

Concoctions

In the Introduction I mentioned three nineteenth-century English neologisms: *birdlore*, *foreword*, and *folklore*. What happened to them? While *birdlore* sank without trace, so completely have *foreword* and *folklore* been accepted into the language that few are aware that they were deliberate inventions. There are parallels in Turkish. Many neologisms have passed away, such as *utku* for 'victory', *tün* for 'night', *yazgaç* for 'pen'. On the other hand, a great many neologisms have become so much a part of the Turkish vocabulary that they are used even by the most vehement opponents of the reform, either because they do not recognize that they are inventions or because they know that the older words will not be understood by a mass audience or mass readership. People nowadays say *genel* because it is the only word they have for 'general', *umumî* being close to obsolescence, though *umumiyetle* is still used for 'generally' alongside *genellikle*. Some neologisms survive but with meanings other than their inventors intended. *Folklor* is current in Turkey for 'folklore', though young people use it for 'folk dancing'. The invention proposed in *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) for *tayyare* 'aeroplane' was *uçku*, which did not win popular favour, perhaps because it was too reminiscent of *uçkur* 'trouser-belt, pyjama-cord'. *Uçak*, now the only word for 'aeroplane', was originally offered in *Cep Kılavuzu* as a replacement for *tayyare meydanı* 'airfield'.

One would have expected the Language Society to keep records of who invented which neologism and when, but it does not. The result is that, while information about the origin of this or that word may occasionally be gleaned from scholarly works, one is mostly thrown back on anecdotal evidence, either oral or in popular books and articles with no scholarly pretensions. Nor has the Society yet got round to producing the dictionary on historical principles that has been high on its list of priorities since its inception. At the head of the title-page of the first *Tarama Sözlüğü* (1943–57) are the words 'Türkiye Türkçesinin Tarihi Sözlüğü Hazırlıklarından' (Part of the Preparations for the Historical Dictionary of the Turkish of Turkey), but they do not appear in the second (1963–77). Two non-Turkish scholars have gone a long way towards filling the gap, Sir Gerard Clauson with his *Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (1972), and Gerhard Doerfer with his *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (1963–75); why has the Society done nothing? Certainly one reason is that the scholars who should have got on with the task in the middle 1930s were reluctant to follow the ethos of the time by ascribing Turkish origins to words that they well

knew to be Arabic or Persian. Happily, the Society announced in 1995 that the preparation of a historical dictionary was once more on the agenda. İnşallah, we shall see.

It will be remembered that three methods were prescribed for producing the words required to make Turkish independent of foreign vocabulary: drawing on the resources of the spoken language (why say ‘commence’ when you can say ‘begin?’), and of old texts (why say ‘Parliament’ when you can resurrect ‘Wite-nagemot?’), and compounding existing words and suffixes (why use ‘ornithology’ when you can manufacture¹ ‘birdlore?’). But in addition—though the Society seems never to have sanctioned, much less prescribed, this fourth method officially—the reformers felt free to use their imagination to invent replacements for the doomed Arabic and Persian words. To enlist the help of Lewis Carrol for this final example, why say ‘a white badger with long hind legs and stag-like horns, living chiefly on cheese’ when you can fabricate ‘tove’?

The Society published a number of works offering guidance on how to create neologisms.² Few of the reformers seem to have paid much attention to them, or to Sayılı’s (1978) brilliant study. The sad truth is that a great many of the new words were the work of people with no qualifications for the job, a category that included a number of the Society’s salaried experts.

Nihad Sâmî Banarlı, who was a consultant to TDK’s Technical Terms Commission, tells of an incident at the Sixth Kurultay, in 1949, which did not find its way into the published proceedings (Banarlı 1967). A question was asked from the floor about the principle governing the formation of new technical terms. The ensuing embarrassed silence was eventually broken by Saim Ali Dilemre, the chairman of the Linguistics and Etymology Commission. An amiable doctor of medicine, not of language, he could stand it no longer: ‘Arkadaşlar, kemküm etmiyelim. Bizim prensipimiz mirensipimiz yoktu, uyduruyorduk!’ (Friends! Let’s not beat about the bush. We had no principle or anything of that sort. We’ve been making them up as we went along!).

Incidentally, one of TDK’s two stock responses when accused of *uydurma*, ‘faking’ (the other being to deny it) was to claim to be continuing a long-established Ottoman practice. Many Ottoman words were in fact manufactured by Turks. *Nezakat* ‘politeness’ looks Arabic but was made in Turkey from the Persian *nâzûk*, which Turks spell *nazik* and pronounce /nâzik/, as if it were an Arabic present participle like *kâtip* ‘writer’. Another such Turkish creation was *felâket* ‘catastrophe’, on the same Arabic pattern as *nezaket*, from *maflûk*, which, although it appears in dictionaries of modern Arabic as well as of Persian, is not classical Arabic but a Persian invention, quasi-Arabic for ‘afflicted’, made from the

¹ The Language Society did not talk about ‘manufacturing’ but ‘derivation’, *türetme*. The Society’s opponents prefer *uydurma* ‘making up, faking’ and some of them call *Öztürkçe* ‘Uydurukça’ (Fakeish), or ‘Kurumca’ (Turk Dil Kurumu-ish).

² Ağakay (1943), Atalay (1946), Dizdaroğlu (1962), Korkmaz (1969), Özdemir (1973), Hatiboğlu (1974).

Arabic *falak* 'celestial sphere' and so 'destiny'.³ In the main, Ottoman creations were made from Arabic roots in accordance with the rules of Arabic. It was not an Arab but a Turk who was responsible for *tahtelbahir* 'submarine' ('under the sea', whereas the Arabs use *ğawwāsa* 'diver'). The identity of one such inventor is known: *tayyare* 'aeroplane' was derived from the Arabic *ṭāra* 'to fly' by Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç, an educationalist and minor poet (1884–1967).⁴

Critics of the Society called it 'Alaylılar Derneği' (The Regimentals' Association). *Alaylılar* was an old-fashioned term for army officers risen from the ranks, as distinct from *Mektepliler*, officers who had been through military school. Gültekin (1983: 73–4) defends the former, not very persuasively:

Atatürk, dil çalışmalarını sadece uzmanların işi olarak görmedi. Uzmanların yalnız başlarına bunu başarmaları mümkün değildi. Amaç, konuşma dili ile yazı dili arasındaki farklılığı ortadan kaldırmak, halkın konuştuğu dili geliştirmek olunca, bu çalışmalara bütün bilim ve kültür emekçilerinin, hatta halkın da katılması bir zorunluluktur. Osmanlıcanın tasfiyesi ve Türkçenin geliştirilmesi demokratik bir gelişmeydi. Halkın dil çalışmalarına katılması, bu demokratik gelişmenin sonucudur.

Atatürk did not see working on language just as the business of the experts. It was not possible for the experts to make a success of this on their own. Since the aim was to eliminate the difference between the spoken and the written language and to enhance the language spoken by the people, it was essential that all who laboured in the fields of scholarship and culture, and even the people as well, should participate. The purging of Ottoman and the advancement of Turkish was a democratic advance. The people's participation in the work on language is the consequence of this democratic advance.

There are two flaws in the argument. The first is that most people's participation in the language reform was limited to answering the village schoolmaster's questions, and can rarely have gone beyond 'Round here we don't say spades, we call 'em shovels'.⁵ The second is that there was no excuse for denying the *mektepliler* a voice in vetting the contributions of all the people, including those who laboured in fields of scholarship other than language—in this context, the *alaylılar*. The trouble with the *alaylılar* was that they tended to resort to inventing words unnecessarily, because they gave up too soon on trying to make words from Turkish roots and Turkish suffixes, not having thought deeply enough about either.

³ The adverbial use of the Arabic accusative ending (*tanwīn*), as in *resmen* 'officially' and *şeklen* 'in form', gave rise to some solecisms: from Persian *pişin* 'in advance' came *peşinen* with the same meaning, as well as an Arabic feminine plural *peşinat* 'down payment'; from Turkish *ayrı* 'separate' came *ayrıyeten* 'separately'. More recently, from the Western *culture* and *normal* came *kültüren* (culturally) and *normalen* (normally), both still heard. Then there is *yakinen*, good Ottoman for 'certainly', often used nowadays to mean 'closely', as if it were not from Arabic *yaqīn* (certain) but Turkish *yakın* (near).

