1.49 for G2. It can be derived that both groups have their opinions shaped around the same value, but the G2 displays slightly higher ratings and lower S.D. than G1, meaning that both groups display the signs of being a collective entity for the notion of cultural pride but the results of G2 show slightly positive perceptions.

Furthermore, the perceived strength of Uyghur community is among the higher ratings of SVQ. The results indicate the mean value of 4.50 for G1, and 4.89 for G2. The second-generation speakers perceive a higher strength value than first-generation respondents. The perceived future strength, on the other hand, is also perceived higher by G2, with a mean value of 4.56, which is slightly lower for G1, with a mean value of 4.06.

Additional questions that were included in the SVQ display engaging results. For the factor of perceived language endangerment status of Uyghur, the overall results for G1 is the mean value of 4.95 and 5.22 for G2, which indicates that the level of language endangerment is perceived higher by the second-generation. Particularly for G1, the general opinions of the respondents of this group are rather dispersed. The overall S.D. value of 2.15 indicates that the G1 respondents generally do not have mutual opinions on this aspect. This notion can be explored also in two different points of view. On the one hand, even though the overall value is 4.95, which can be labelled as “medium-high”, some of the respondents may regard the notion of language endangerment as a condition which suggests the fact that the number of speakers crucially deteriorate and/or in the face of extinction. The respondents in this context therefore simply do not think that the Uyghur language faces an extinction. On the other hand, since S.D. value of 2.15 indicates that there are a number of respondents who rated the question higher than the overall mean value, some members of the community regard this aspect as the opposite, i.e., they suggest that the Uyghur language is highly endangered. Overall, the current situation of Uyghur language, as it is viewed by the participants, is not in a favourable position.

The highest value in all of the questions that require rating on a 7-point Likert scale belongs to perceived significance of heritage language maintenance and intergenerational language transmission. The perceived significance of HLM is rated 6.61/7 among the first, and 6.56/7 among the second-generation group members. Additionally, the majority of respondents have the collective idea in this context (S.D. = 0.85 and 1.04 for G1 and G2, respectively). The significance of intergenerational language transmission is also perceived very high across both generations, the mean values of 6.67/7 for G1 and 6.56/7 for G2, and the vast majority of the opinions are clustered in the same ratings as well. It is also vital to note that these results only display the reported attitudes towards the given aspects in questions. Investigating the actual attitudes would require additional research

with specific methods to study the group members' attitudes. As for this research, presenting the reported attitudes and perceived significance provides not only the respondents' opinions, but also indicates the degree of 'collective thinking' of the respondents on such matters, especially on the notions detailed above which play a significant role in heritage language maintenance.

The results of the final question are shown in Table 3. As it was previously mentioned, Q25 invites the respondents' attention to the future aspect of heritage language maintenance. The results indicate that 55.6% of the G1 respondents agree with the fact that the second-generation Uyghurs will successfully maintain their heritage language, whereas for the G2, the responses are only at 27.8%. 5.6% of the G1 respondents declared 'no' for an answer, whereas the percentage is higher in G2 with 22.2%.

G2 members generally adopt a sceptical approach towards the future of Uyghur language in Munich, with 38.9% of the respondents preferring not to give a definitive answer, and 11.1% is the proportion of G2 respondents who choose not to state an opinion altogether. As for G1, 33.3% of the respondents are uncertain, and 5.6% do not declare any options. The first-generation Uyghurs maintain a more positive approach for the future of second-generation regarding the maintenance of Uyghur language. However, the similar amount of positivity is not identified in the second-generation respondents and their general opinions are rather dispersed, with the dominance of uncertainty.

Overall, combining the results of the answers without any categorisations, 41.7% of total respondents agree, 13.9% disagree, 36.1% are not certain, and 8.3% do not provide any answer. The general opinion in this sense is rather positive. Regardless of the positive results, there is still a substantial number of respondents who are not confident with the future of Uyghur as a heritage language in Munich. This particular question tends to focus specifically on second-generation Uyghurs' language maintenance, whereas the overall subjective vitality measures represent the total combination of structural variables of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Finally, the overall subjective vitality measures in four different categories, status, demographic, institutional support, and perceived vitality are presented in Table 4. In general, the measures of G2 are relatively higher than that of G1. The mean value of status factors for G1, is 3.40, and 3.60 for G2. Demographic factors are also higher for G2, 3.13 and 2.49 for G1. Institutional support and control factors are relatively closer, 2.64 and 2.69 for G1 and G2, respectively. The highest results appear to be perceived vitality measures. In total, G1 respondents provide a mean value of 4.15, and G2 members measure their perceived vitality as 4.31. Regardless of the fact that G2 respondents are rather sceptical for the future of Uyghur language in Munich, they display higher measures for overall perceived vitality. The difference between the two notions is the fact that overall subjective vitality measures refer to acting as a distinct and collective entity with the inclusion of

various factors. The results of the final question, on the other hand, solely represent the opinions of the respondents on the future of Uyghur HLM in Munich context.

6.2. Analysis of the language rating scales

In this section, the analysis of the language rating scales will be provided. In the previous chapter, we presented the results of each category in separate tables and provided a final table which contains the overall and combined results of the given categories. In order to provide concise descriptions of the results, this section will tend to focus on the general outlook of the language skill categories without elaborating on every single task provided in tables. In other words, a macro level approach is adopted, although the ratings of the tasks within the categories will be addressed when necessary, e.g., when a relationship between variables is identified.

Based on the results of the LRS for writing category shown in Table 5, the general writing skill measures of Uyghur are lower than those of German. It appears that the students may require further support in developing their skills in completing more advanced writing tasks in Uyghur. For instance, the tasks such as writing a text for a newspaper, composing a poem, and writing a business letter are rated relatively lower than the remaining tasks. The ratings of these three tasks are higher in German. However, they are also among the lowest ratings of the remaining tasks in that language. Thus, it can be noted that, for the writing skills, there is a correlation between the ratings of complex tasks in both heritage and dominant language. The students who rate their completion skills of complex tasks as low in the dominant language also rate them low in the heritage language. Nonetheless, the success rates are higher in German for such tasks and in general.

For speaking tasks presented in Table 6, the results also indicate higher ratings for German. The same correlation is identified for this category as well; the lowest ratings are given to the most complex tasks in Uyghur, such as using abstract words in speech, constructing complex sentences, and using idiomatic expressions and proverbs while speaking. These tasks are also rated the lowest among tasks in the dominant language. However, similarly to the previously mentioned writing skills, the ratings are higher in German. In order to consolidate this correlation, it can be crosschecked by analysing the highest ratings in this category. The task with the highest completion success rating (3.75 out of 5) in Uyghur is ‘asking for help or offering for help’. The same level of proficiency is observed for that of German, which is also rated as the highest of all tasks (4.63 out of 5). Furthermore, the standard deviations for this task in Uyghur and German (0.99 and 0.88, respectively) suggest that the students share closely comparable self-ratings for the highest rated tasks.

Similar to the previously mentioned skills, reading tasks in German are rated generally higher than in Uyghur. In this context, there is no direct correlation between the difficulty of the tasks and the self-ratings in both heritage and dominant languages comparable to the previous ones, but

there is still an observable connection. For instance, tasks such as ‘understanding the information in a manual or an application form’ and ‘understanding register specific terms and phrases in a text’ are rated as the lowest tasks in Uyghur (2.13 and 2.25, respectively). These tasks have lower ratings in German as well (4.17 and 4.00), but they are not listed as the lowest rated tasks. In other words, it can be inferred that the particular reading tasks rated as the lowest ones in Uyghur are also rated relatively low in German, although they are not necessarily considered the lowest rated tasks in German. These tasks are deemed the lowest rated ones, whereas in German, there are tasks that are rated even lower. Thus, it can be concluded that while there is some correlation between the ratings of these tasks across both languages, they are not identical and, unlike the previously identified correlations, there are variations in the ratings of specific reading tasks in both languages. Correspondingly, this pattern is identified for the highest rated tasks as well (see Table 7).

The results of the understanding skills for both Uyghur and German languages appear to be equal, compared to the previously detailed results (see Table 8). The overall ratings in both languages are almost identical, but German is rated slightly higher than Uyghur. In some cases, tasks are rated higher in Uyghur as well. This also indicates that Uyghur students have higher proficiency in understanding compared to reading, writing, and speaking. The similar correlation that was identified in the previous results appears to be consistent in all four skills. The lowest rated tasks in Uyghur are also among the lowest rated ones in German. It can be derived from these results that Uyghur students show more success in understanding related tasks.

The results are concluded for the overall ratings of each skill in both languages in Table 9. The findings suggest that German is the dominant language in Uyghur students’ linguistic repertoires. For Uyghur, students’ proficiency in speaking and understanding skills are relatively higher than in reading and writing skills. Students rated understanding as their highest overall skill in Uyghur, whereas speaking in German appears to be their strongest skill across both languages. Writing skill ratings in the heritage language appear to be the weakest of all the other capabilities.

In conclusion, Table 9 presented the summary of self-ratings of all language modalities in both heritage and dominant languages. The relationship between the complexity of the tasks and bilingual self-ratings is identified in the results of each modality of language. Namely, a pattern was observed which suggests that the ratings of the tasks in both languages are in direct proportion to the complexity of the tasks. The results also indicate that reading and writing skills are weaker in the heritage language. As for the dominant German language, students generally do not struggle in any of the tasks and their overall proficiency consolidates these results. In the next section, the discussions regarding the EV of Uyghur diaspora, the LRS results, and the answers to the research questions will be provided.

6.3. Discussion

In this section, the focus will be on the elaboration of the analysis and the indication of the results in terms of how the collected data assisted in answering the initial research questions, as well as the significance of the results within the boundaries of the conducted study. First and foremost, the previously indicated aim of this study, the establishment of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Uyghur diaspora in Munich will be detailed. Prior to the next section, it is essential to recapture the research questions so as to provide a roadmap for discussion:

1. How the current objective data and the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of the first- and second-generation Uyghurs in Munich can be interpreted?
2. What are the most influential factors behind heritage language maintenance of Uyghurs in Munich and how do they relate to previous research?
3. How do the self-rated proficiency levels of biliteracy and bilingualism compare among the senior class students of Uyghur Mother Language School?

6.3.1. Ethnolinguistic vitality of Uyghur diaspora in Munich

The obtained objective data from various available resources and subjective vitality perceptions of the first- and second-generation Uyghur respondents shape the outline of the community in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality. As we underlined before, we will abstain from the clear-cut verdict of whether the Uyghur community will be 'successful' in acting as a distinct entity, or appointing 'low or high' vitality measures, in contrast to the initial argument (Giles et al. 1977). Instead, the focus will be on the main outline of the community based on the strengths and weaknesses that correspond to the structural variables of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Carrying a distinct identity and cultural norms with visible efforts of promotion and preservation of such notions are the broad definition of 'maintenance of cultural identity' for this community. Despite having a population of just under 1000, the Uyghur diaspora possesses the essential means to identify themselves as a "community" (Isa 2023). *The World Uyghur Congress*, which can be regarded as the primary instrument of the Uyghur diaspora in Europe, plays a significant role in this regard. In addition to the political activism of Uyghurs in Europe, the WUC and its relevant units assist in organisation of cultural events and exhibitions, sport activities, youth initiatives, etc. Moreover, one of the most vital elements of the community and the one notion which was one of the focus points in this study, the Uyghur Mother Language School plays the primary role of heritage language education for the second-generation.

The mentioned aspects are the main elements of the outline of the community as well, which is the reason why they are additionally addressed, and they are found to be corresponding with the structural variables of EV. On the macro level, these elements rotate around the presence of the WUC.

Specifically, the WUC is the entity that shapes the Uyghur community as a whole, and the corresponding units assist in the function of cultural and linguistic preservation. On the micro level, entities such as the Uyghur Mother Language School, Uyghur Mosque, and even the Uyghur restaurants contribute to the presence of the community. These aspects shape the main outline of Uyghur diaspora in Munich, and they evidently correspond with the structural variables. It can be indicated that the prominent factors of this community, according to the structural variables of EVT (Giles et al. 1977) are the cultural, institutional support, and formal education factors. Moreover, the absolute numbers factor is also crucial in this regard, since the quantity of individuals is the core dynamic of this community. It is an undeniable fact that the Uyghur population in Munich (and in Germany) is low in size. However, as it was mentioned above, the community holds the required elements that what defines the group an entity with a sense of community (Isa 2023). On the other hand, the respondents of the SVQ indicate the immigration rate of Uyghurs as higher than the emigration rates. The birth rates and the in-group marriage rates also have relatively higher values in the category of demographic factors. It is evident that the population shows signs of increase, although for the time being, it is limited.

Where there is a lack of institutional support, the members of the community create 'their own means' of institutional support, such as the community school. Access to mass media is one of the notable limitations for institutional support factors as well. The local government in Munich does not provide any mass-media content exclusively in the Uyghur language. As we mentioned above, DUQ TV broadcasts the daily bulletin in YouTube videos in order to compensate the absence of mass-media in Uyghur language and it is operated by the WUC. The argument in this sense can be regarded as a different outlook to the notion of institutional support; despite the lack of such direct support from the mainstream society or the government regarding formal education in the school system, and the mass-media (e.g., newspapers, journals, TV channels, etc.), community members, mainly through the efforts of the WUC, have operationalised these entities to meet their educational needs and receive access to mass-media. Thus, the argument here is that the community is not deprived of such support; there is still an indirect institutional support from the government on various occasions, but they are limited to the sufficient requirements of the community. The concept of institutional support, therefore, is not seen as a rigid factor in this study, the lack of direct institutional support does not mean that the community is deprived of such necessities altogether, and it is capable of constituting their own 'institutions'. The Uyghur community in Munich, as it was underlined above, is a 'distinct' entity, and the recent argument suggests that it is a 'collective' one as well.

Another aspect that requires attention is the degree of control that the community possesses over its vitality. According to the variables provided by Giles et al. (1977), the community does not have total control in some variables that affect its own vitality. For instance, the immigration patterns

are not controlled by the community; they are rather administered by the Bavarian government in a certain way. As we mentioned before in the analysis of the objective data, there are cases when asylum applications are rejected, which directly influences the immigration rates. This aspect is also pointed by Tollefson (1991) and Yagmur and Ehala (2011), who argue that the theory is dominant-centric and the dominant society controls some of the factors. A number of structural variables (e.g., immigration rates) are rather not truly 'variables' for the group in this context. It is correct, that it negatively affects the size of the population, but it does not strictly indicate that the ethnolinguistic group in question has a low vitality, and it is premature to conclude that they are fated to completely assimilate or disappear. Despite, the fact that they are not being controlled by the group does not indicate that they are 'uncontrollable'. For instance, the Canadian parliament voted to accept 10000 Uyghurs as refugees (*The Guardian*[2]). Not only the Canadian government, but also the political activism of Uyghur organisations played a significant role in such development. In other words, the 'variables' that seem as 'constants' in reality can be transformed into actually controllable variables that can have a positive impact on the ethnolinguistic vitality. Similar to the institutional support aspect that was addressed, which suggests that not receiving any direct institutional support does not quite indicate the nonexistence of an institution that provides support, the argument here is that the demographic variables which seem as if they are uncontrollable at first glance can also be manipulated, even if only to some extent. Therefore, while measuring the ethnolinguistic vitality, this aspect can also be put into account before choosing to strictly conform to the 'dominant-centric' variables.

One of the outcomes of the questionnaire results is that the respondents have positive attitudes towards HLM and intergenerational language transmission. It can be suggested, that the perceived language endangerment status of Uyghur, which is also rated high by the respondents, could be a substantial motive for such reported attitudes. Regardless, these reported attitudes can be labelled as a positive sign for the future heritage language maintenance efforts since the respondents show a sense of unity in this context.

The main outline of the Uyghur community is shaped by the above mentioned concepts. It can be established that regardless of the limitations, while combining both objective and subjective vitality measures, the implications suggest that the Uyghur community in Munich evidently acts as collective entity for the time being and there are clear efforts on HLM. In the analysis of the EV of Uyghurs, as well as in the previous chapters, we have noted on several occasions that a strict verdict will be abstained from. Instead, we acknowledged the positive and negative impacts of the variables. In contrast to smaller size of the population and the dispersed group concentration, the perceived strength, perceived future strength and pride of Uyghur cultural history show positivity for the HLM.

[2] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/feb/02/canada-votes-to-take-in-10000-uyghur-refugees-amid-chinese-pressure-to-force-their-return

It should be noted in this regard, that the results of the perceived future strength question in the SVQ, which was initially found ambiguous, is lower than the perceived significance of HLM (which also involves the future of the community). It is possible that while filling out the answer to the perceived future strength (How strong and active do you think the Uyghurs will be in 20-30 years?) question, the respondents put the rest of the variables into account, whereas the additional questions drew the attention to the aspect of language maintenance, which rated as the highest among all variables. However, for the Q25, which was formed as a supplementary one for the perceived future vitality question, the results are positive, but there is a level of scepticism among the respondents. To roughly depict, it can be said that the respondents put significance to HLM and intergenerational language transmission, but the uncertainty of whether the second-generation Uyghurs will be successful in maintaining the language is not low either.

To sum up the discussion for RQ1, it can be derived that there is not a definitive method to interpret the results for the group in question. There are strengths and weaknesses of the group and the variables that have negative impacts are compensated in a different manner. Affirmatively, the group acts as a distinct and collective entity and it possesses substantial instruments to be classified as a 'community'. However, a conclusion that suggests whether this particular act will be maintained in the future is not clear.

The most influential factors behind heritage language maintenance of this particular group, which is also the focus of RQ2, can be listed as follows:

- Pride of the Uyghur cultural history,
- Heritage language education,
- Promotion and preservation of Uyghur culture in Munich,
- In-group marriage rates,
- The degree of bilingualism and biliteracy,
- Positive attitudes towards HLM.

The listed factors partially correspond with the factors that were listed in Chapter 2. In comparison to the initially listed factors, Uyghurs in Munich are rather dispersed in the city and they do not have a particularly close and active network in the same vicinity. The in-group marriage rates are moderate, but there is not a constant influx of new heritage speakers as identified in Chapter 2. The respondents indicate highly positive opinions on the perceived significance of HLM as well. The main difference between factors identified for Uyghurs and the ones listed in Chapter 2 is that the former list was derived from the studies that generally focus on the Turkish immigrants in Europe, who have larger numbers in population and live mostly in the same vicinity/neighbourhood. Moreover, mass-media in their HL is widely available (see Chapter 2 for details). As for the Uyghurs

in Munich, the size of the population is quite smaller compared to that of previously reviewed ethnolinguistic groups and their concentration in Munich is scattered.

Overall, the group numbers appear to be the most significant difference in this regard. The generated list only represents the factors of HLM for the Uyghur context, derived from the research findings of objective and subjective data. These factors were also compared to those of previous studies to identify patterns, which address the EV of various Turkish groups in Europe and Australia. Even though the nature, size, and conditions of the communities are alike, there appears to be a partial pattern among the two set of factors. It can be concluded that for the heritage language maintenance, the settings and focus groups might be different, but their motives are identical, so are their instruments which shape the factors behind HLM. Specifically for Uyghurs, the pride of the cultural history is regarded as an influential factor since this particular notion is rated as the highest affecting variable in the first 21 questions of the SVQ. The aspect of promotion and preservation of the Uyghur culture derived from the objective vitality results, which appears to be a regular event in Munich.

To conclude this part of the discussion, it can be noted that there exist specific conditions and trajectories for specific ethnolinguistic groups. For the Uyghur diaspora in Munich, even though the perceived vitality ratings are not very high, the community shows constant efforts for the sake of HLM and there are other affective factors that should be put into consideration, such as the ones listed above, which are the main instruments in the same regard. The group acts as a distinct and collective entity, but only time and constant efforts will tell, if it actually has a 'high' vitality to keep acting as one. In the next section, the discussions will be provided on Uyghur students' language proficiency.

6.3.2. The degree of bilingualism and biliteracy among Uyghur HL students

With the help of the Language Rating Scales, the students' self-rated proficiency of reading, writing, speaking, and understanding skills provided the general profile of the Uyghur students. It is, once again, essential to stress that these results are based on students' self-ratings. The actual competency of the students would require additional research with required specific methods. Nonetheless, the students provided the ratings of their abilities in completing various tasks in each modality of language. The results will be elaborated to elucidate the students' competencies of bilingualism and biliteracy, as well as the relationship between the two spheres.

The results indicate that the degree of bilingualism is higher than that of biliteracy among Uyghur HL students. While speaking Uyghur, the students can complete basic tasks with confidence such as asking or offering for help. They can ask for information and clarifications when they do not understand a word or a phrase. They have the ability to engage in conversations about concrete topics such as everyday occurrences, but they generally prefer to construct sentences without complex structures. They correct their own speech and express their feelings on particular topics, but their

vocabulary in Uyghur is somewhat limited to use abstract words to plainly express themselves. In this case, they might prefer to use German words to fill in the gaps in a conversation, as they have wider lexicons in German, especially for the abstract words. They can even make some jokes in Uyghur, but their sense of humour is best expressed in the dominant language. Generally, they do not use idiomatic expressions and proverbs, etc. in a speech and they might find switching to German more convenient if it is found necessary. Their speaking skills in German are higher than in Uyghur, but they can still show competence in their HL.

Parallel to the speaking skills, understanding tasks have higher success of completion as well. In fact, this skill has the highest ratings compared to the rest of the skills. The students have the ability to discern whether someone's thoughts are positive or negative, as well as to comprehend the sequence of events presented in a speech. They can understand basic concepts such as understanding an apology, a proposal or a request for help, someone's wishes or demands, etc. The ratings of these tasks are in direct proportion to those of speaking. However, similar to speaking abilities, their comprehension skills of abstract words and concepts, complex sentences, or idiomatic expressions and proverbs are not as sophisticated as the remaining understanding related tasks. The ratings of these skills in German are also among the lower rated tasks, but they are still higher than Uyghur. It can be derived from these aspects, that the students may experience difficulties in understanding complex sentences that include abstract words from a speech, as well as using them in their speech. Since the ratings for these tasks are higher in German, they are more comfortable in understanding them in the mainstream language, if they are not able to do so in the heritage language.

For the writing skill, the students are not truly successful in completing complex writing tasks. German is clearly the dominant language in the students' writing competencies. They are still able to write letter to friends and relatives, fill out an application form, and express their opinions in writing. They can search and find the necessary words while writing a text. However, similar to speaking and understanding, they are not as sophisticated in completing complex writing tasks as they are in German. Complex tasks include writing an informative text for a newspaper, composing a poem, and writing a business letter. In general, the writings skills are rated lower compared to previously mentioned tasks.

Finally, the reading skills are also relatively low among the other skills. In this particular modality of language, the dominance of German language is quite evident. In the heritage language, the students can read and understand an advertisement better than completing the other reading tasks. Students can understand a written poem, read and understand a book, and understand the information written in a brochure, as they are among higher rated tasks. Nevertheless, students' reading capabilities are lower than their speaking and understanding skills, but slightly higher than writing.

The concepts that have been discussed so far shape the answer for RQ3, which aims to explore the relationship between Uyghur heritage language students' proficiency in biliteracy and bilingualism. As the discussion we provided on the overall results in Table 9 indicate, there is a district contrast between the degree of the two notions: the reading and writing skills are lower than speaking and understanding skills. Students have likely developed their competencies in biliteracy at Uyghur Mother Language School, whereas the results of speaking and understanding skills generally suggest that bilingualism is acquired in domestic domains. In other words, Uyghur students grew up in a domestic setting where the dominant language is Uyghur, and later acquired reading and writing skills in the heritage language in a formal education environment. Additionally, German appears to be the dominant language in the students' linguistic repertoires.

A general profile of a typical Uyghur HL student can be illustrated in the light of the analysis and discussion we have provided so far. An Uyghur student at Uyghur Mother Language School is an individual who grew up in an Uyghur-speaking environment. The student has the ability to speak and comprehend both heritage and mainstream languages. The student can engage in casual conversations containing daily occurrences and concrete concepts in the HL, and they have the ability to ask for a clarification when something is not understood. When the student faces a challenge in expressing certain ideas and/or complex matters in the HL, i.e., due to the limitations in their vocabulary, the subject might opt to switch to German, or borrow the lexicon from German, which is unknown in the HL. They hold a degree of biliteracy in their repertoire, but it is more limited than their degree of bilingualism. The student completes basic reading and writing tasks but faces challenges in completing more sophisticated ones. Examining all aspects of these four skills, German language is the most dominant language. Therefore, this illustration corresponds with the general characteristics of a heritage speaker identified by Montrul (2015: 18), which are also listed in Chapter 2. The relationship between biliteracy and bilingualism among Uyghur HL students is effectively addressed through the use of this illustration, thus answering the RQ3 with clarity.

6.4. Summary

In this chapter, we provided the analysis of both objective and subjective data and established the main outline of the Uyghur diaspora in Munich. The results of the SVQ and their implications were thoroughly discussed. The strengths and weaknesses of the community were identified and the effects of structural variables on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Uyghurs in Munich were detailed. The most influential factors behind HLM of Uyghur diaspora were listed based on the provided analysis. Thus, the answers to RQ1 and RQ2 were presented in a precise manner.

We further explored the general profile of the Uyghur HL students and identified their degree of biliteracy and bilingualism in both Uyghur and German languages in order to present the

relationship between the two notions. In order to answer to RQ3, the illustration of a typical Uyghur HL student was made, which is based on the analysis of the LRS results. It is essential to note that this illustration do not cover individual accounts or other factors that shape the characteristics of an Uyghur student; it was solely based on self-rated proficiency. Addressing the individual trajectories would require separate extensive research. The details will be provided in the next chapter, where we will make the final conclusions on this study and offer directions for future research.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis aimed to establish the ethnolinguistic vitality of Uyghur diaspora in Munich within the concept of language maintenance. The ethnolinguistic vitality was utilised in this study as a framework to depict the outlook of this particular community and to determine whether the language in question *is* and *will be* maintained or not. The key finding is that there are visible and functional language maintenance efforts in present, and the community evidently acts as a distinct group. In contrast to the initial argument of the ethnolinguistic vitality theory which suggests that communities with high vitality are likely to keep acting as distinct and collective entities in the future (Giles et al. 1977), this study does not conclude with such arguments and verdicts. The current situation was displayed with the help of the adopted set of methods and the implications drawn from the previous literature. Thus, the final conclusions will be made with a broader outlook at the outcomes.

In order to achieve the aim, both objective and subjective vitality measures were analysed. During this phase, especially during the application of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire, some concepts were adjusted to address the research problem in the most concordant manner. New variables were added in order to enrich the data, and some were removed if found to be beyond the scope of the thesis or ambiguous. Thus, for RQ1, the current ethnolinguistic vitality measures were displayed and the respondents' subjective vitality measures that solely focus on the perceived Uyghur vitality were processed to draw the picture of how an ethnolinguistic group, such as the Uyghurs with their distinct cultural and linguistic identity, situates in Munich under the salient dominance of German language. Insofar, the degree of dominance of German language and the rest of the outgroups in Munich is evidently found in the discussions we provided, and it is generally felt among the members of the Uyghur community. The most salient group in Munich is German, however, it is a multicultural city, and the influence of the outgroup(s) is not exclusively addressed in this study. The governing idea in this sense is that Germany and German language are the constants, and the ethnolinguistic groups in Munich are the variables. The respondents rated their own perceived vitalities not in a sense of comparing themselves to the other groups, or to the dominant group, but in a way that would assess their current position in Munich in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality. The objective and subjective vitality measures helped us shape the status quo of the Uyghur community. Unlike the previously conducted research (Yagmur et al. 1999; Yagmur & Akinci 2003; Yagmur 2004; Yagmur & Jacobs 2015), this is the fundamental motive behind not including the subjective vitality measures of any other groups (or the most dominant group) in Munich. This aspect contributed an additional outlook to the notion of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality in Munich context, that focusing only on the ingroup vitality ratings without including any other groups in Munich, can still depict the current vitality of the ethnolinguistic group in question.

The most influential factors behind the HLM of Uyghurs are generally drawn from the SVQ results. These factors can also be applicable to other ethnolinguistic groups, but they were solely inferred on the basis of the current situation of Uyghurs, namely the promotion and preservation of Uyghur culture in Munich. These factors were categorised as the positively affecting ones. The negative factors, i.e., the factors that severe the vitality of the community, such as the small absolute numbers and lack of constant influx of new heritage speakers, and other demographic factors, etc., were not included, however, they can also be regarded as being among the influential negative factors. Thus, only positively affecting factors were listed. In this context, the purpose was to present not only the influential factors, but also the factors that resemble the 'efforts' of HLM. Therefore, the nature of RQ2 was to identify the salient efforts of the community for HLM. Namely, the promotion of Uyghur culture, heritage language education and positive attitudes towards HLM.

For the heritage language students, their degree of bilingualism and biliteracy was explored and documented for RQ3. The key takeaway in this regard is that, for HLM, it is challenging to predict whether the students will preserve their level of proficiency, especially biliteracy. Surely, the results demonstrate the current proficiency levels and they are, in fact, not surprising since the students, according to their degree of proficiency, are coherent to the general characteristics of a heritage speaker listed in Chapter 2. This current situation is positively affecting the HLM efforts, regardless of the fact that the level of biliteracy is lower than bilingualism. The degree of biliteracy is regarded as positive since it demonstrates the effectiveness of the Uyghur Mother Language School as well. Moreover, the benefits of the community schools summarised by Maylor et al. (2010) also apply for the Uyghur students in this context. The students increase their heritage language skills and acquire a better understanding of their heritage background with the help of lectures ranging from grammar to cultural (see Chapter 2 for details). However, the results of LRS in general also indicate that just approximately two hours of weekly classes are not adequate. This aspect is also one of the strong points of this research, since it not only explores the notion of heritage language education, but also underlines the importance of bilingualism and biliteracy in HLM in Uyghur context.

As we discussed in Chapter 4, the most notable limitation was the sample size, and the results of SVQ only represent the responses of a small unit of individuals. Since the objective vitality results do not include any individual responses, this limitation was greatly compensated by the data obtained from secondary sources and the researcher's observations. The obtained data from SVQ actually turned out to be profitable and every single respondent supplied the research with valuable information.

In conclusion, this study filled the gap in the context of HLM of Uyghur diaspora in Munich. We have noted on several occasions that this particular ethnolinguistic group is relatively understudied in this regard. One key difference of Uyghurs, as compared to the previously addressed

groups in Chapter 2 (e.g., Turkish), lies in their immigration trajectories. The first Uyghurs' *exodus* from the homeland was to initiate the movements for independence, which led to the *genesis* of the Uyghur diaspora.

As this research evidently demonstrates, the Uyghurs in Munich are a distinct group with collective values, and this distinctness will be preserved only with the continuous efforts of language maintenance. It is challenging to predict the future, but it is not so challenging to predict the possible outcomes if those efforts are not continued in the future generations. Therefore, the conclusive question is, how will the future generations shape the trajectory of the Uyghur diaspora?

As for the directions for future research, it can be derived that this study took a macro-level approach to the concept of heritage language maintenance of Uyghurs. Since it is now can be labelled as the first step for exploration, it would be plausible to address the micro-level issues in the study of language maintenance and shift, not only in Munich but also in other Uyghur communities around the globe. Namely, the contact-induced language change in the speech of Uyghurs, family language policies, language attitudes, and so forth. Moreover, the heritage language acquisition of second-generation Uyghurs could also be addressed. In addition to the acquisition, the notion of heritage language education could be explored in-depth. In contrast to this research which addressed the self-ratings of language proficiency (i.e., reported skill levels) the students' actual competencies in the heritage language could be an area for investigation. In sum, following the directions of Heller et al. (2017), *the forest* is the Uyghur communities around the globe, and *the trees* are the many components that shape those communities.