⁴ Some of these Turkish inventions were adopted into Arabic. *Ṭayyāra*, for example, is the usual word for aeroplane in spoken Arabic, though in the written language *ṭāira* is preferred.

⁵ One recent contribution made to the language by the people is the growing use of 'Alo'—the 'Hallo' one says when answering the telephone—to mean 'telephone number'; it can be seen preceding the number on shop fronts and even on police cars. An older contribution was *cankurtaran*, literally 'life-saver', for 'ambulance'.

In the early days of the reform, however, someone must have thought to good effect about the suffix *-i* which, added to verb-stems, had made nouns or adjectives such as *yazı* 'writing', *dizi* 'line, row', *dolu* 'full', *ölü* 'dead'. That someone—who, to be fair, may for all we know have been an *alaylı*—had the idea of adding it to more verb-stems. Already in 1934 *Tarama Dergisi* gave *kazı* (from *kaz-* 'to dig') for *hafriyat* [A] 'excavation', and *anı* (from *an-* 'to call to mind') for *hatıra* [A] 'memoire, reminiscence'. The *Kamus* gives 'tercüme etmek' (to translate) as one of the senses of *çevirmek* 'to turn', but *çeviri* 'translation' is not in *Tarama Dergisi*—i.e. it was created after 1934. So were *başarı* 'success', from *başarmak* 'to succeed',⁶ and many other benign neologisms. *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) gave *konu*, from *kon-* 'to be placed', as '= 1. Saded, mevzu; 2. Husus, bab' ('scope', 'subject', 'matter', 'chapter'). *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri* (1942) came down in favour of it as the equivalent for *mevzu* 'subject', which by now it has largely replaced.⁷

It must be emphasized that the neologisms singled out here for criticism are in a minority, though a large one; most of those made by compounding existing words and suffixes are blameless. For 'computer', *bilgisayar* 'bit-of-information counter' is neater than the earlier *elektronik beyin* 'electronic brain' or *kompiüter*, *altyapı*, literally 'under-structure', is surely preferable to the French borrowing *enfrastrüktür* and, if *netice* [A] 'end, result' had to go, its replacement *sonuç* 'latter end' is not at all bad. Nor is *çağırışım* 'association of ideas', a calque on *tedai* [A], both meaning 'mutual calling'. *Tekel* 'single-hand', one of Aksoy's coinages, has replaced *inhisar* 'monopoly'. And there are many more, ingeniously and regularly formed and not intrinsically unattractive.

English, unlike Turkish, is an unreformed language; if proof of this statement were needed one has only to consider the two words 'osteopath' and 'psychopath' and decide how one would explain to a foreign student the meaning of their final syllable. Or why, given the noun 'destruction' and the verb 'to destroy', the verb belonging to 'construction' is not 'to constroy'. English-speakers take that sort of anomaly for granted, but one cannot help thinking that while the Turks were reforming their language they could have been more logical and systematic. In their words for 'geography', 'geology', and 'geometry'—*coğrafya*, *jeoloji*, *geometri*—they still keep three different versions of the Greek *gê* 'earth': *c*, *je*, *ge*. They do have a neologism for 'geology'—*yerbilimi*—but not for the other two.

Taken as a whole, the neologisms exhibit very little trace of direction or planning. Nothing in *yazım* 'spelling', *yazın* 'literature', and *yazıt* 'inscription' gives any hint of what they are intended to mean except that they have something to do with writing. *Soru* was an old word for 'question', rarely used since the seventeenth century until it was resurrected to replace *sual* [A], but there is no intrinsic reason

⁶ 'The secularization of Turkish life finds expression in the replacement of Arabic *muvaflak* "successful" and *mansur* or *muzaffer* "victorious", originally denoting that God has given success or victory, with Turkish *başarılı* and *yener*, which indicate man's own achievement.' (Heyd 1954: 94.)

⁷ *Konu* is a calque on a calque: *mawdū* [A], literally 'placed, put down', whence Turkish *mevzu*, is a calque on the Latin *subiectum*.

why the neologisms *sorun* and *sorum*, both derived from *sor-* 'to ask', should mean respectively 'problem' and 'responsibility' (for which the derivative *sorumluluk* is more usual). *Sorun*, incidentally, can be a bit of a nuisance, since it may mean either 'the problem' or 'your question' (*soru-n*), and as their genitives look and sound identical (*sorun-un*, *soru-nun*) it is a toss-up whether *sorunun çözümü* means 'the solution of the problem', 'the solution of the question', or 'the solution of your question'; similarly, *yazının* can be the genitive of *yazı* 'writing, article', or *yazın* 'your article', or *yazın* 'literature', though perhaps this is of no great moment.

Another cluster, of words seemingly derived from *kur-* 'to set up', is *kurum* 'society, corporation', *kural* 'rule, norm', *kuram* 'theory', and *kurul* 'committee'. Both *kuram* and *kurum* are old words. *Kuram* occurs in *DLT* with the meaning 'in order of rank' (Dankoff and Kelly 1982–5: iii. 147; Clauson 1972: 660). *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) gives it as a Turkish equivalent for *bünye* [A] 'physical structure'. There is no apparent justification for that, any more than for its now meaning 'theory', except that somebody or some body said it should. *Kurum* is recorded in *Tarama Sözlüğü* (1963–77) as occurring in two dictionaries, one of the fourteenth century, the other of the eighteenth and nineteenth, in the sense not of 'society, corporation' but of 'form, shape'. Since that was the original meaning of *heyet* [A], used in Ottoman for 'committee', *kurum* may have been resurrected as a calque on *heyet*. As for *kurul*, it looks like an arbitrary truncation of *kurultay*. *Kur*, given in *Cep Kılavuzu* as '= Heyet = Corps', could be another such, but the resemblance between it and *corps* is suspicious. Another and more likely source is suggested by the entry in *Cep Kılavuzu* under 'Genel Başkanlık Kuru': '= Umumi Riyaset Divanı' 'General Presidential Board'. *Kur* for *divan* could be the French *cour*, meaning 'court', just like *divan*.

The assumption behind the change of vocabulary was that the meaning of neologisms constructed from Turkish roots and suffixes would be readily intelligible to everybody, unlike Ottoman words; while a Turk might not know *meşhum* [A] 'concept', he could at once understand *kavram*, manufactured from *kavra-* 'to grasp' plus *-m*. Well, he might, unless he was from one of the many regions of Anatolia where it means 'handful'. And when the suffix was itself a neologism he would be even worse off, especially if it coincided in form with a familiar word. Theoretically, while an unschooled Turk could make nothing of *müşelles* [A], he would immediately understand *üçgen* to be a triangle, or could at least guess the meaning from the context. He might if he were a townie, but if he were a villager he would recognize it only as meaning 'three fallow fields'. A villager from the neighbourhood of Isparta would have no difficulty with *özek*, the regular word in those parts for 'centre'. To most other Anatolians, however, it would mean only the pole of an ox-cart. A townie, knowing *öz* 'own' and *ek* 'patch, addition', would never guess that it was the official replacement for *merkez* 'centre'.

The old word for 'conscience' was *vicdan*, Arabic *wijdān*, from the root of *wajada* 'to find'. The new word is a calque on that, *bulunç* from *bulun-* 'to be found' plus the suffix seen in *utanç* 'shame' and *sevinç* 'joy'. The snag is that, if

you were not an Arabic scholar, the most you could make of *bulunç* was that it had something to do with being found; 'foundling'?

To replace *kültür* for 'culture', Ziya Gökalp produced *hars*, the Arabic *harr* 'tillage, agriculture', which never achieved wide currency. Among possible alternatives for it, *Tarama Dergisi* (1934) offered *ekin* from *ek-* 'to sow'.⁸ This second-degree calque is used by some writers but has not superseded *kültür*, while *kültürel* is probably more usual for 'cultural' than *ekinsel*. To country folk *ekin* means what it has always meant, 'crop, sowing'.