Plagiarism Declaration

I, Ömer Faruk Hekim, have read the requirements for research papers in the MA programme Sociolinguistics and Multilingualism. I understand that plagiarism is wrong and that it can take different forms, some direct and some indirect. I also understand that plagiarism in an essay, project or thesis submitted to this programme will result in a greatly reduced mark or rejection of the paper entirely.



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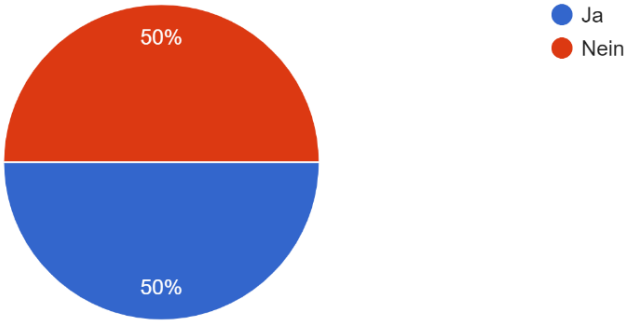
Appendices

Appendix 1: Subjective Vitality Questionnaire

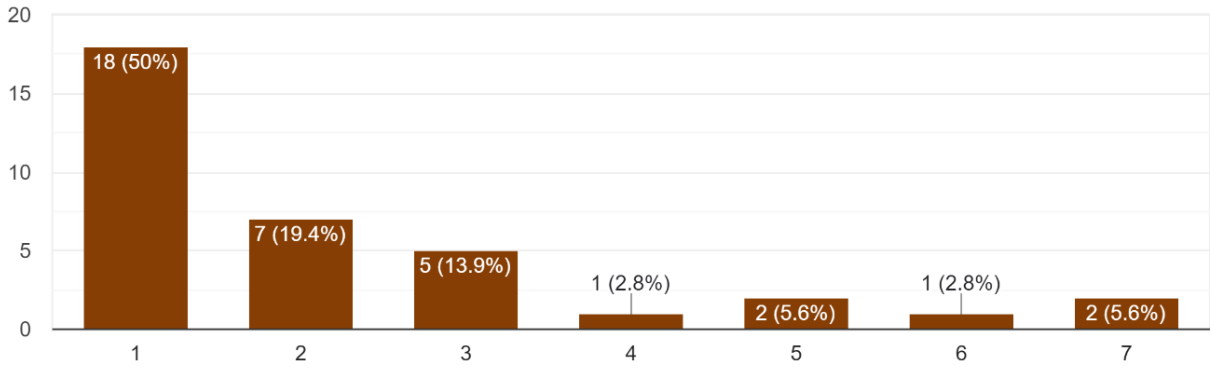
Sind Sie in Deutschland geboren oder aufgewachsen?

36 responses



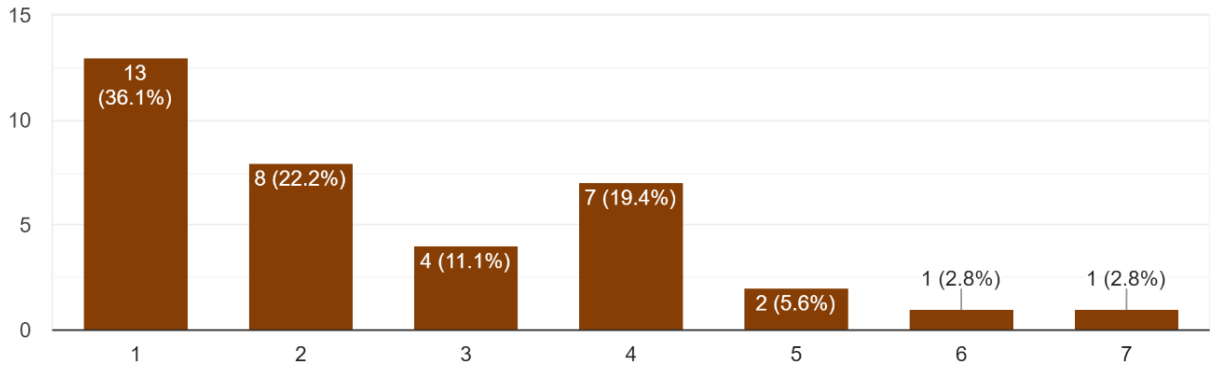
Schätzen Sie der Anteil von Uiguren an der Bevölkerung Münchens.

36 responses



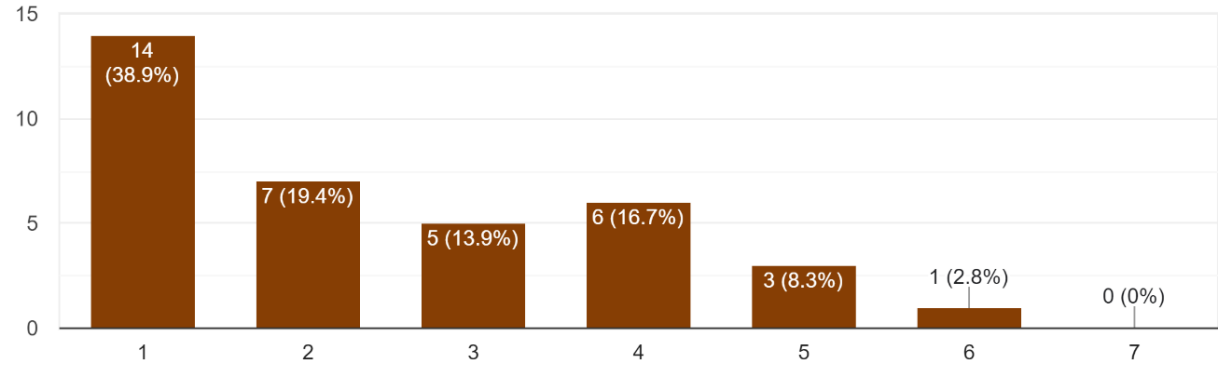
Wie hoch, glauben Sie, ist jeweils das Ansehen der uigurischen Sprache in München? Bewerten Sie das von gar nicht bis extrem hoch.

36 responses



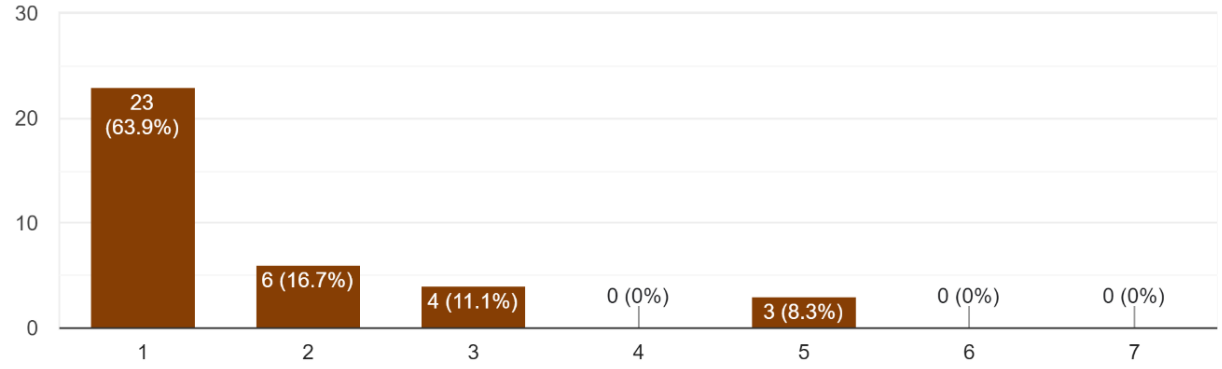
Wie hoch, glauben Sie, ist das Ansehen der uigurischen Sprache international?

36 responses



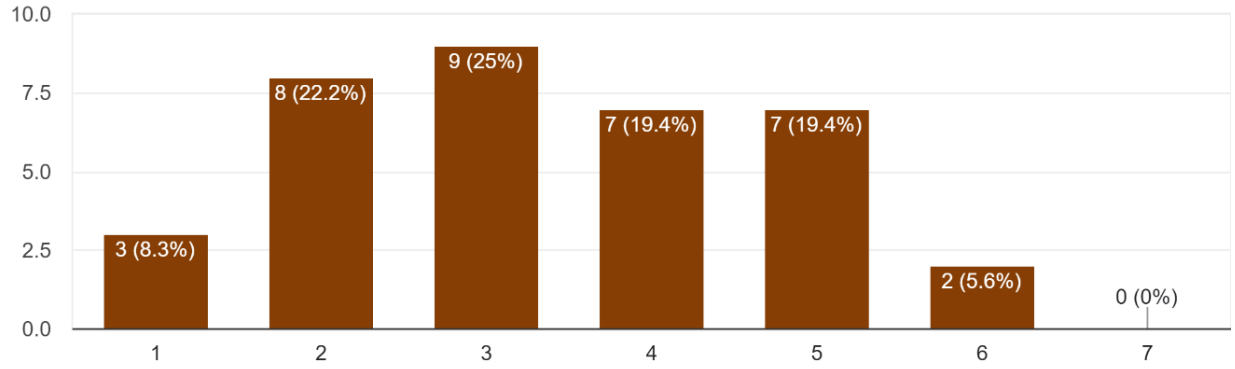
Wie oft werden Uigurisch in Münchens Behörden genutzt? (Gesundheitseinrichtungen, Soziale Einrichtungen, Sozialämter, etc.)

36 responses



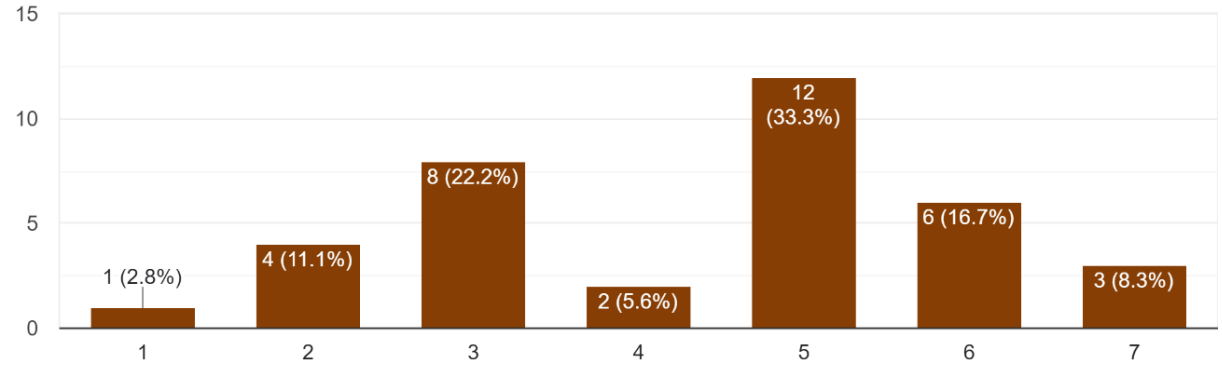
Wie schätzen Sie die Geburtsraten von Uiguren in München ein?

36 responses



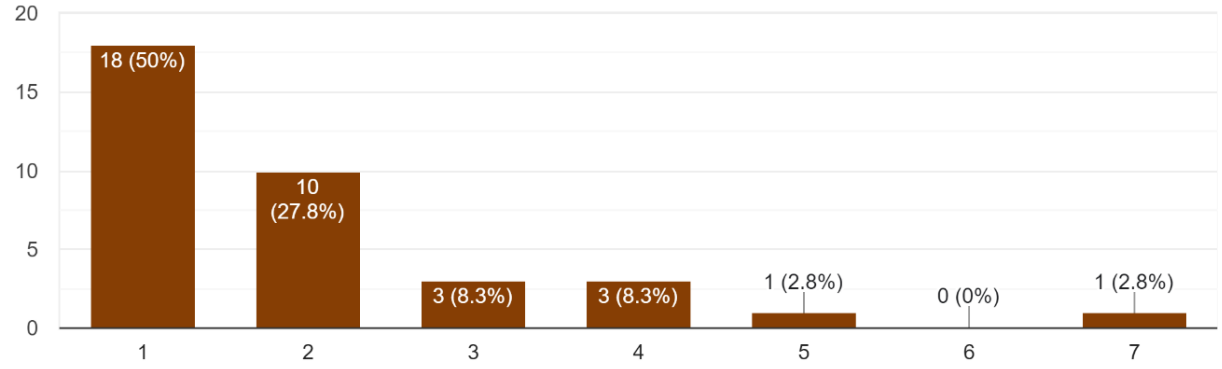
Wie hoch, glauben Sie, ist der Grad der Selbstständigkeit bei Uiguren in München?

36 responses



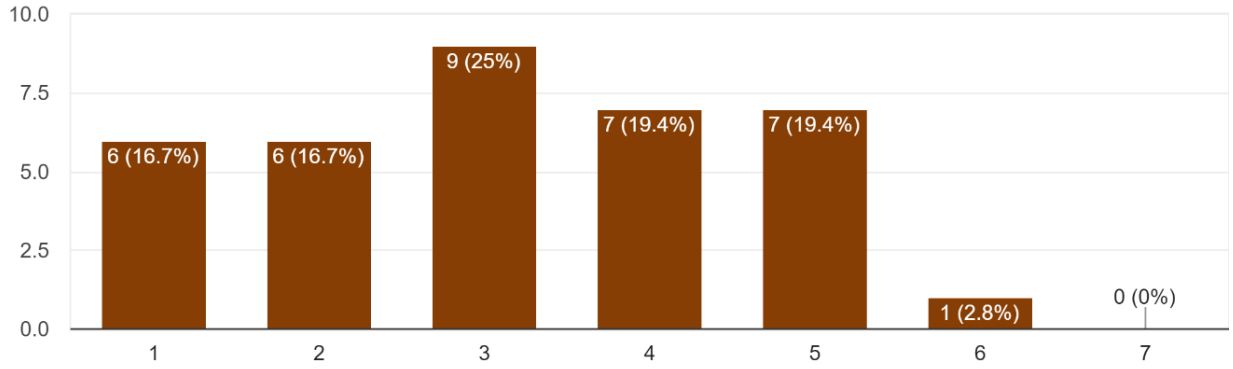
Wie gut sind jeweils die uigurische Sprache in Münchener Massenmedien (TV, Radio, Zeitungen) vertreten?

36 responses



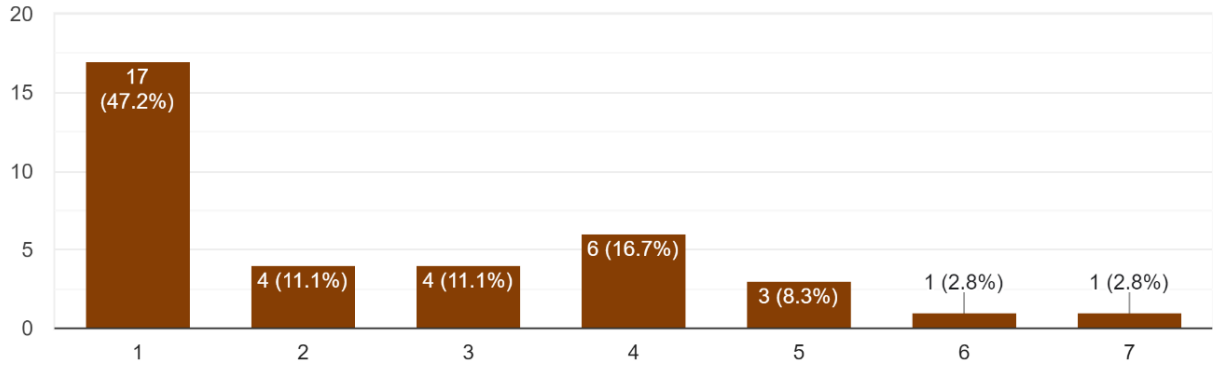
Wie hoch, glauben Sie, sind jeweils Uiguren in München angesehen?

36 responses



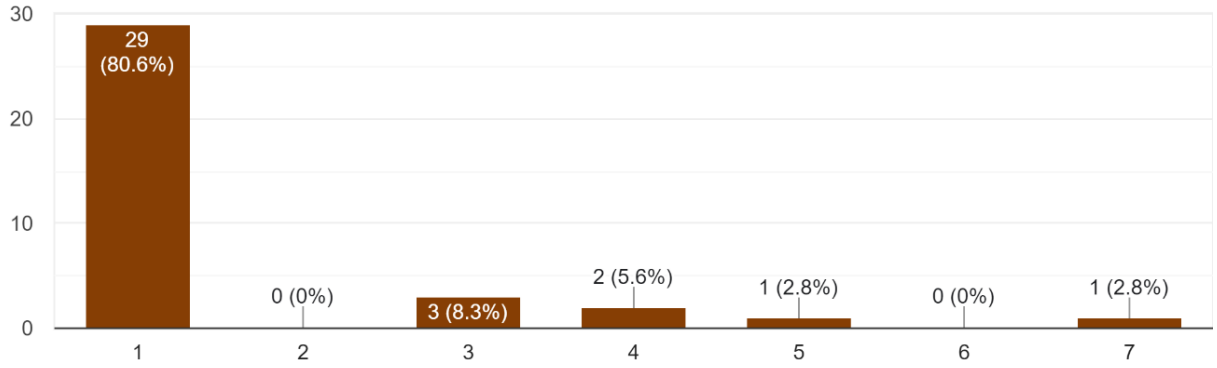
Zu welchem Grad stellen Uiguren die Mehrheit oder Minderheit in den Stadtteilen, in denen sie leben, dar?

36 responses



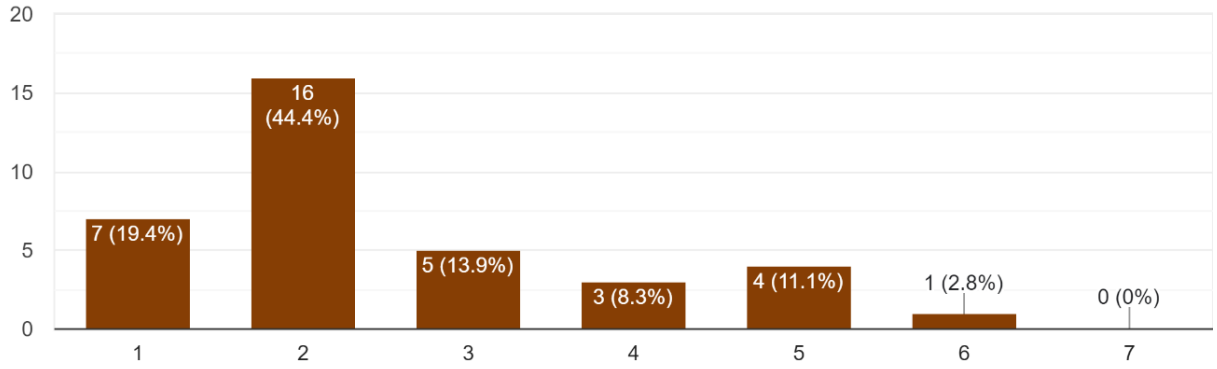
Wie sehr warden die uigurische Sprache an Münchener Schulen gelehrt?

36 responses



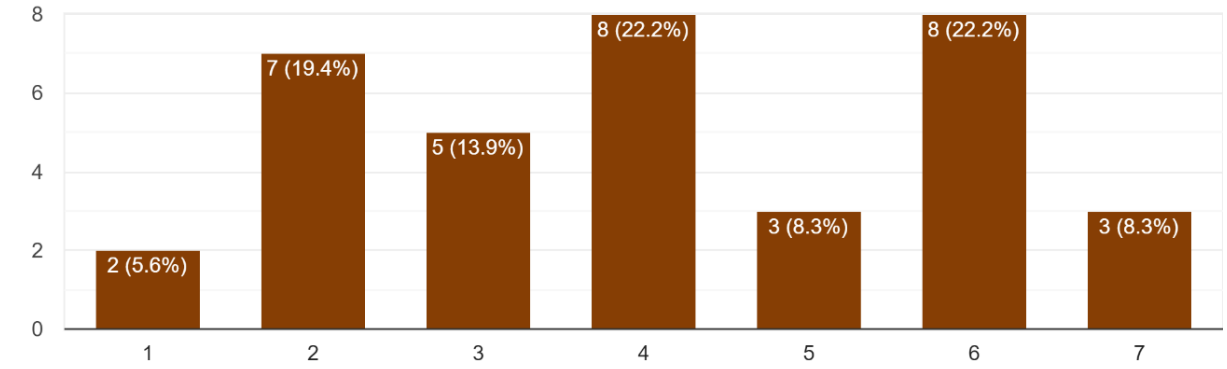
Wie viele Uiguren, glauben Sie, ziehen jährlich nach München?

36 responses



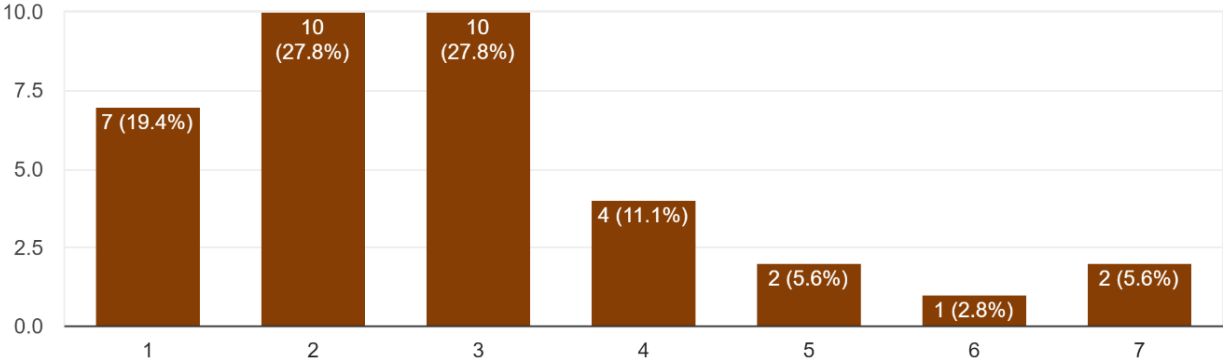
Zu welchem Grad heiraten Uiguren nur innerhalb ihrer eigenen ethnischen Gruppe?

36 responses



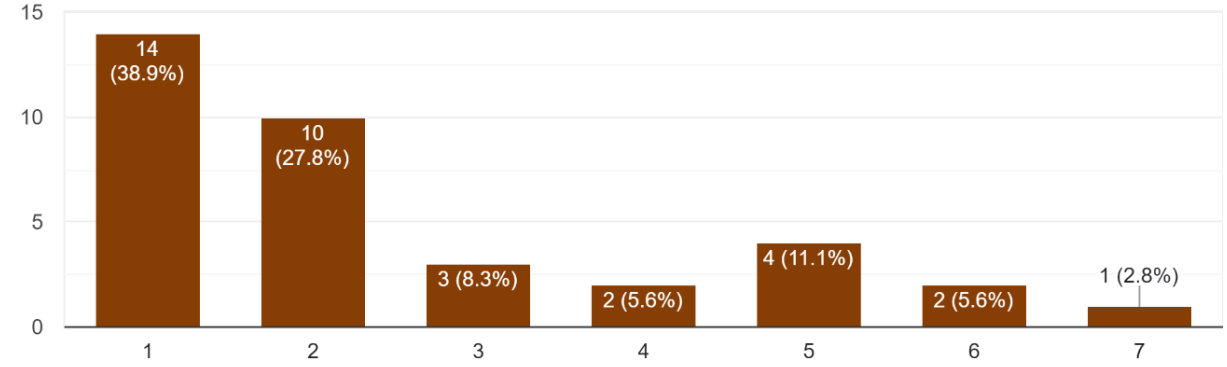
Wie viel politischen Einfluss haben Uiguren in München?

36 responses



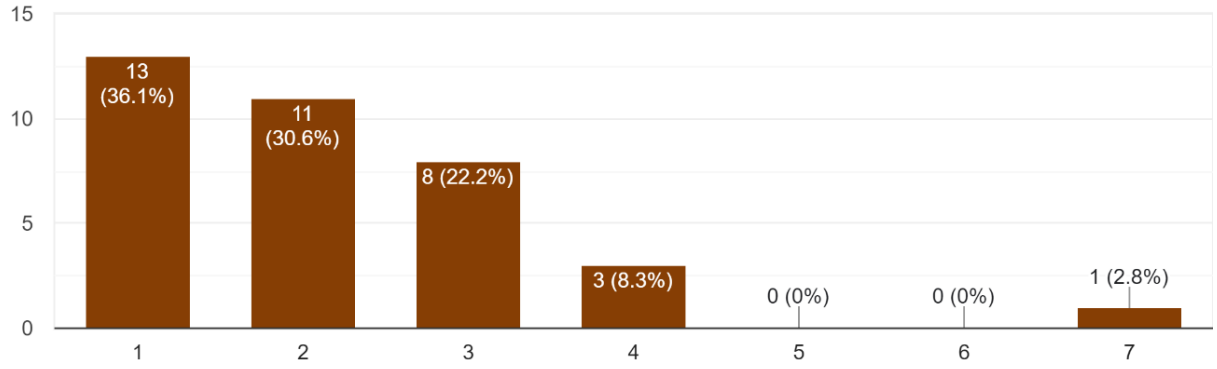
Wie gut ist die uigurische Sprache im privatwirtschaftlichen Sektor Münchens vertreten?

36 responses



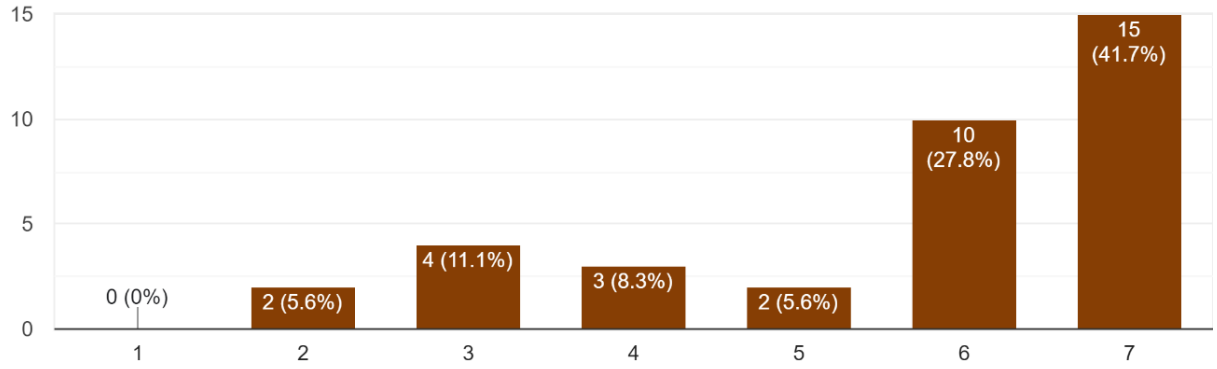
Wie viele Uiguren wander jährlich aus München in andere Länder aus?

36 responses



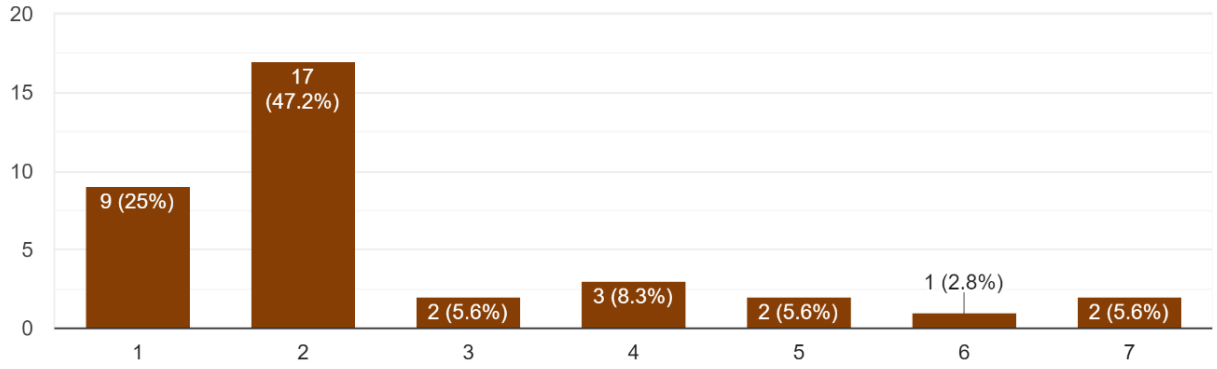
Wie stolz sind Uiguren in München auf ihre kulturelle Geschichte und Leistungen?

36 responses



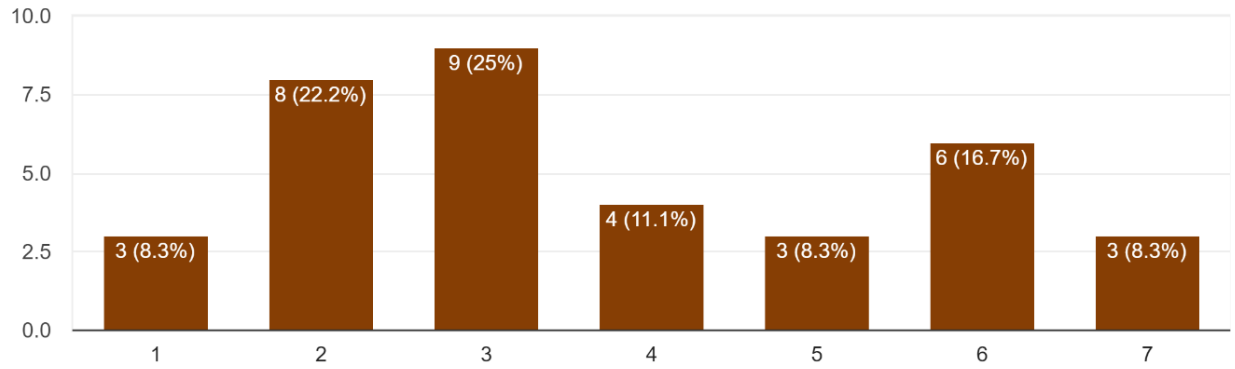
Wie häufig warden die uigurische Sprache in Münchener Gebetshäusern benutzt? (Moschee, Kirche, etc.)

36 responses



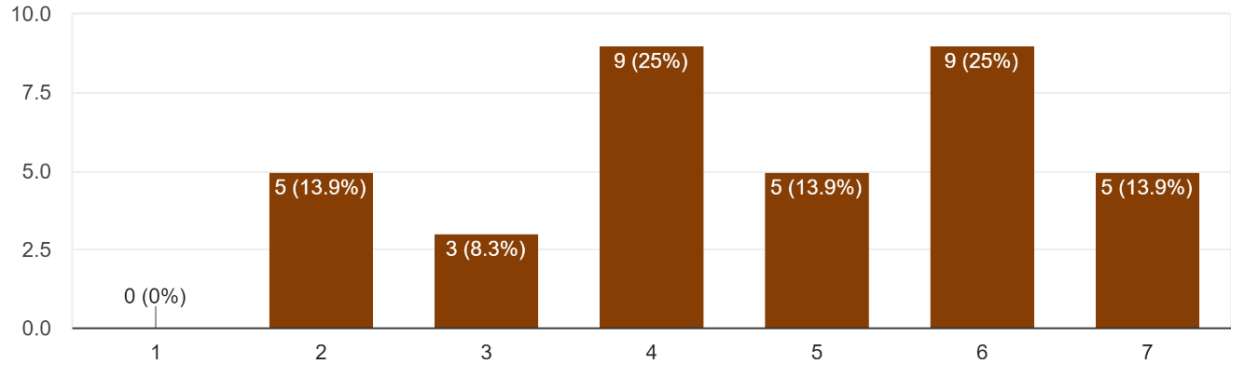
Wie gut, denken Sie, sind Uiguren im kulturellen Leben Münchens repräsentiert? (Festivals, Konzerte, Kunstausstellungen, etc.)