Plenty of peculiar creations are to be found in *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri*, the little book of philosophical and grammatical terminology published in 1942. They include *almaş* 'alternation', *değişim* 'mutation', *koram* 'hierarchy', *sonurgu* 'result', *uran* 'industry', *simge* 'symbol', *imge* 'image', and *yöntem* 'system', 'method'. An odd collection; without spending too much time on it, one may say offhand that the first syllable of *almaş* is more likely to derive from the French *alternation* than from *al-* 'to take', that *değişim* results from a deliberate maiming of *değiş-* 'to change', and that there is no discernible reason why *uran* should mean 'industry'. As for *koram*, it is shown in *Tarama Dergisi* (1934) as meaning *muahharen* 'subsequently' in three Siberian dialects. How it came to be offered as an equivalent of 'hierarchy' is anybody's guess. The suffixes of *almaş* and *sonurgu* confound the imagination. More worth spending a little time on are the last three words in the above selection, *simge*, *imge*, *yöntem*, not only because they are all current today but because they have been trawled from the lowest depths to which the language reformers ever sank.

The headwords (in bold italic) of the following notes on the more controversial or otherwise interesting neologisms are in alphabetical order, except for two pairs that are closely connected: *çoğun* comes after *zor*, and *imge* after *simge*.

Araç 'means' and *gereç* 'material' both appear in *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935), *araç* being glossed as '= Vasıta = Moyen', *gereç* as '= Levazım, malzeme = Matériel', and both are current. Like *vasıta* before it, *araç* is used for 'vehicle' as well as for 'means', and is the fashionable new term for 'car'. Timurtaş (1979: 26) does not approve of either *araç* or *gereç*; *araç* was made from *ara* 'space between', but *-ç*, he says, is no longer productive as a denominal suffix. He should have known, however, that the average Öztürkçeci had a mind above that sort of consideration. As for *gereç*, he assumes that it was arbitrarily made by adding *-ç* to *gerek* 'necessary' minus the final *k*, a change for which there is no justification. There is, however, another possibility: that its basis was not *gerek* but the verb *germek* 'to stretch', and that it was intended as a calque on *madde* [A] 'material', which is from the Arabic root *M-D-D* 'to stretch, extend'. Whatever its origin, it could serve as an example of a word apparently made from a non-existent root and a dubious suffix.

⁸ TDK published two books on the theme of language and culture. The first, Baydur (1964), was entitled *Dil ve Kültür*; the second, Köksal (1980), *Dil ile Ekin*.

Bağımsızlık is the established replacement for *istiklâl* [A] ‘independence’. *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935), in the second part, from Turkish to Ottoman, has *bağınsız* for ‘independent’, while *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri* (1942) has *bağınlaşma* for ‘interdependence’. It is not clear who changed the *n* into *m*, and when, but it had happened by 1955. *-ım* is a deverbal suffix, but there is no verb *bağ-*, so the root has to be the noun *bağ* ‘tie, bond, impediment’. That is not its only fault, as Timurtaş (1979: 41) notes: ‘Bağımsız kelimesi, sadece, bakımsız kelimesinin fonetik değişikliğe uğrayan şekli olabilir. (Türkçede iki sesli arasındaki *k*’lar yumuşayıp ğ olmaktadır: toprak-ı toprağı, *ak*’tan ağarmak gibi) (The word *bağımsız* can only be the form taken by the word *bakımsız* [‘uncared-for’] when it undergoes phonetic change. (In Turkish, intervocalic *ks* are softened, becoming *ğ*: *toprak-ı* becomes *toprağı*, and *ağarmak* is from *ak*)). All one can say for *bağımsızlık* is that its meaning is not so unguessable as that of its partner *özgürlük* (see below).

Bay, *Bayan*. ‘Mr’, ‘Mrs, Miss, Ms’. The purpose of this innovation was to replace the old titles *Bey* and *Hanım*, which followed the name, by titles preceding it, as in the Western languages. In OT, *bay* meant ‘rich, a rich man’, and ‘nobleman’. It was so used in Turkish, and the phrase ‘*bay u geda*’ [P] (rich man and beggar) occurs in Ottoman poetry into the nineteenth century.

Both *bay* and *bayan* are found in *Tarama Dergisi* (1934), but not as replacements for *Bey* and *Hanım*. Nor do they appear in *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935), which must have been in the press on 26 November 1934, when the Grand National Assembly was debating Law No. 2590: ‘Efendi, bey, paşa, gibi lâkab ve unvanların kaldırıldığına dair kanun’ (Law on the abolition of such appellations and titles as efendi, bey, and pasha). Several Deputies suggested that *Bay* and *Bayan* could be used in place of *Bey* and *Hanım*, and Dahiliye Encümeni, the Assembly’s Committee on Home Affairs, took the same view:

Türkler hususî muhabere ve muhaverelerde bir kimseye ve cemaate hitap ederken adın önünde gelmek şartile erkeğe, ere yani erkişiye bay, kadına da bayan diye hitap edebilirler. Bu tâbirler öz türkçedir ve Türklerin ilk devirlerinde kullanılmıştır. Teveffuk ve imtiyaz ifade etmez.⁹

When addressing somebody or a group of people in correspondence and conversation, Turks may address a male, a man, that is to say, a male person, as ‘bay’, and a woman as ‘bayan’, on condition that it precedes the name. These terms are pure Turkish and have been used in the first era of the Turks. They do not express superiority or privilege.

There is no clear reason why *bayan*, a Mongolian word for ‘rich’, was chosen to be the feminine counterpart of *bay*. Eyuboğlu’s etymological dictionary ignores it. *Örnekleriyle Türkçe Sözlük* (1995–6), the Ministry of Education’s new four-volume dictionary, does not give etymologies, but the compilers’ feelings about

⁹ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi (1934), Devre iv, Cilt 25: 40–52, at 52 (*Minutes of the Grand National Assembly*, session 4, vol. 25). The odd ‘erkeğe, ere yani erkişiye’ (a male, a man, that is to say, a male person) must be due to inadequate editing, understandable in view of the speed with which this law was rushed through.

Öztürkçe in general and *bay* in particular are evident from the sole example they give of its use, a couplet by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, who was, to put it mildly, a rabid reactionary:

Bir şey koptu benden, her şeyi tutan bir şey;
Benim adım Bay Necip, babamınki Fâzıl Bey.
Something has been wrested from me, something embracing everything;
My name is Bay Necip, my father's was Fâzıl Bey.

Bey has in fact never fallen out of use. Men named, say, Hasan Öztürk have generally been called Hasan Bey in speech and in private correspondence, though the envelope of the letter would be addressed to Bay Hasan Öztürk or, more recently, Sayın Hasan Öztürk. Similarly, letters for his wife Ayşe, though addressed to Bayan or Sayın Ayşe Öztürk, will begin 'Sevgili Ayşe Hanım'. The use of 'Bey' has indeed extended lately: taxi-drivers used to be addressed as Şoför Efendi, but in the late 1990s the usual form is Şoför Bey.

Boyut 'dimension' might have been derived from Turkish *boy* 'length' by suffixing *-it*, but in fact it was one of Atatürk's ingenious essays at providing native etymologies for Ottoman words, in this case *bu'ut*, Arabic *bu'd*. Aksan (1976: 25–6) defends it in a footnote of which the first sentence is mendacious, while the second tries moral suasion to make the first acceptable:

Sözcük Ar. *buut*'un Türkçeleştirilmişşi değil, *boy*'dan türetilmiş yeni bir ögedir. Onu Atatürk'ün türettiğini de burada eklemeliyiz.

The word is not the Turkicized form of Arabic *buut*; it is a new item derived from *boy* ['length']. Here we should add that it was Atatürk who derived it.

Budun. Erer (1973: 187–8) has a tale to tell (from Ali Fuad Başgil) about Cemil [Bilsel], who taught Devletler Hukuku, International Law, at the School of Law in Ankara. On his way to class one day in 1932, he ran into Sadri Maksudî and asked him how to translate the name of his subject into Öztürkçe, and was immediately told, 'Budunların ara yargısı'. *Budun* is given in *Tarama Dergisi* (1934) as an OT word for 'people'; the true form, as we have seen, was *bođun*. *Yargı* is shown in the same work as meaning *adalet* 'justice' or *hüküm* 'judgement', but Sadri Maksudî was misusing it in the sense of *hukuk* 'law'. Cemil went into his class and, slightly misremembering what Maksudî had said, began his lecture with 'Budunun ara yargısı . . .'. The students, understanding the first two words in their normal meanings—'of his/her/your thigh' and 'space between'—and recognizing *yargı* as something to do with *yar-* 'to split', began to giggle. The unfortunate lecturer hastily began again, with 'Devletler Hukuku . . .', but it was too late; by that time the class was out of control.