36 responses



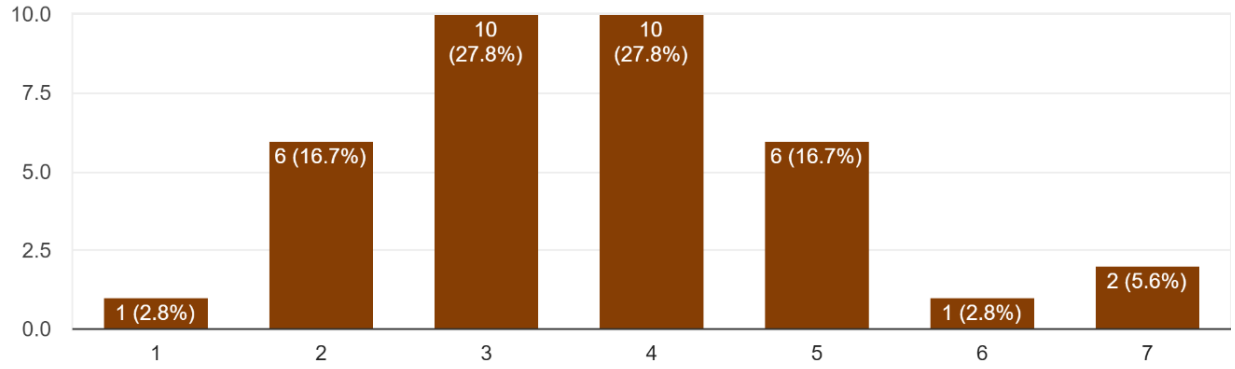
Wie stark und aktiv, glauben Sie, sind Uiguren in München?

36 responses



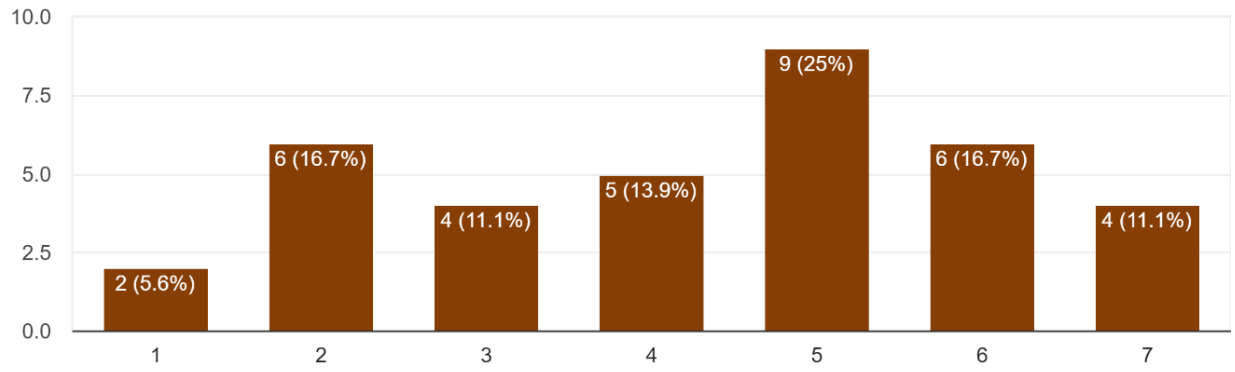
Wie wohlhabend glauben Sie, sind Uiguren in München?

36 responses



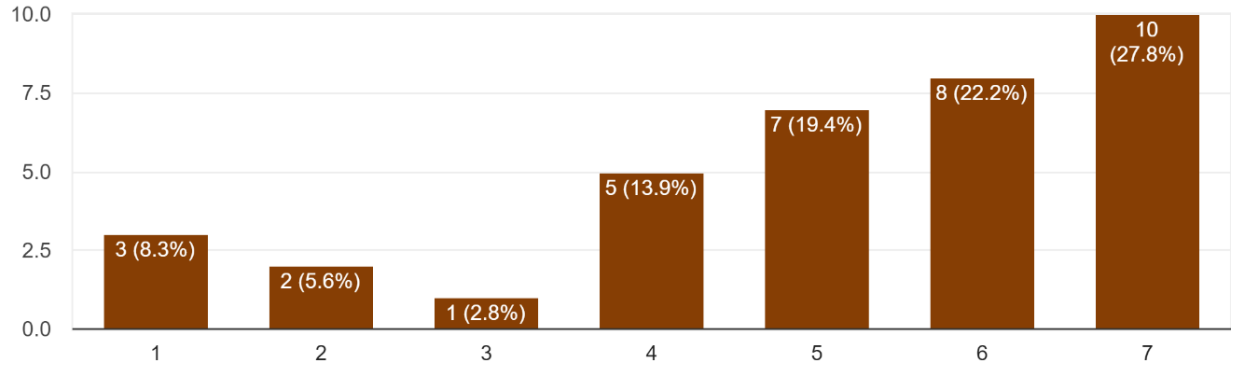
Wie stark und aktiv, glauben Sie, werden Uiguren in 20 (bis 30) Jahren sein?

36 responses



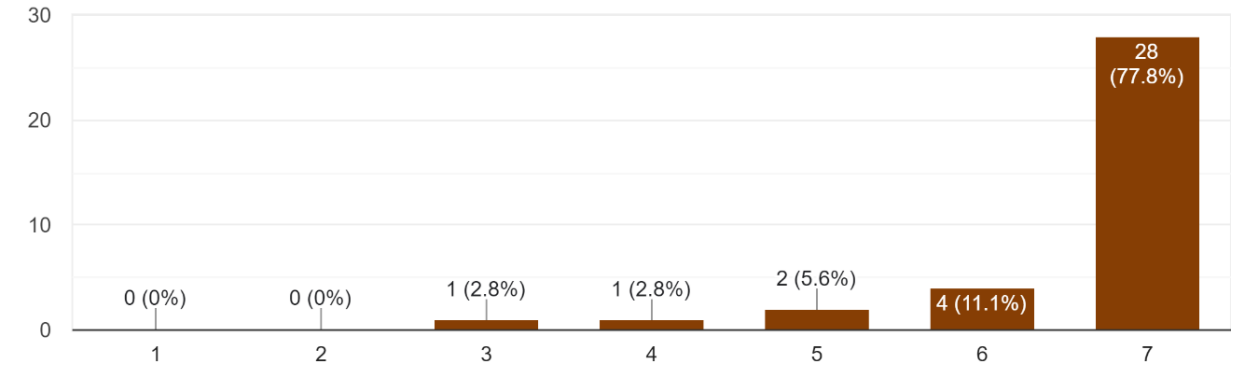
Für wie bedroht halten Sie die uigurische Sprache?

36 responses



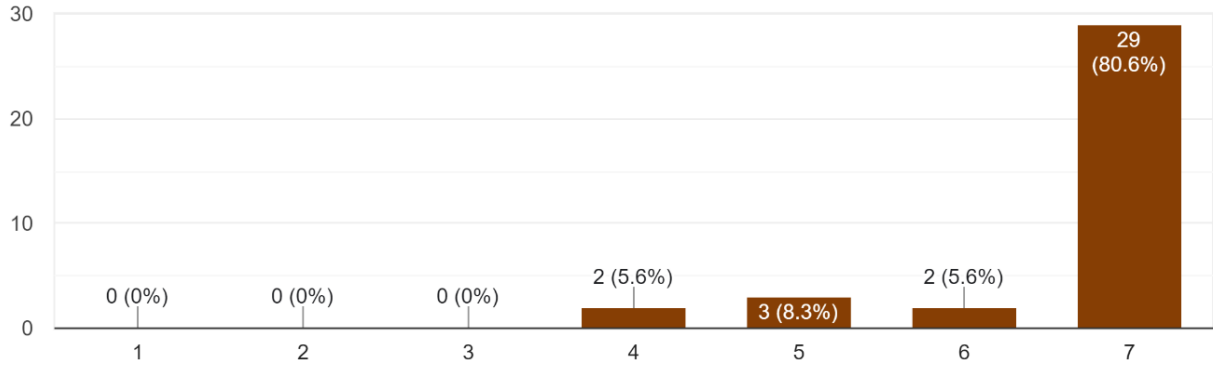
Wie wichtig ist Ihnen die Aufrechterhaltung der uigurischen Sprache?

36 responses



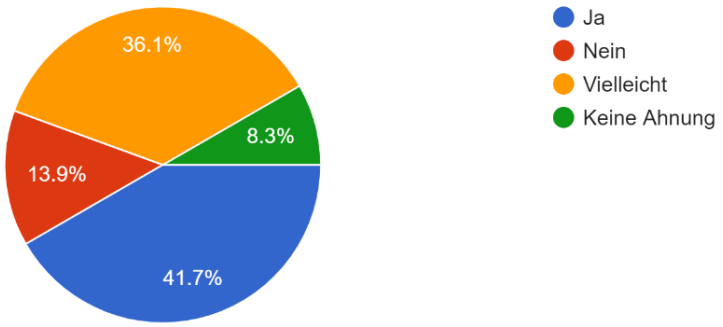
Wie wichtig ist es Ihnen, die uigurische Sprache nachkommenden Generationen beizubringen?

36 responses



Glauben Sie, dass die zweite Generation der Uiguren in München die uigurische Sprache in Zukunft erfolgreich bewahren wird?

36 responses



Appendix 2: Original Subjective Vitality Questionnaire by Bourhis et al. (1981)

1. Estimate the *proportion* of the Melbourne population made up of the following groups:-

People of British descent

0% ____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____: 100%

People of Greek descent

0% ____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____: 100%

2. How highly regarded are the following languages in Melbourne?

Greek

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely highly

English

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely highly

3. How highly regarded are the following languages *internationally*?

English

extremely high ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: not at all

Greek

extremely high ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: not at all

4. How often are the following languages used in Melbourne *government services* (eg., health clinics, social welfare etc.)?

Greek

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusively

English

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusively

5. Estimate the *birth rates* of the following groups in Melbourne:-

People of British descent

decreasing ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: increasing

People of Greek descent

decreasing ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: increasing

6. How much control do the following groups have over *economic* and *business* matters in Melbourne?

People of Greek descent

none at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusive

People of British descent

none at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusive

7. **How well-represented are the following languages in the Melbourne *massmedia* (eg., TV, radio, newspapers)?**

English

extremely well ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: not at all

Greek

extremely well ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: not at all

8. **How highly regarded are the following groups in Melbourne?**

People of British descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely highly

People of Greek descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely highly

9. **In all parts of Melbourne where the following groups live, to what extent are they in the majority or minority?**

People of Greek descent

very small minority ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: very large majority

People of British descent

very small minority ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: very large majority

10. How much are the following languages taught in Melbourne *schools*?

English

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusively

Greek

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusively

11. How many of the following groups *immigrate* into Melbourne each year?

People of Greek descent

very many ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: none at all

People of British descent

very many ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: none at all

12. To what extent do the following *marry only* within their own groups?

People of British descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusively

People of Greek descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusively

13. How much *political* power do the following groups have in Melbourne?

People of Greek descent

complete ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: none at all

People of British descent

complete ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: none at all

14. How well-represented are the following languages in Melbourne *business* institutions?

English

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusively

Greek

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: exclusively

15. How many of the following groups *emigrate from* Melbourne to other countries each year?

People of British descent

very many : : : : : : : none at all

People of Greek descent

very many ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: none at all

16. How proud of their cultural history and achievements are the following groups in Melbourne?

People of Greek descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

People of British descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

17. How frequently are the following languages used in Melbourne *churches* and places of religious worship?

English

exclusively ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: not at all

Greek

exclusively ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: not at all

18. How well-represented are the following groups in the cultural life of Melbourne (e.g., festivals, concerts, art exhibitions)?

People of Greek descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

People of British descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

19. How *strong* and *active* do you feel the following groups are in Melbourne?

People of British descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

People of Greek descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

20. How *wealthy* do you feel the following groups are in Melbourne?

People of British descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

People of Greek descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

21. How *strong* and *active* do you feel the following groups will be 20 to 30 years from now?

People of British descent

not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

People of Greek descent

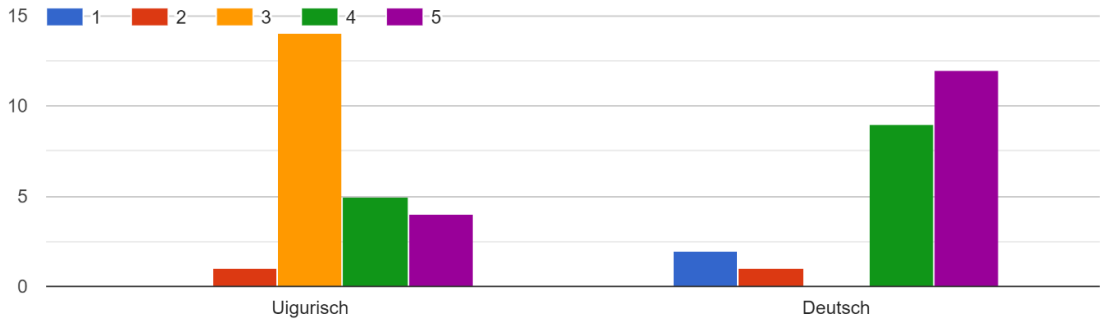
not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: extremely

22. In general, how much contact is there between people of British and Greek descent?

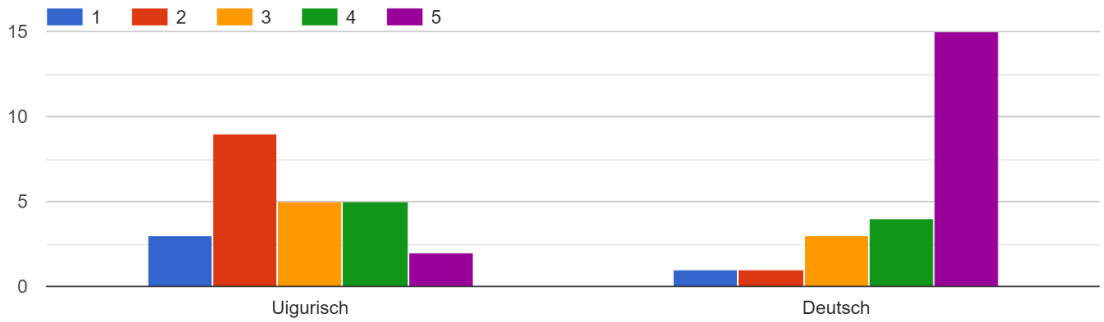
very much ____:____:____:____:____:____:____: none at all.

Appendix 3: Language Rating Scales (Reading, Writing, Speaking, Understanding)

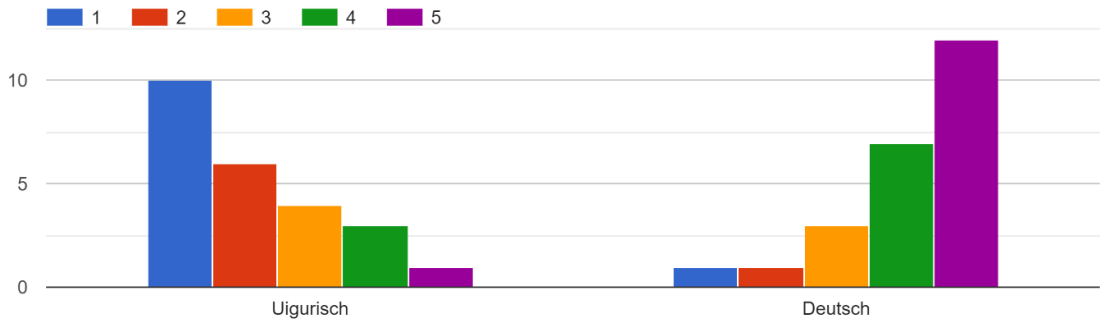
Ich kann eine Anzeige lesen und verstehen.



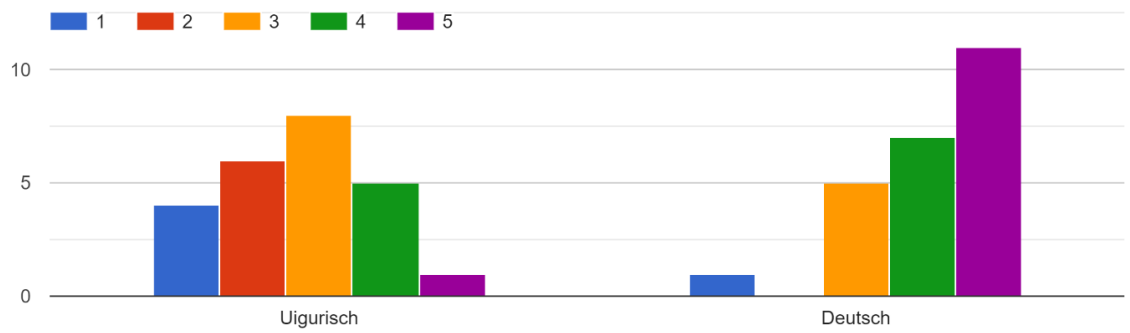
Ich kann die Informationen in einer Broschüre verstehen.



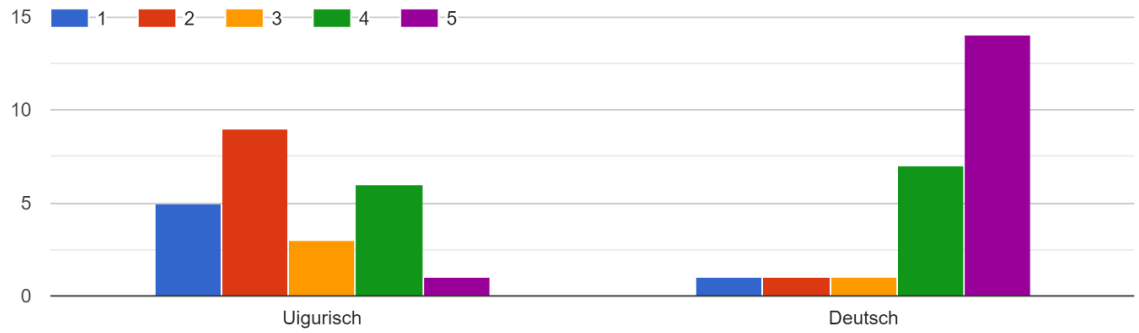
Ich kann die in einem Handbuch oder einem Antragsformular enthaltenen Informationen verstehen.



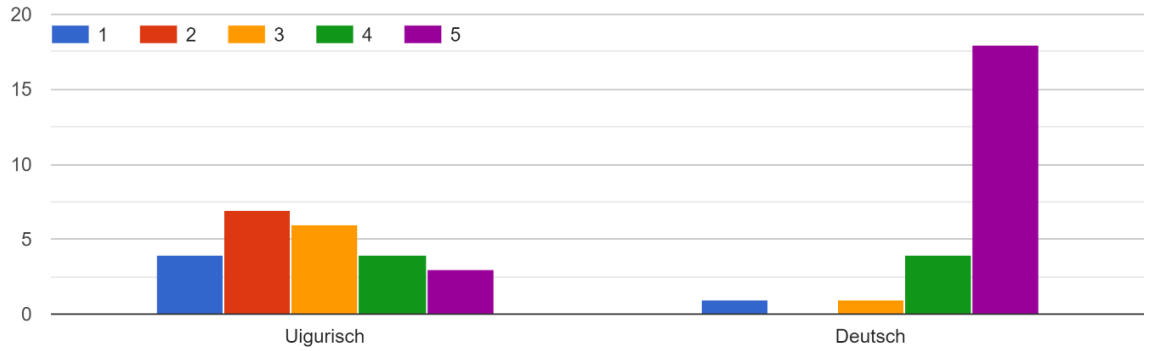
Ich kann ein Gedicht verstehen.



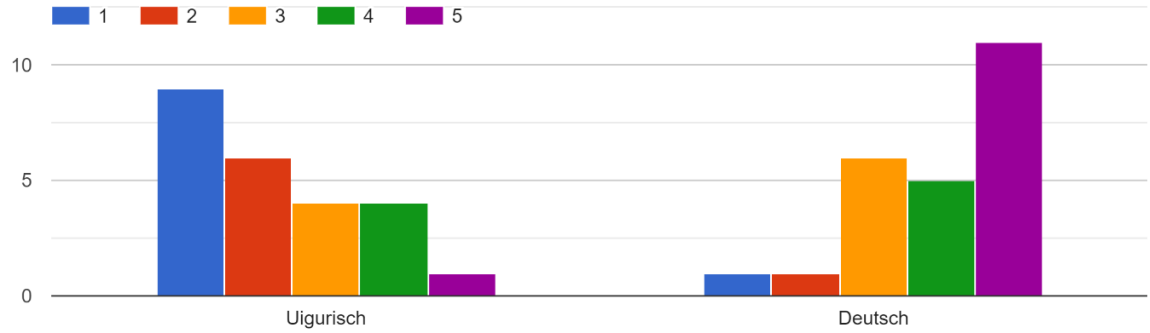
Ich kann eine Zeitung lesen und verstehen.



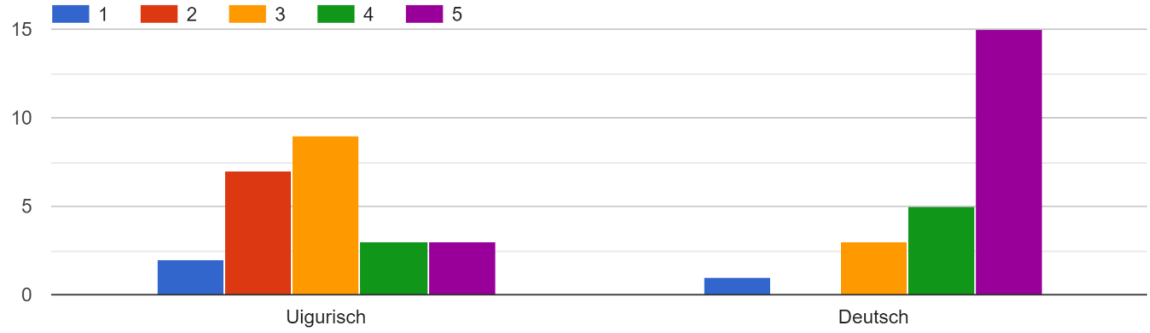
Ich kann ein Buch lesen und verstehen.



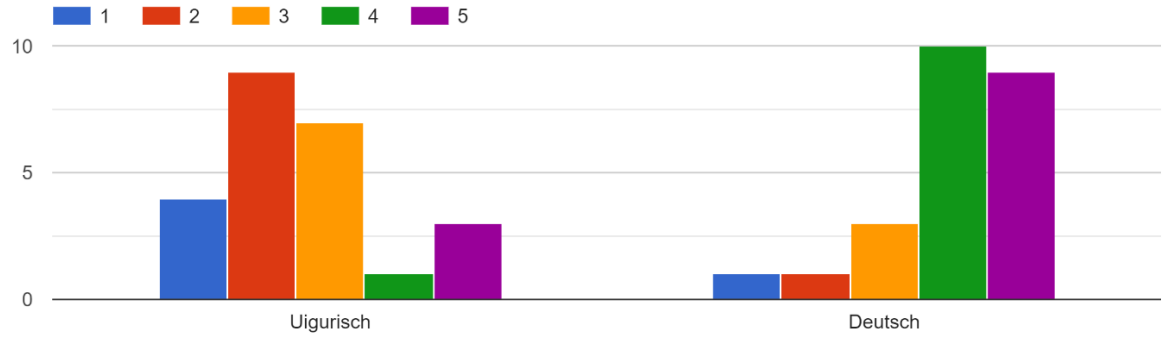
Ich kann registerspezifische Begriffe und Ausdrücke in einem Text verstehen.



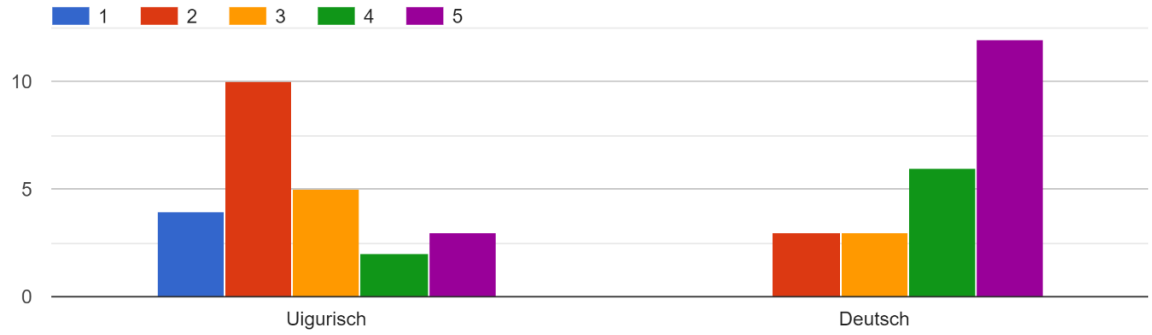
Ich kann die Bedeutung von unbekannten Wörtern in einem Text aus dem Kontext erraten.



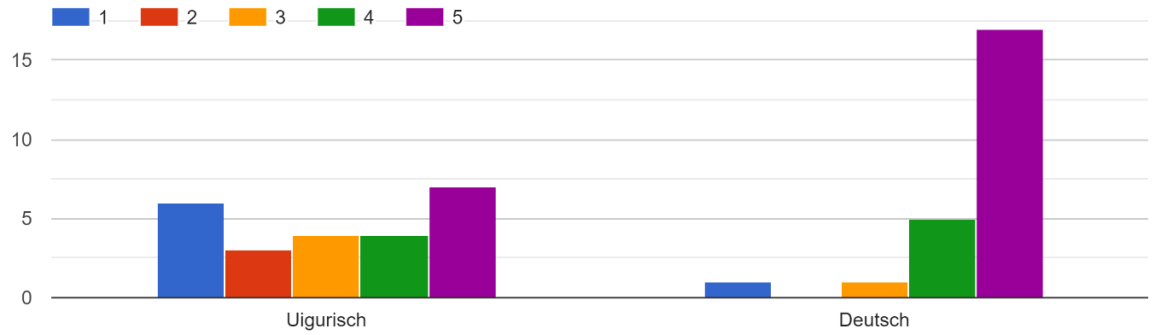
Ich kann die abstrakten Begriffe und Wörter in einem Text verstehen.



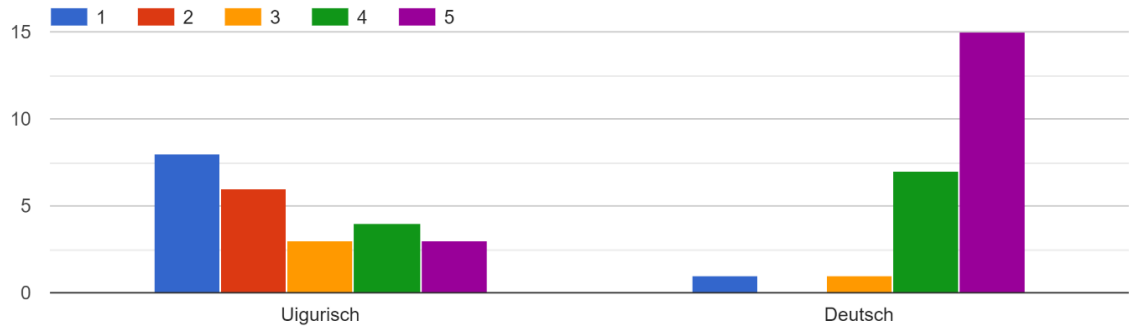
Ich kann Texte mit komplexen Sätzen verstehen.



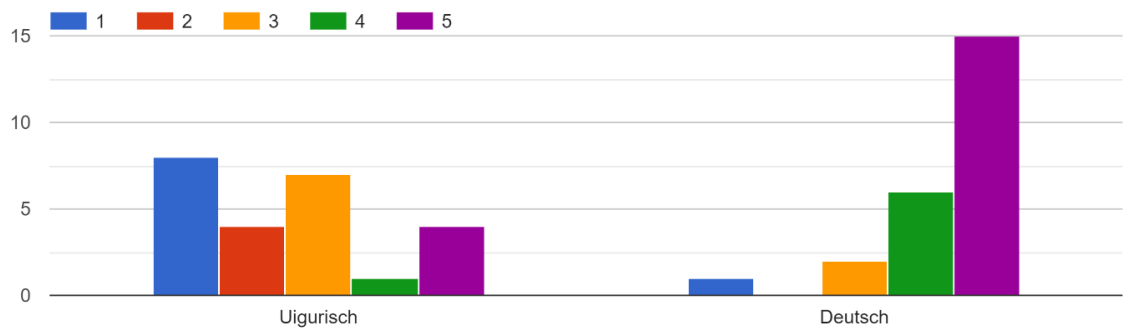
Ich kann einen Brief an Freunde und Verwandte schreiben.



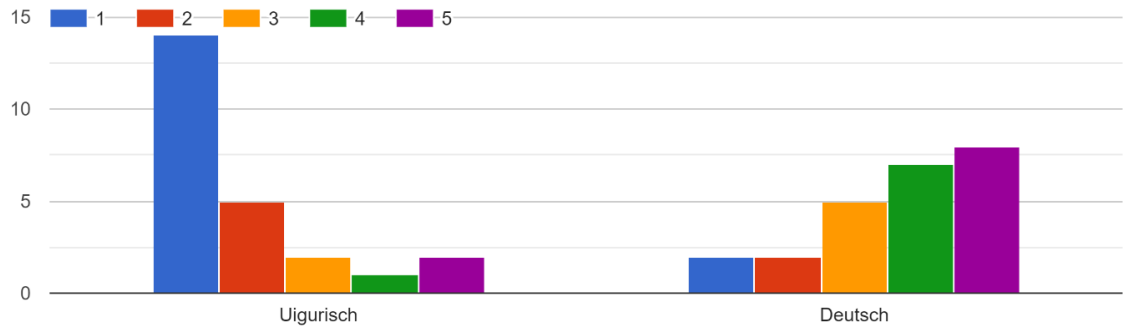
Ich kann ein Bewerbungsformular ausfüllen.



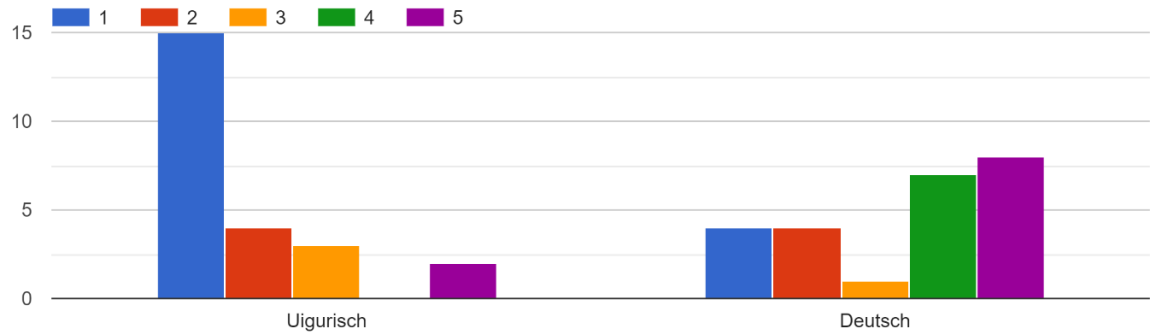
Ich kann meine Meinung schriftlich äußern.