Değın, dek. These old words for 'until' have never quite died, though they have long had difficulty in competing with *kadar* [A], and still do, in spite of the

encouragement given to their use by the language reform. 'From Istanbul to Edirne it's level ground all the way' can be expressed as 'İstanbul'dan Edirne'ye değin/dek/kadar hep düz yerlerdir', but saying 'değin' or 'dek' in such a sentence sounds not so much *Öztürkçe* as provincial. In writing they are more frequent, but not as common as *kadar*.

Denli. This word, anciently *teñlig* 'equal', 'as much as', appeared in Ottoman as *denlü*, but by the late seventeenth century it had been driven out of literary use by *kadar*. The reform resurrected it, but while 'Ne denli?' (How much?) and 'bu denli' (this much) are seen in writing, as in 'Bu denli önemli mi?' (Is it so important?), in conversation almost everybody sticks to 'Ne kadar?' and 'bu kadar'.

Doğa has not totally ousted *tabiat* for 'nature', though its adjective *doğal* 'natural' is more common in writing than *tabii*. In speech, *tabii* remains in full use for 'of course', 'naturally', though in writing it is often replaced by 'doğal olarak'. *Doğal* appears in *Tarama Dergisi* (1934) as found in Konya for *gubar* [A] 'dust', though with a query. *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) gives *doğa* for *mizac* 'temperament', and *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri* (1942) gives it for 'nature', together with *doğal* for 'natural'. The compilers of the latter work may or may not have known that *doğa* already existed in various regions of Anatolia with such diverse meanings as 'kid', 'turkeycock', 'small-eared lamb born with horns', and 'the flat upper surface of a knuckle-bone'. Timurtaş (Bozgeyik 1995: 76) makes an interesting non-grammatical point:

Batı dillerinde 'nature' var, 'doğ-' mânâsına Lâtince bir kelimededen geliyor. Halbuki bizim inanışımıza göre 'tabiat' doğmuyor, yaratılıyor. Demek ki bu da, mefhum bakımından, mânâ bakımından yanlış. Biz 'doğa' diyemeyiz. Çünkü tabiat kendiliğinden doğmuş değil. Cenab-ı Hak tarafından yaratılmıştır.

The Western languages have 'nature', which comes from a Latin word meaning birth. According to our belief, however, what is called 'nature' is not born but created, which means that this [word *doğa*] is wrong, conceptually and semantically. We cannot say 'doğa', for nature was not spontaneously born; it was divinely created.

Egemenlik. *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) defines it as '= Hâkimiyet = Souveraineté'. Eyuboğlu (1988: 102) explains *egemen* as *eğe* or *ıye* 'owner, master' plus *-men*. *Tarama Sözlüğü* (1963–77) shows *eye* or *ıye* as in use from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, but Eyuboğlu spoils it by citing *egemen* as used 'halk ağzında' (in the popular language) for 'master', an assertion not borne out by *Derleme Sözlüğü* (1963–82). Nor does he explain how the intervocalic *g* of *egemen* escaped softening to *ğ*. As *egemenlik* is obviously derived from the Greek *hēgemonía* (which Ziya Gökalp had long ago borrowed as *hegemonya*), we need spend no more time on it. It should be noted, however, that it appears on the wall of the Grand National Assembly chamber in the slogan 'Egemenlik Kayıtsız Şartsız Milletindir' (Sovereignty belongs unrestrictedly and unconditionally to the Nation), with an attribution to Atatürk. But Atatürk never said that; the word he used for

sovereignty when he enunciated the formula was *hâkimiyet*, in keeping with the Ottoman nature of the rest. In his *Öztürkçe* period he said ‘Egemenlik kayıtsız şartsız Ulusundur’, leaving the two middle words in Ottoman. *Koşul* for ‘condition’ was not invented until nine years after Atatürk’s death, nor has any one-word substitute for *kayıtsız* yet been devised.

Eşgüdüm ‘coordination’ is a much criticized word, omitted by at least two dictionaries, Doğan (1988) and *Örnekleriyle Türkçe Sözlük* (1995–6). *Eş* is ‘mate’ and *güdüm* is ‘direction’, a noun derived from *güt-*, originally ‘to drive (animals) to pasture’, more recently ‘to manage, to direct’ (*‘güdümlü mermi’* means ‘guided missile’). *Eşgüdüm* has its following, but most people involved in such matters prefer *koordinasyon*.

Evrensel ‘universal’. This looks as if it were deliberately fabricated to resemble its West European equivalent, and so it was, but the closeness of the resemblance was a stroke of luck for whoever first thought of attaching the bogus *-sel* to the ancient and respectable *evren*. *Evren* is a genuine old word for ‘universe’, explained by Clauson (1972: 13–14) as presumably a derived noun from *evir-* ‘to turn’: ‘if so, the general connotation is of something which revolves; hence “the firmament” which was regarded as a revolving dome . . .’. No doubt via the idea of ‘coil’, it also meant ‘large snake’, ‘dragon’, in which sense it was used in Ottoman from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth. *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988) defines *evren* as the totality of heavenly entities, creation, cosmos, with no mention of snakes or dragons, though it does include the charming old *evren pulu*, literally ‘dragon-scale’, for ‘mica’, now *mika*.

Genel is shown in *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) as ‘= Umumi = Général’. Doğan Aksan’s defence (1976: 32) of *genel*—the conventional one that it was formed by suffixing *-el* to *gen*, OT *keñ* ‘wide’—does not explain why an adjective needs reinforcing by an adjectival suffix. Aksan does his best, however, by casually throwing in the words ‘*gen* adından *genel*’ in türetilişi’ (the derivation of *genel* from the noun *gen*), doubtless hoping that the reader will have forgotten that he has made it perfectly clear in his previous paragraph that *gen* was an adjective. In the recent innovation *genelde*, *genel* is used as a noun. This looks like a calque on the English expression ‘in general’, which is what it means.

Gereksinme, Ataç’s neologism for *ihtiyaç* ‘need’, is a puzzle. *Gerek* means ‘necessary’ or ‘necessity’, but it is not easy to see what *-sin-* is supposed to mean, especially as this is the only instance of it. There was an OT suffix of the same shape; added to *uluğ* ‘great’ it made *uluğsunmak* ‘to consider oneself great’, but, if that was what Ataç had in mind, how did he get from ‘consider oneself necessary’ to ‘need’? The word can only be regarded as an aberration, but it and, even more, *gereksinim* are used (though good writers prefer *gerekseme*, unless they remember the old *hacet*), to an extent that shows Timurtaş’s (1979: 51) judgement

on it to have been over-optimistic: ‘Dilimizin ne gibi bir ihtiyacı vardı ki, “gereksinme” kelimesi uyduruldu? “İhtiyaç” varken gereksinme’ye muhtaç olacağımızı hiç sanmıyorum’ (What sort of need did our language have that led to the fabricating of *gereksinme*? While we have *ihtiyaç* I don’t think we shall need *gereksinme*). The question he should have asked himself was how much longer will we have *ihtiyaç*?

İlginç ‘interesting’. *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) gives *ilgi* for the Arabic *alâka* ‘interest’ and *münasebet* ‘relationship’. It was not an invention; it is a legitimate derivative of *il-* ‘to tie loosely’ and ‘to touch’. Its adjective *ilginç*, however, is far from legitimate, manufactured as it was from *ilgi* by adding *-nç*, a suffix previously attached only to verb-stems. Ataç cannot be blamed for this one; his offering for *intéressant* (in 1955) was *ilinç*, properly derived from *il-* on the analogy of numerous existing words such as *sevinç* ‘joy’ from *sevin-* ‘to be pleased’, and *gülünç* ‘ridiculous’ from *gül-* ‘to laugh’. It is a pity that, whereas *ilinç*, one of Ataç’s relatively few correctly formed inventions, never caught on, the linguistically monstrous *ilginç* did. The probable reason for its success is that people associated it with *ilgi*, which they knew with the meaning ‘interest’, while *ilinç* conveyed nothing much. The Ottoman for ‘interesting’ was *alâkabahş* [AP] ‘interest-giving’, modernized as *alâka uyandırıcı* ‘interest-waking’, but most preferred *enteresan* [F]. Some still stick to *enteresan*, but *ilginç* is regularly used even in conversation.