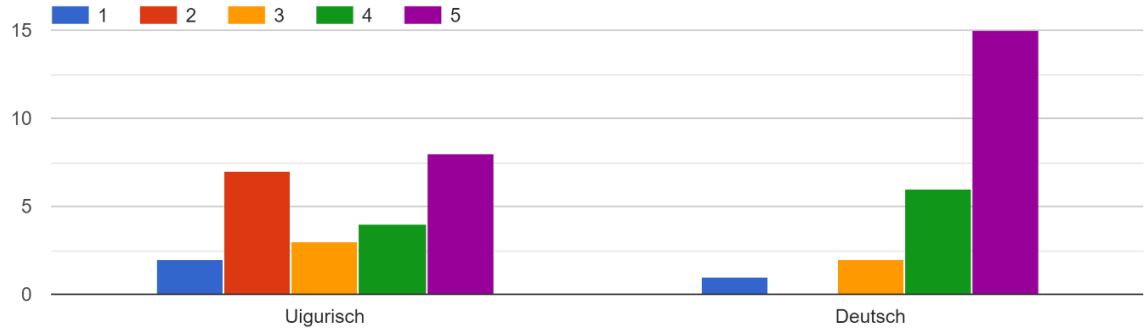
Ich kann einen informativen Text für eine Zeitung schreiben.



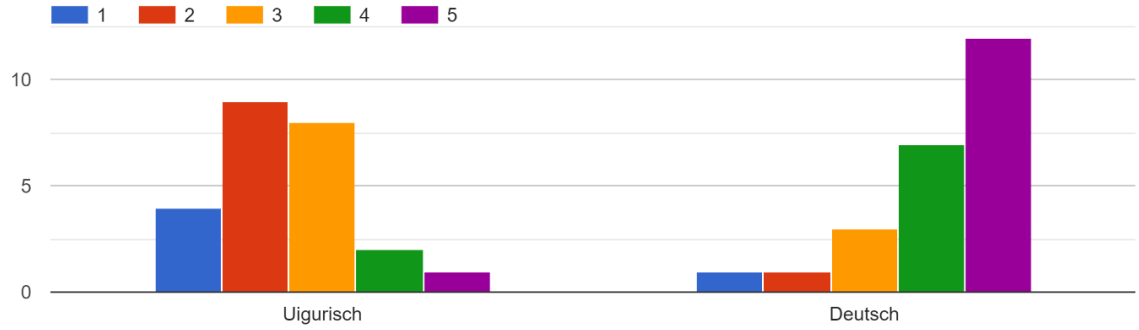
Ich kann ein Gedicht verfassen.



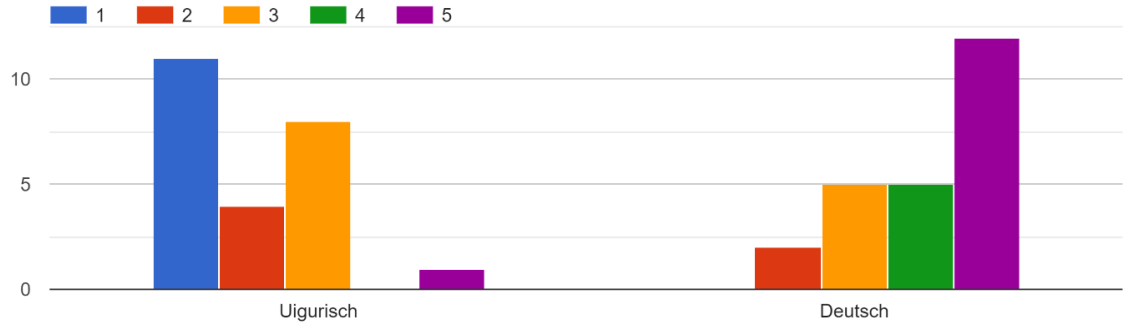
Ich kann die gewünschten Wörter in einem Wörterbuch suchen und finden.



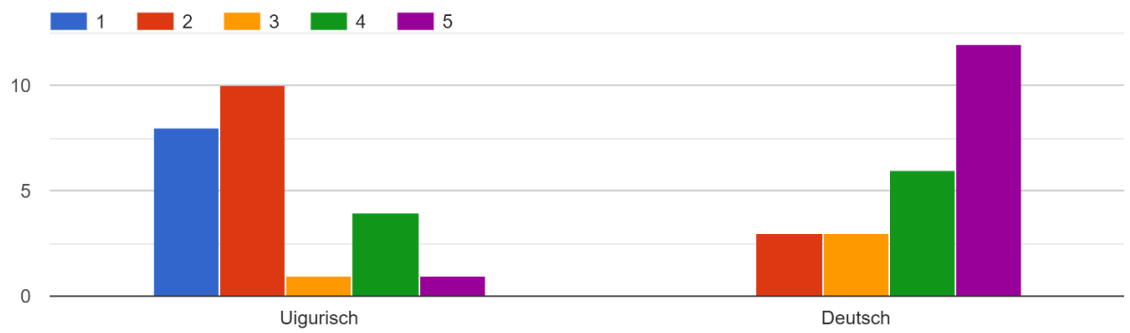
Ich kann Begriffe und Ausdrücke beim Verfassen eines Textes verwenden.



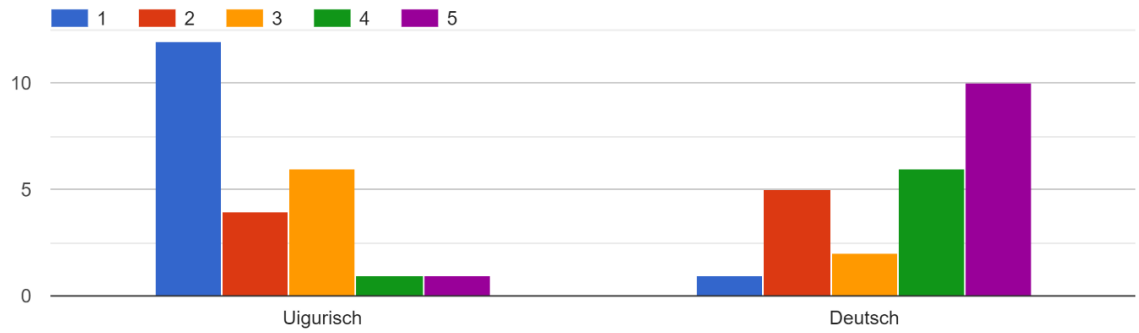
Ich kann beim Schreiben abstrakte Begriffe verwenden.



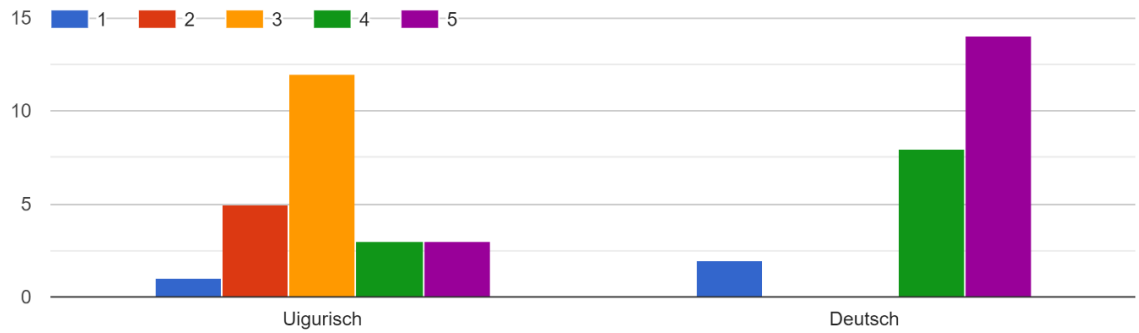
Ich kann in komplexen Sätzen schreiben.



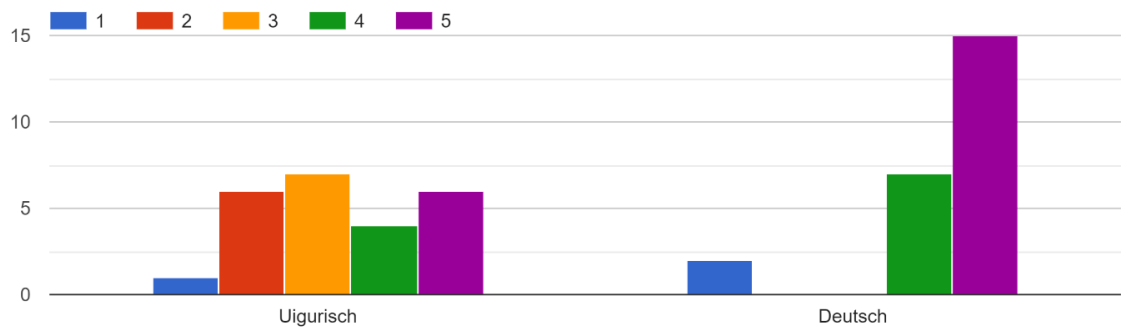
Ich kann einen Geschäftsbrief schreiben.



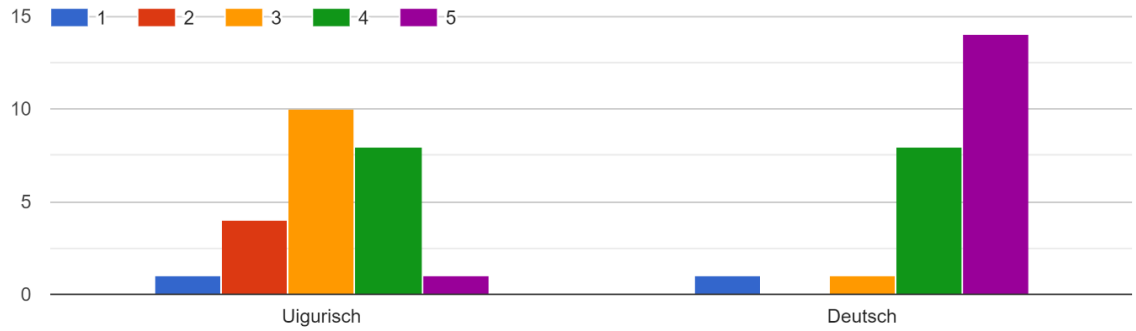
Ich kann meine Gefühle und Meinungen zu einem bestimmten Thema ausdrücken.



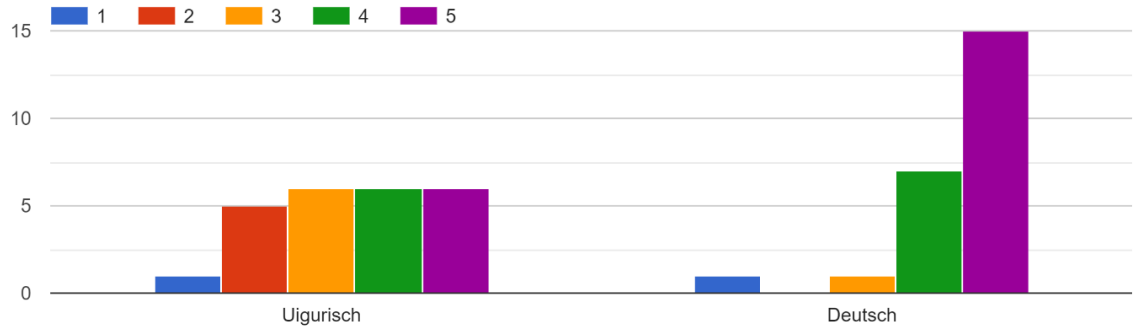
Ich kann um Aufklärung bitten, wenn ich etwas nicht verstehe.



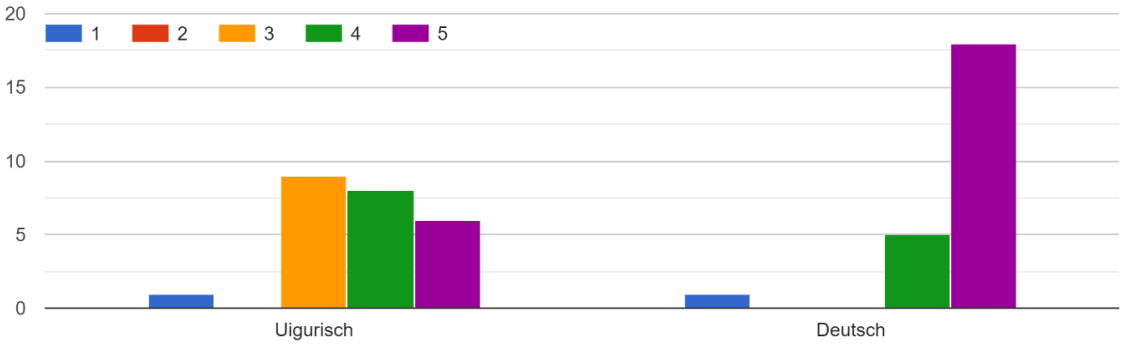
Ich kann meine eigene Sprache korrigieren, wenn ich nicht verstanden werde.



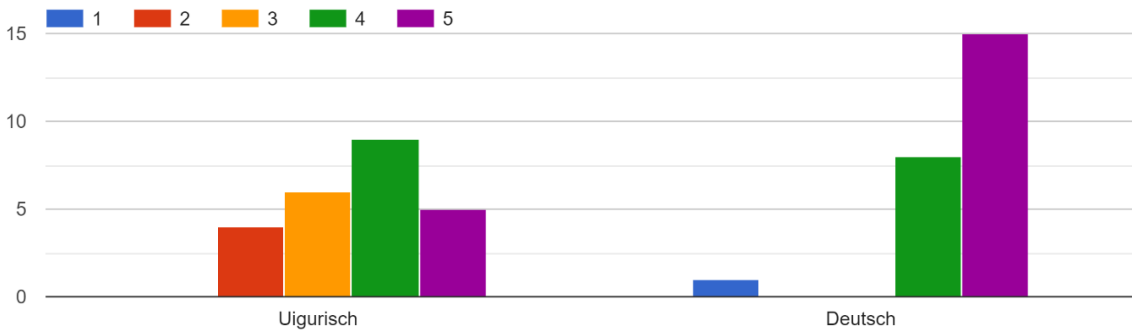
Ich kann eine Entschuldigung anbieten. (mit angemessenen Worten)



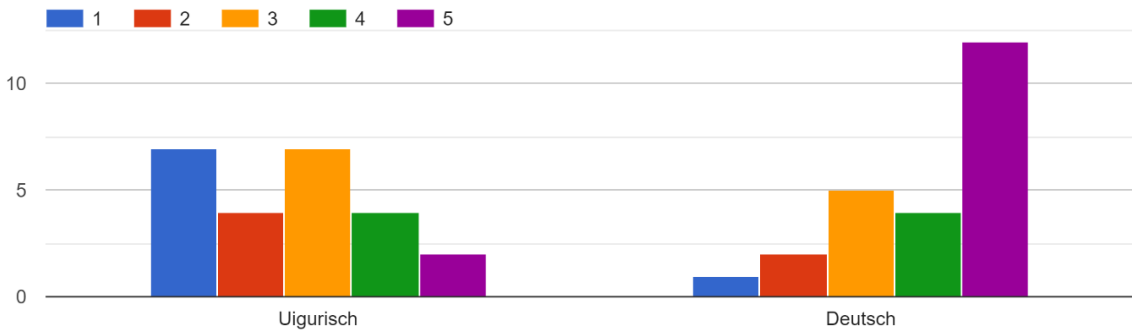
Ich kann um Hilfe bitten oder Hilfe anbieten.