Okul ‘school’. Under *МЕКТЕП*, *Tarama Dergisi* (1934) gives *Okulağ* as having been recorded at Urfa. The entry under *MEDRESE* is fuller:

Okulağ (‘Oku’ köküne ‘lağ, lak’ yer eki getirilerek yapılmış. ‘Yayla’ ve ‘kışla’da olduğu gibi son sessiz düşerek ‘okula’ şekli de vardır.)

Okulağ (made by the addition of the suffix of place *-lağ/lak* to the root *oku* [‘to read’]. With the dropping of the final consonant, there is also the form *okula*, as occurs in *yayla* and *kışla*.)¹⁰

Yes, but never before had *-lağ/lak/la* been suffixed to a verb-stem. The received story of the origin of this most firmly entrenched of all Öztürkçe words is told by Besim Atalay (1940: 40–1):

Bu kelime Yunancaya benzetilerek yapılmamıştır . . . Ankarada *Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu* açıldığı zaman Atatürk’e bir tazim telgrafı çekilmiş, bundan pek hoşnut olan O Büyük Adam bir cevap verilmesini istemiş, fakat mektep kelimesi yerine türkçe bir kelime aramışlar, o sıralarda (Urfa)dan Dil Kurumuna bu anlamda *okula* kelimesi gelmiş, kendisine bu söylendiği zaman çok beğenmiş ve mektep için en güzel karşılık olmak üzere kabul buyrulmuş. Aradan bir kaç gün geçtikten sonra kelimenin sonundaki *a* sesi atılarak *okul* şeklinde kullanılmasını emretmişler.

¹⁰ *Yayla*, earlier *yaylak*, means ‘summer pasture’, from *yaz* ‘summer’, while *kışla*, from *kış* ‘winter’, means ‘winter quarters’ and then ‘barracks’.

This word was not made on the analogy of the Greek [*scholē*, whence ultimately French *école*] . . . Atatürk was sent a congratulatory telegram on the opening of the Ankara School of Political Sciences. Very pleased, he wanted a reply to be sent, but they lacked a Turkish replacement for *mektep* 'school'. Around this time the word *okula*, with that meaning, came to the Dil Kurumu from Urfa. When Atatürk was told this, he liked it a lot and it was accepted by him as the best equivalent of *mektep*. A few days later, he directed that the final *a* of the word should be dropped and the word used in the form *okul*.

And indeed *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) gives 'Okul = Mekteb = Ecole.'

Tahsin Banguoğlu (1987: 303), however, has a more circumstantial story, in no way inconsistent with Atalay's (apart from the latter's first sentence) but adding two pieces of information: the identity of the correspondent from Urfa who had claimed that *okula* was a real word currently used in his native city, and the fact that it was no such thing:

Dikkat ediniz, burda inkılâp hareketinin bilhassa hızı Arapçaya karşıdır. Arapça kelimeleri atmali da, ne gelirse gelsin. Çünkü Arapçanın hakimiyetinden bıkmış bir nesil. Onun yerine Fransızcası gelse olur. *Schola* Latince. Biri diyor ki 'Efendim bu bizim *okumak* masterından gelir.' Bir başkası, daha kurnazı, 'efendim diyor, bizim Urfa'da *okula* derler *mektebe*'. Ben doçenttim henüz, Dil Fakültesinde, dedim ki 'bu *okula* kelimesi eğer Urfa'da *mektep* mânâsına varsa ben kendimi asarım, bu Fakültenin kapısına' . . . Ben Türkçe kelime yapımı hakkında bilgime dayanarak konuşuyordum. Ama sonradan yine Kurumdan biri kulağıma eğildi: 'Bizim Urfa mebusu Refet uydurdu' dedi . . . Ondan sonra *okula* demişler, daha sonra *okul* demişler, sonundaki *a'yı* atmışlar.

Mark this well: the thrust of the reform movement is specifically against Arabic. Arabic words have to be discarded come what may, for this is a generation that is fed up with the domination of Arabic. If the French equivalent were to replace it, that's fine. *Schola* is Latin. Somebody says, 'My dear sir, it is from the stem of our *okumak*.' Someone else, someone craftier, says, 'My dear sir, in my native Urfa they call school *okula*.' I was a lecturer at the time, in the Language Faculty, and I said, 'If this word *okula* exists in Urfa in the sense of school, I shall hang myself from the Faculty gate.' . . . I was speaking on the basis of my knowledge of Turkish word formation. But subsequently someone else from the TDK whispered to me, 'It was Refet, our Deputy for Urfa, who made it up.' . . . After that, they said *okula*. Later on, they said *okul*, chucking away the final *a*.

Some people's refusal to face facts is well exemplified in Eyuboğlu (1988: 237):

OKUL, tr. Okumak'tan ok-ul/okul. Köke gelen ul ekiyle söz üretme: oğ-ul/oğul, koş-ul/koşul (Kır. koşul-taşıl/karışmış, karışık), yumul yumul (halk ağ.).

OKUL, Turkish. From *okumak*, *ok-ul/okul*. Word production with the suffix *ul* coming to the root: oğ-ul/oğul, koş-ul/koşul (Kirghiz *koşul-taşıl* 'mixed, confused'), *yumul yumul* (popular speech).

Was there ever such a farrago? The stem of *okumak* is not *ok-* but *oku-*. If the suffix is *-ul*, the addition sum is wrong; *oku-* plus *ul* makes not *okul* but **okuyul*. If the root of *okul* is the verb-stem *oku-*, its suffix must be *l*. Nor is *oğul* 'son'

divisible into *oğ* and *ul*.¹¹ Enlisting the misbegotten *koşul* in support of *okul* can only be described as impudent. What *yumul yumul* means in popular speech is not immediately ascertainable, as the expression seems to be unknown to the lexicographers or any of the author's Turkish friends. In short, the article can fairly be described as an attempt at blinding the reader with nescience.

Doğan Aksan (1976: 39) sees no fault in *okul*, which he explains as derived from *oku-* and the suffix *-l-*; were it not for Banguoğlu's account of the word's origin one might almost have believed him.

Olanak is the *Öztürkçe* for *imkân* [A] 'possibility'. Adile Ayda says of it and of *olasılık*:¹²

icat edilen yeni bir kelime Türk dilinin kurallarına göre yapılmış olsa bile çağrışım yolu ile hoş olmayan, hoşla gitmeyen bir şeyi veya kelimeyi hatırlatıyorsa, üç beş adamdan başkasının bu kelimeyi benimsemesi mümkün değildir. *OLANAK* ile *OLASI* kelimeleri bu alanda en iyi örneklerdir.

'Olanak' kelimesi Türkçeyi iyi bilen, zevk sahibi bir Türk için çirkin görünen, kulakları tırmalayan bir kelimedir. Neden? Çünkü insana, şuur plânında değilse bile, şuuraltı plânında 'nak' hecesi ile biten *BUNAK*, *AVANAK* kelimelerini hatırlatmaktadır.

even though a newly invented word has been constructed in accordance with the rules of Turkish, if, by an association of ideas, it is reminiscent of some unpleasant or distasteful thing or word, it is impossible that it should be adopted except by a handful of people. The best examples in this category are *olanak* and *olası*.

For a Turk who knows Turkish well and has taste, *olanak* is a word that looks ugly and offends the ear. Why? Because it reminds one, if not on the conscious then on the subconscious level, of words ending with the syllable *nak*: *bunak* ['imbecile'] and *avanak* ['gullible'].

Olasılık, one of Ataç's inventions, has made great inroads on the domain of *ihhtimal* [A]. Some Turkish–English dictionaries will tell you that *olasılık*, like *ihhtimal* before it, means 'probability', but Turkish cannot express that concept in a single word; *ihhtimal* in fact conveys a lesser likelihood of realization than *imkân* 'possibility'. The proof-text is Hisar (1966: 199): 'ihhtimalleri imkânlar halinde duymağa başlayınca' (when he began to feel that the maybes were possibilities). In standard Turkish *-esi/asısı* is chiefly used for curses (Lewis 1988: 115); *kör olası* does not mean 'it is possible/probable that he will go blind', but 'may he go blind!' An accurate substitute for *muhtemel* [A], the adjective of *ihhtimal*, is *belkili* (characterized by 'perhaps'), though few use it. But all the West European languages have words for 'probable' (*wahrscheinlich*, *sannsynlig*, *probabile*), and one would not be surprised if the meaning of *olası* were gradually to shift towards that of 'probable' rather than of 'maybe'.

¹¹ For an effective demolition of the theory that it might be, see Doerfer (1963–75: ii. §82).

¹² Quoted in *Yaşayan Türkçemiz* (1981: ii. 62–3). The second of the three volumes of this spirited, entertaining, and occasionally vituperative compilation on the language reform, published by the conservative newspaper *Tercüman*, is devoted to 'Uydurma, yanlış yapılan, yanlış mânâlandırılan, yanlış kullanılan, Türkçeyi bozan, ne olduğu bilinmeyen kelimeler' (Words that are fake, wrongly constructed, given wrong meanings, wrongly used, ruining Turkish, of unknown pedigree).

Oran, orantı. *Oran* is an old word for ‘measure’, ‘proportion’, or ‘moderation’. The reform has fixed it in the meaning of ‘ratio’, in which use it receives unusual praise from the conservative *Temel Türkçe Sözlük* (Tulum 1985–6): ‘Kullanılmaması büyük üzüntü sebebi olacak kelimelerdendir’ (It is one of those words that it would be a great inconvenience not to use). *Orantı*, the new term for ‘proportion’, was derived from it by the illegitimate addition of the deverbal suffix *-ti*.

Örnek, örneğin. The first of these has been current for centuries with the meaning ‘pattern, example’. Nobody seems to have taken exception to it until Ataç, seeking a replacement for *meselâ* ‘for example’, thought of adding to *örnek* the old instrumental suffix *-in*. For some reason this evoked much criticism, partly because a good Turkish way of expressing that already existed: *söz gelişi*. It was during the ensuing controversy that *örnek* was charged with being a borrowing from Armenian, which it pretty certainly is not. The word is now part of the language, though there are people who, not feeling quite at home with it, use the old and the new together, saying ‘*meselâ örneğin*’, literally ‘e.g. for instance’.

Özgürlük, Ataç’s successful replacement for *hürriyet* ‘freedom’, is a mess, both in form and in meaning. *Öz* is ‘self’ and *gür* is ‘abundant’. It could be that the form he first thought of was *özügür*,¹³ which he then decided would be more euphonious without the first *ü*, but ‘abundant of self’ is hardly ‘free’. Aksan (1976: 47–8) puts up his usual spirited defence of the indefensible. He finds reason to believe that *özgürlük* was invented before *özgür*, in which case *öz* is an adjective qualifying *gürlük* and the word is therefore ‘kurallara uygun bir birleştirme’ (a combination in accordance with the rules). Maybe so, but what can it mean other than ‘pure abundance’? Certainly not ‘freedom’. Emin Özdemir (1969: 23), another zealous partisan of *Öztürkçe*, puts up an ingenious apologia for *özgür(lük)* in which he implicitly acknowledges that no one could guess what it means. He begins by saying that the trouble lies with the writers and language experts who oppose the reform and have not dwelt sufficiently on the structure of *Öztürkçe* words. He goes on: ‘Bilindiği gibi bileşik sözcüklerin bir bölümünde . . . bileştirilen sözcükler sözlük anlamlarından uzaklaşır. *Akbaba, demirbaş* örneklerinde olduğu gibi, *Özgür* sözcüğündeki durum da böyledir’ (As is well known, in one category of compound words . . . the words compounded become remote from their dictionary meanings. Just as in the examples *akbaba* and *demirbaş*,¹⁴ so is it with *özgür*). That is to say, a knowledge of the meanings of their components is no help in determining what the compounds mean. This may be expected with natural words that have a history of their own, but not with a word that one man deliberately invented.

¹³ A *başibozuk* construction (see Lewis 1988: 259–60).

¹⁴ *Akbaba*, literally ‘white father’, means ‘vulture’. *Demirbaş*, ‘iron-head’ and so ‘stubborn’, was the epithet applied by the Ottoman chroniclers to Charles XII of Sweden. After his crushing defeat at Poltava by Peter the Great of Russia in 1709, he took refuge in Turkey, where he remained till 1714. It was presumably because he outstayed his welcome that *demirbaş* came to mean fixtures and fittings, the contents of an inventory.

Saptamak. This verb is *Cep Kılavuzu*'s (1935) replacement for *tespit etmek* 'to establish, confirm'. Whoever devised it was playing the 1930s game of finding what might have been the Turkish etymon of the Arabic word for which a replacement was being sought. There was a suffix *-ta-*, appearing in the archaic *yastamak* 'to lean' and *yaştamak* 'to grow old', superseded since the fifteenth century by *yaslamak* and *yaşlanmak* respectively. So, if *saptamak* had ever existed, its modern equivalent would probably have been *saplamak*. That, however, exists in present-day Turkish with the meaning 'to thrust, pierce'. But your true *Öztürkçeci* has no difficulty in disposing of that kind of objection. Aksan (1976: 48) notes that there is a Kirghiz word *saptamak*, meaning, among other things, 'to wish, claim'. 'Türkiye Türkçesinde *saptamak*'a yeni bir anlam yüklenmiş, bu da yadırganmamış, tutunmuştur' (In the Turkish of Turkey, *saptamak* has been given a new meaning, and this has not been considered odd but has caught on).

Sayın. An old derivative of *saymak* 'to count, to esteem', meaning 'highly regarded', obsolete by the end of the nineteenth century. *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) dug it up as an alternative to *mübeccel* and *muhterem* 'revered', 'honoured', and it is regularly used before the surname in addressing men or women, having steadily gained ground from *Bay* and *Bayan*. Fewer and fewer bus-conductors have addressed their passengers as 'Baylar' since the late 1970s, the preference being for the old-fashioned 'Beyler'. It is a pity that *Sayın* is not used as a noun, otherwise its plural could have made a neat expression for 'Ladies and Gentlemen'.

There is a modern folk-tale about a Minister of Education's visit to Sivas. Among the welcoming committee were all the local mayors, whom he addressed as 'Sayın Muhtarlar!' The first muhtar, taking *sayın* to be the imperative of *saymak* 'to count' (in military parlance, 'to number off'), said 'Bir!' 'İki!' said the second, 'Üç!' said the third, and so on.

Simge and imge. For *timsal* [A] 'symbol', *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935) proposed *sim*. This is recorded as used for 'sign' in the vilayet of Adana, though, in view of the number of Arabs living in that region, the resemblance to the Arabic *simā* in the same sense is more than a little suspicious. It never caught on, perhaps because the sort of people who talked about symbols were the intellectuals, to whom *sim* was, if anything, the Persian for 'silver'. So it was given a bit more individuality by the addition of the *-ge* seen in *çekirge* 'grasshopper' and *süpürge* 'broom', and as *simge* it is in active use, being more popular among intellectuals than the French *sembol*. (There is even a Hotel Simge in Istanbul, down the road from the Pera Palas.) It has an adjective *simgesel* 'symbolic' and a derived verb *simgelemek* 'to symbolize'. And *imge*? It was put up as the *Öztürkçe* replacement for *hayâl* [A] 'fancy, image', its alleged origin being the OT *im* 'password', with the addition of the same *-ge*. The connection between 'password' and 'image' seems tenuous, but one only has to spell out *imge* and the French or English *image* to see the true etymology.

Subay 'officer'. This word was a borrowing into Azeri¹⁵ from Mongolian, in which language it first meant 'sterile', then 'childless', then 'light cavalryman' (because he travels the fastest who travels alone), then '(cavalry) officer' (Doerfer 1963–75: iii, §1225). In Azeri it means 'bachelor'. It was brought to Turkey by immigrants from Azerbaijan and is used in several places in Anatolia with the same sense and also that of 'lone, childless'. *Tarama Dergisi* (1934) lists it among possible equivalents for *münferit* 'isolated'.

Terim 'technical term'. Onat, a respectable enough scholar apart from his obsession with the Turkish origin of Arabic, said (1952: 49–50) it was not a corruption of the French *terme* but was the Kirghiz form of the word appearing in the Turkish of Turkey as *derim* 'assembly, gathering'; the form with initial *t* was chosen, he said, because *derim* would have looked like part of *demek* 'to say'. And how do you get from 'gathering' to 'technical term'?