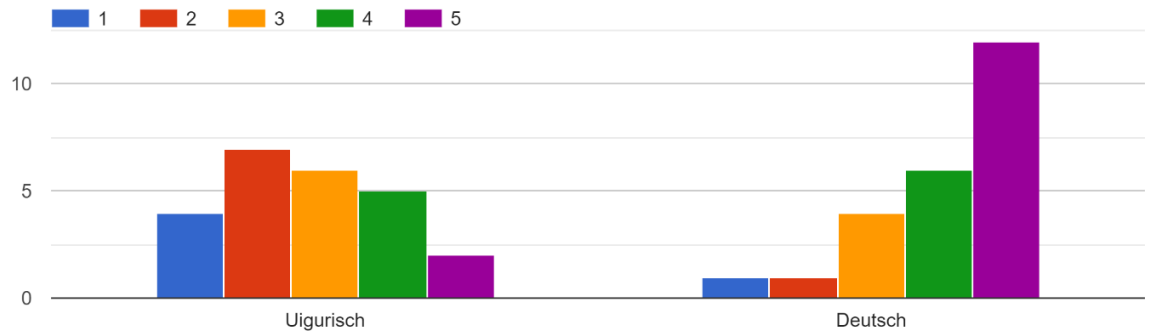
Ich kann die anderen um Informationen bitten.



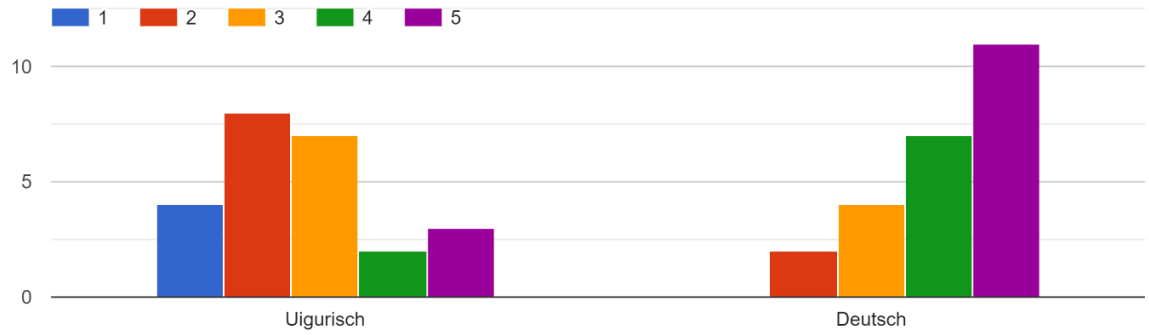
Ich kann abstrakte Wörter in einer Rede verwenden.



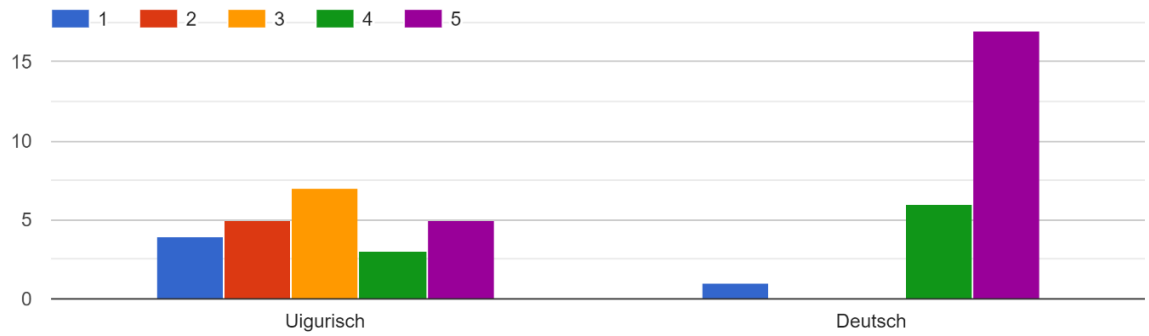
Ich kann beim Sprechen komplexe Sätze bilden.



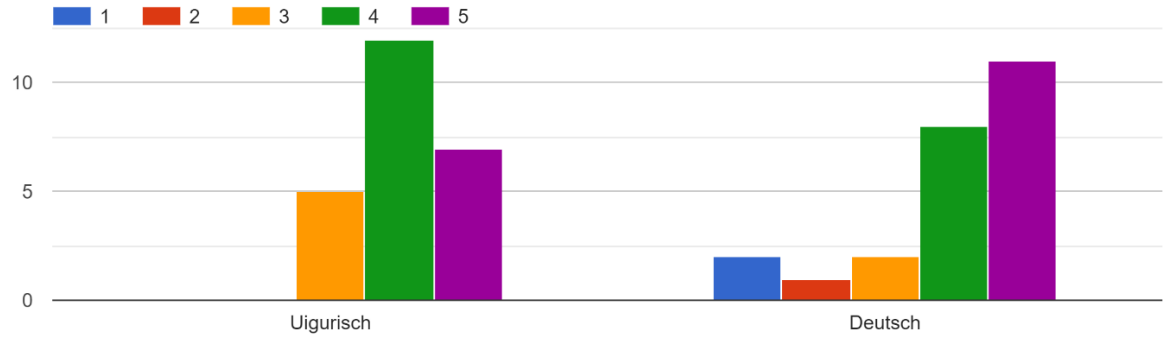
Ich kann idiomatische Ausdrücke und Sprichwörter in der Sprache verwenden.



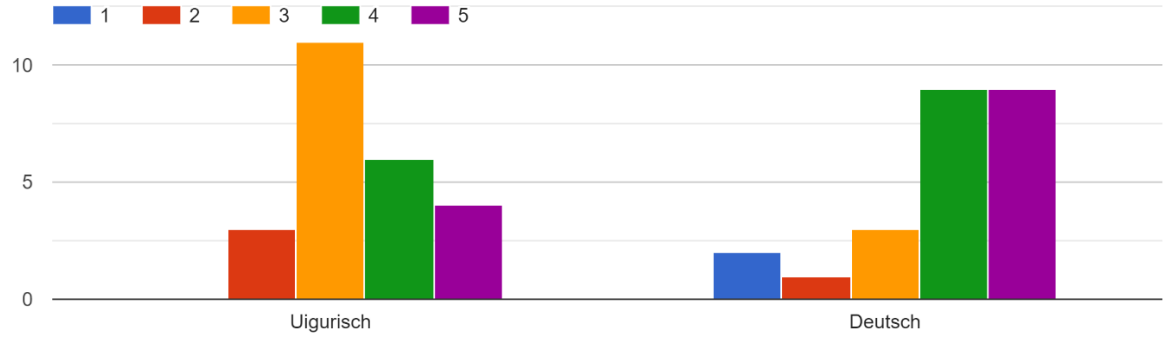
Ich kann Witze machen, wenn ich spreche.



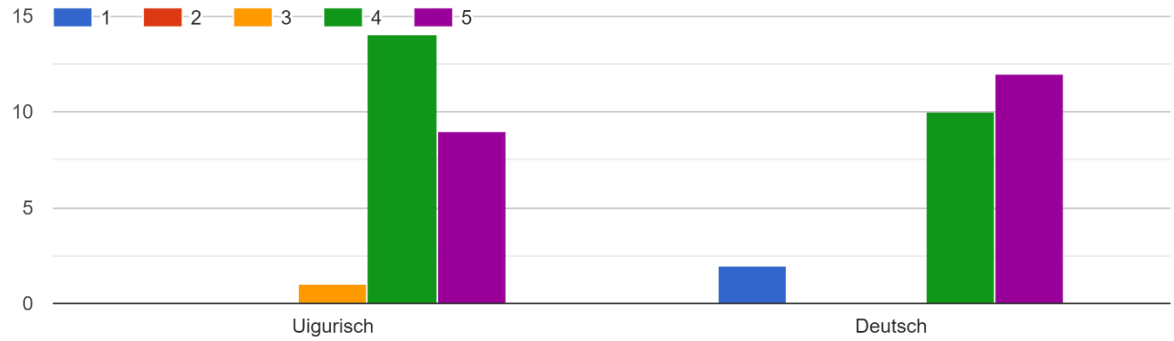
Ich kann ein einfaches Gespräch oder eine Geschichte aus dem Zusammenhang heraus verstehen.



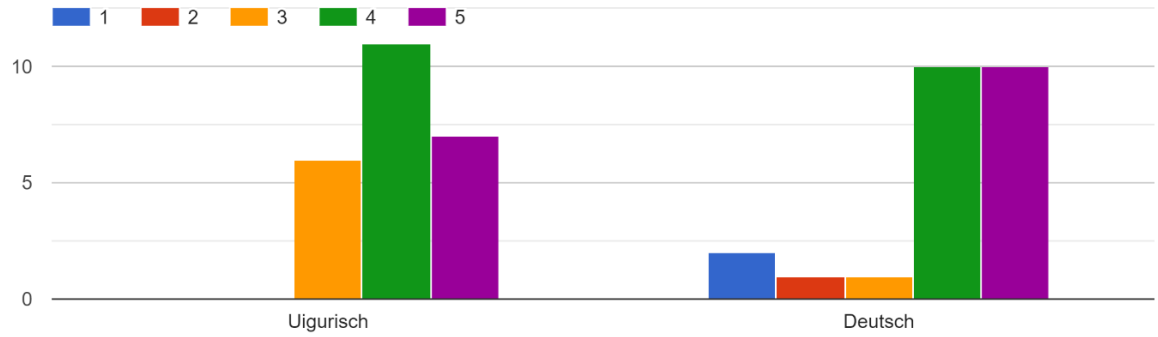
Ich kann die Bedeutung von unbekannten Wörtern in einer Rede aus dem Kontext erraten.



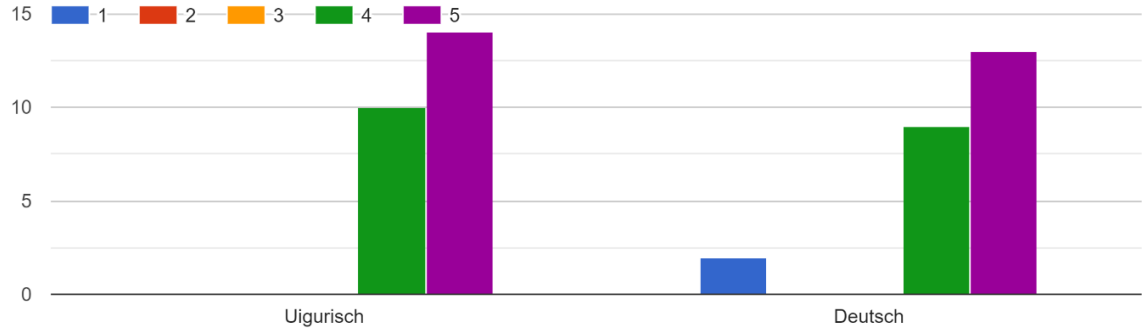
Ich kann die negative oder positive Meinung einer Person zu einem bestimmten Thema verstehen.



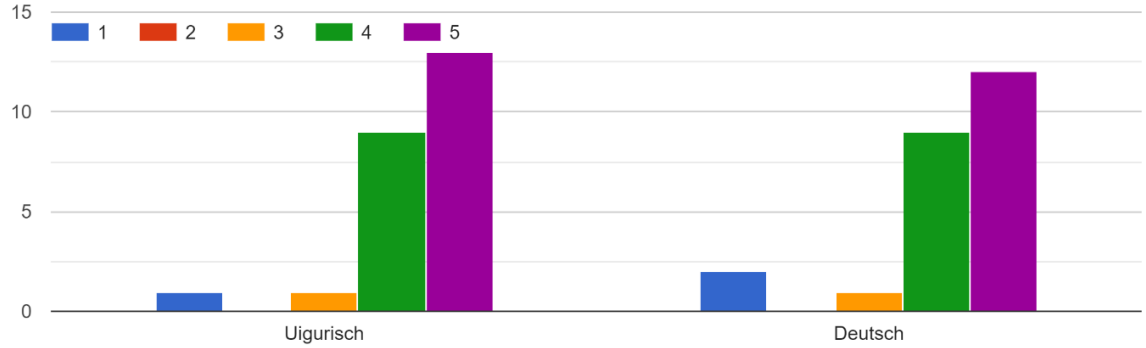
Ich kann eine Reihe von Ereignissen verstehen, die in einer Rede erklärt werden.



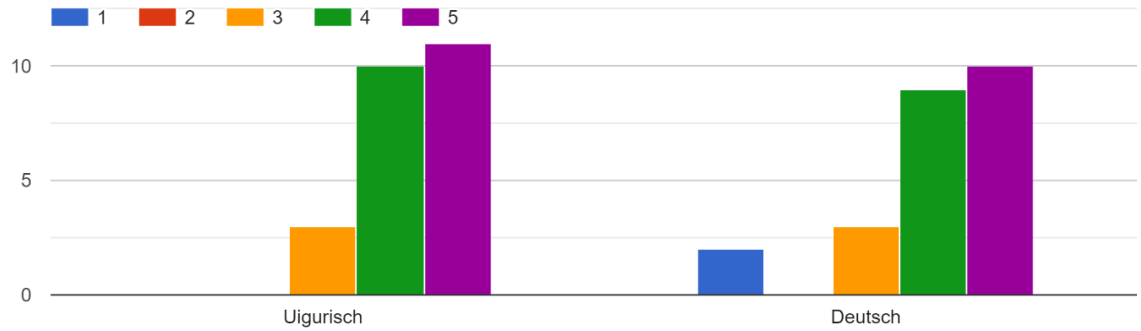
Ich kann eine Entschuldigung verstehen.



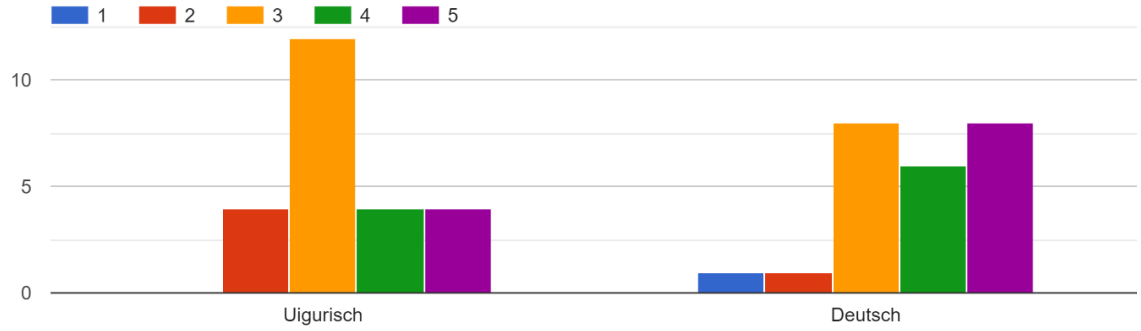
Ich kann einen Vorschlag oder eine Bitte um Hilfe verstehen.



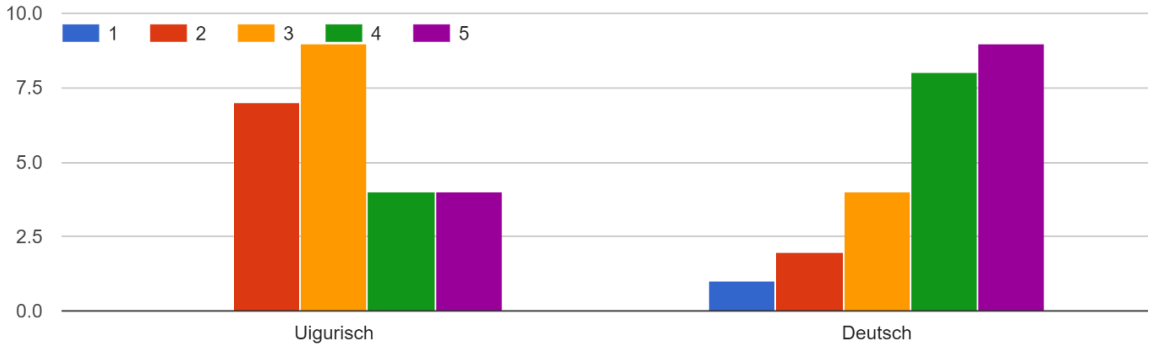
Ich kann den Wunsch oder die Forderung von jemandem zu einem bestimmten Thema verstehen.



Ich kann abstrakte Wörter und Konzepte verstehen.



Ich kann komplizierte Sätze verstehen.



Ich kann idiomatische Ausdrücke und Sprichwörter verstehen.