İlim, belli bir konu ile ilgili bilgi topluluğu olduğu gibi, terim de ilim ve sanatların çeşitli bahislerini, meselelerini ayrı ayrı adlar altında derleyip toplayan bilim sözcüğüdür; nitekim *terim* kelimesi de bütün bu sözcükleri birleşik bir adla anlatmaya yaradığı için bir bilim sözcüğü olarak kabul edilmiştir.

As science is the totality of informing relating to a specific subject, so *terim* is the scientific expressions that collect and assemble the various topics and problems of science and the arts under separate names. So indeed *terim* has been accepted as a scientific word because it serves to express all these words by a common name.

Which is rather like saying 'library' when you mean 'book' or, to use a closer analogy, 'dustbin' when you mean 'rubbish'.

Uygarlık. *Medeniyet* 'civilization' was of Arabic derivation, though it was a nineteenth-century Turk who did the deriving. The *Öztürkçe* replacement found for it was *uygarlık*, an arbitrary coinage based on the name of the Uyghur, a Turkish people who established an advanced civilization in Eastern Turkestan in the tenth to twelfth centuries. So it has far less claim to being pure Turkish than *medeniyet*, which still holds its ground. The adjective *medenî* continues in use in the legal term 'medenî hal', a translation of the French *état civil* 'marital status', sometimes modernized into 'medenî durum'. On the northern approaches to Izmir one sees notices erected by the Karşıyaka municipality, reading 'Yayaya Saygı Uygarlıktır' (Respect for the Pedestrian is Civilization). Assuming an idiot-boy expression, the author asked two affable taxi-drivers the meaning of *uygarlık*, and after briefly conferring they agreed that *uygar* meant the same as *modern* or *çağdaş* (contemporary). It emerged that they did not associate *uygarlık* with *medeniyet*, which they both knew, though the author did not try their patience by asking them to define it.

¹⁵ Azeri is the name of the people (and, with the suffix *-ce*, the language) of Azerbaijan. One wishes that BBC newsreaders would stop giving it the vowels of 'canary' instead of 'mastery'.

Yaşam, yaşantı. The first of these neologisms was intended to replace *hayat* [A] 'life', which it has not totally done; in fact one sometimes hears a non-intellectual talking about his or her life as 'yaşam-hayatım'. *Yaşantı* was intended to mean 'way of life', a sense already conveyed unambiguously by *yaşayış*, or 'experience of life, what one lives through'. It is far from being universally popular, because a number of words in *-nti* express unpleasant ideas: *bulantı* 'nausea', *boğuntu* 'suffocation', *çalkantı* 'agitation', *çarpıntı* 'palpitation', *kaşıntı* 'itching', *kusuntu* 'vomit', *sıkıntı* 'embarrassment', *süprüntü* 'sweepings', *tiksinti* 'disgust', *üzüntü* 'dejection'. Those who do not like *yaşantı* say that to them it conveys not 'experience of life' but 'hayat bozması' (an apology for a life). Not all words in *-nti* are distasteful—e.g. *gezinti* 'stroll'—though pleasant examples are few and far between.

Yöntem, the neologism for 'method, system', has largely supplanted *usul* [A] and even *metot*, the French *méthode*. Whoever devised it took *yön*, still existing in popular speech in the sense of 'direction', and ostensibly added the suffix seen in *erdem* 'manly virtue'. A word meaning directionness or directiondom may not seem a valid equivalent for 'method', and indeed it is not. In fact I am morally certain that its second syllable is really the second syllable of the French *système*. In case you think my moral certainty no better than an unworthy suspicion, let me tell you what somebody dreamed up to replace the Ottoman *kıyas-ı mukassem* 'dilemma'. It was *ikilem*, compounded of *iki* 'two' and the *lemme* of French *dilemme*. High marks for ingenuity, few for linguistic purity. The same can probably be said of *önder* 'leader'; *Tarama Dergisi* (1934) shows it as used at Polatlı, but *Derleme Sözlüğü* (1964–82) does not show it at all. It looks awfully like *ön* 'front' plus the second syllable of English *leader*.

Zor [P] 'force' and its *Öztürkçe* derivatives *zorunlu*, *zorunluk*, and *zorunluluk* have unseated *meçburî* [A] 'obligatory' and *meçburiyet* [A] 'obligation'. All one can say for *zor* and its offspring is that, though their initial *z* brands them as non-Turkish, they are not so conspicuously non-Turkish as *meçburî* and *meçburiyet*. The puzzle here is what the *-un* is supposed to be doing, and how the suffixes *-lu* and *-luk* came to be attached to a non-existent noun, for *zorun* will not be found in the dictionary. The *-un* is the old suffix of the instrumental case, as in *Ataç's* neologism *örneğin* 'for example', and in *gücün* 'by force', a genuine Turkish synonym of *zorun*, still in use in the late nineteenth century. The *un* of *zorun* is not to be confused with that of *zorunda*, in which the *u(n)* is the third-person suffix and which after an infinitive means 'under an obligation to . . .', like the earlier *meçburiyetinde*.

Çoğun, unlike its sister *zorun*—they share the same suffix—is in the dictionary (though rarely appearing anywhere else), with the meaning 'often'. Its abstract noun *çoğunluk* is in full use, in the sense not of 'frequency' but of 'majority', replacing *ekseriyet* [A].

Technical Terms

The Language Society did not forget that Atatürk had wanted the work on technical terms to continue. In 1948 it began publishing glossaries for subjects as varied as statistics and cycling, metallurgy and volleyball; they are listed in Brendemoen (1990: 490–2). Special tribute must be paid to the compilers of *Orta Öğretim Terimleri Kılavuzu* (1963), which provided Öztürkçe equivalents of scientific terms for middle schools, with indexes in Ottoman, French, Latin, Greek, English, and German. No less impressive in *Matematik Terimleri Sözlüğü* (1983) ('Dictionary of Mathematical Terms'), a book of over 500 pages. Most of these glossaries, compiled as they were by large editorial bodies, bear no indication of authorship. This one was the work of just two people: Doğan Çöker and Timur Karaçay. But what came of it all? Two examples picked at random from the latter work: it proposed *yöneylem işlencesi* for 'calculus of vectors', and *konaç* for 'coordinate', but these words do not appear in recent dictionaries, neither the Society's own *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988) nor the Ministry of Education's *Örnekleriyle Türkçe Sözlük* (1995–6). It is sad to leaf through these products of manifest ingenuity, industry, and devotion, and to see how little effect they have had; truly love's labour lost.

This chapter discusses the terminology of medicine and law and, more briefly, computing, as being of the most general interest. There are also some remarks on the vocabulary of music, which is a special case.

In Ottoman times, the medical vocabulary was Arabic. Özön, in his dictionary of foreign words (1961a) says that after the sixteenth century, when the Jewish refugees from Spain had migrated to Turkey and taken over the medical profession, a number of hybrid Spanish–Italian ('İspanyol–İtalyan kırması') medical terms came into use. Unfortunately he gives no examples.

In 1838 the Tıbhane, the School of Medicine founded in 1827, and the Cerrahane, the School of Surgery founded in 1832, were amalgamated and moved to Galatasaray. In his speech (which began 'Çocuklar!' (Children!)) at the opening ceremony, Sultan Mahmud II said:

İşbu ebniye-i âliyeyi Mekteb-i Tıbbiye olmak üzere teşkil ve tertip ederek Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliye-i Şahane tesmiye ettim . . . Bunda Fransızca olarak fenn-i tıbbî tahsil edeceksiniz . . . Sizlere Fransızca okutmaktan benim muradım lisanı tahsil ettirmek değildir. Ancak fenn-i tıbbî öğretilip refte refte kendi lisanımıza almaktır. (Ünver 1940: 940)

Having fashioned and arranged these fine buildings to be the medical school, I have named it the Imperial School of Forensic Medicine . . . Here you will study the science of medicine in French . . . My desire in having you taught in French is not to have you study French. It is just to teach you the science of medicine and to bring it gradually into our own language.

For many years the teaching went on in French, most of the teachers being non-Turks, but eventually the students began agitating for Turkish to become the medium of instruction. In 1861 they managed to have some articles on this theme published in the Turkish-language press, which their teachers countered with articles in the French-language press. After a long war of words, Salih Efendi, the Supervisor of the School, took the side of the students, and in 1866 the Ottoman Medical Society, Cemiyet-i Tibbiye-i Osmaniye, was founded, its first task being to produce a Turkish medical dictionary. From 1870 onwards, medical students had their wish and were taught in Turkish or, to be more accurate, in Ottoman (Uludağ 1940). That did not do them much good; they soon found that a knowledge of French was indispensable, particularly because many of them completed their studies in France.

As the Turkish saying goes, 'o gün bugündür' (it's just the same today). In medical parlance, alopecia is *alopesi*, whereas in common speech it is *saçsızlık* 'hairlessness'. Caesarian, a doctor's word, is *sezaryen*, whereas (umbilical) cord, a mother's and midwife's word, is *göbekbağı* 'navel-tie', with *göbek kordonu* as a more genteel alternative (see Table 9.1).

TDK produced a glossary of medical terms, *Hekimlik Terimleri Kılavuzu*, in 1978, with a revised and enlarged edition in 1980. It was a well-meaning work, inspired by the wish to free medicine 'büyüden, gizemden' 'from spells and mystery'. It does not appear to have made a great difference, one reason being that much of it was *Öztürkçe* that was not intelligible to all. Thus for 'illness' it uses *sayrılık* throughout, a word that had been dropped centuries before in favour of *hastalık* and that, though resurrected in *Cep Kılavuzu* (1935), never caught on.¹ Another reason is that not every practitioner of medicine wants to see it freed from the spells and the mystery; this the author realized some years ago, on reading the following in an Istanbul pathologist's report: 'Mikroskopik [*sic*] bulgular: Stroması ödemli endometrium dokusu görülmektedir. Guddeler sayısı artmış olup, psödistratifiye silendrik epitelle döşelidir. Arada epiteloid histiositler, lenfositler ve Langhans tipi dev hücrelerden oluşmuş yuvarlakça alanlar mevcuttur'. (Microscopic findings: Endometrium tissue with oedematous stroma visible. The glands have increased in number and are covered with pseudo-stratified columnar epithelium. Also present are epitheloid histiocytes, lymphocytes, and roundish areas formed of Langhans-type giant cells).

But worse was to come. Yaman Örs (1989: 18) quotes a specimen of the use of foreign terms in what purports to be medical Turkish:

¹ The first meaning of *hasta* [P] was 'tired'. Its use in Turkish for 'ill' is exactly paralleled by the French use of *fatigué(e)* as a euphemism for *malade*.

TABLE 9.1. Names of ailments

Ailment	Doctor's term	Popular term
anaemia	<i>anemi</i>	<i>kansızlık</i> ('bloodlessness')
appendicitis	<i>apandisit</i>	<i>apandis yangısı</i> ('appendix inflammation')
cancer	<i>kanser</i>	<i>incitmebeni</i> ('don't hurt me')
cataract	<i>katarakt</i>	<i>perde</i> [P] ('curtain')
cholera	<i>kolera</i>	
diabetes	<i>diyabet</i>	<i>şeker hastalığı</i> ('sugar disease')
dysentery	<i>dizanteri</i>	<i>kanlı basur</i> [A] ('bloody haemorrhoids')
gallstones	<i>safra</i> (A) <i>taşları</i>	
glaucoma	<i>glokom</i>	<i>karasu</i> ('black water')
haemorrhoids	<i>emeroit</i>	<i>basur</i>
leucaemia	<i>lösemi</i>	<i>kan kanseri</i> ('blood cancer')
lockjaw	<i>tetanos</i>	<i>kazıklı humma/ateş</i> ('fever with stakes')
malaria	<i>malya</i>	<i>sıtma</i> ('heating')
pneumonia	<i>pnömoni</i>	<i>akciğer yangısı</i> ('lung inflammation'), <i>atar</i> ('piercing')
rabies	<i>kuduz</i>	
rheumatism	<i>romatizm</i>	
scurvy	<i>iskorbüt</i>	<i>tuzlubalgam</i> ('salty phlegm')
stye		<i>arpacak</i> ('little barley-grain'), <i>itdirseği</i> ('dog elbow')
tuberculosis	<i>tüberküloz</i>	<i>verem</i> [A] ('swelling, tumour')
tumour	<i>tümör</i>	<i>ur</i>
typhoid	<i>tifo</i>	<i>kara humma</i> ('black fever')
womb	<i>rahim</i> [A]	<i>dölyatağı</i> ('foetus-bed')

Yapıtında '(Antiepileptik ilaçların) yayılmasının bloke edilmesinde rol oynayan nöronal etkileri arasında eksitasyon eşğini yükseltmeleri, refrakter periyodu uzatmaları, presinaptik ve postsinaptik inhibisyonu potansiyelize etmeleri sayılabilir. Ayrıca nörofizyolojide spontan repetitif deşarjlara eşlik eden bir durum olarak bilinen posttetanik potansiyalizasyon olayını inhibe ederler; bu olay üzerindeki inhibitör etkileri ile deşarjın yayılmasını önlemeleri arasında ilişki bulunabilir' diyen bir yazar, 'epilepsi türlerinin uluslararası sınıflandırılmasını' verirken, 'psikoduyusal (!) semptomatoloji gösterenlerden', 'ikinci olarak jeneralize olan kısmi tutarıklardan' söz açıyor.²

'Among the neuronal effects that play a part in blocking the spread of antiepileptic drugs, there may be counted: raising the excitation-threshold, extending the refractory period, and potentializing pre- and post-synaptic inhibition. Moreover, they inhibit the occurrence of post-tetanic potentialization, which is known in neurophysiology to be a situation accompanying spontaneous repetitive discharges; there may be a relationship between their inhibiting effects on this occurrence and their preventing the spread of the discharge.'

² Örs has no compunction about identifying the writer and his book: O. Kayaalp, *Rasyonel Tedavi Yönünden Tıbbi Farmakoloji* (Ankara: Garanti Basımevi, 1978). The quotation is from pp. 968–9.

The writer of the above, in the course of giving 'the international classification of the varieties of epilepsy', speaks in his work of 'those exhibiting psychosensory (!) symptomatology', and 'secondarily generalized partial seizures'.

Örs then lists a number of individual words, mostly English, used by Turkish doctors, among them *schedule*, *bowel movement*, *rounds*, *background*, *rule out*, *fracture*, *arterial tension*, *fever*, *handle etmek*, *history almak* ('to record a patient's medical history'), and *idantifie etmek*. The list reflects the general advance of English in recent years, and the growing number of Turkish doctors doing post-graduate studies in Britain and America. Örs's source was a three-page communication published in 1968 by the Hacettepe Committee for the Collection of Medical Terms, which commented:

Türkçe karşılığı bulunabilen ve gerçekte uluslararası bilimsel terimlerle de ilgisi olmayan sözcükler ve terimler sık sık kullanılmakta ve yayılmaktadır . . . Yeni yetişen öğrenciler de önce bu terimler karşısında bocalamakla birlikte, sonraları bu duruma katılmakta ve yadırganan yeni bir dil ortaya çıkmaktadır. Öğrenciler böylece, hekimlikte ancak yabancı terimler kullanırlarsa bilgilerinin bilimsel değer kazanacağını sanmaktadırlar . . . Bu yüzden Türkçe bilim dili olarak gelişmemekte ve bir dil kargaşalığı eğitimimizi etkilemektedir.

Words and terms for which Turkish equivalents can be found and which really have nothing to do with international technical terms are frequently employed and are spreading . . . Newly trained students, while at first floundering when they meet these terms, then become part of the situation, and an incongruous new language is emerging. Students think that in this way, if they use only foreign terms in their profession, their knowledge will gain scientific value . . . For this reason, Turkish is not developing as a language of science, and a linguistic chaos is affecting our education.

Örs's comment:

Bu tür örnekleri çoğaltmak, ne yazık ki kolay olacaktır; gerçekten daha nice, nicelerini ekleyebiliriz . . . 'Critère' yerine ölçüt, 'diagnose' yerine tanı kullanmak çok büyük bir çabayı mı gerektirmektedir? Üretilmiş ya da ortaya çıkarılmış birçok Türkçe tıp terimi, yabancı terimlerin anlamını genellikle tümüyle karşılıyorlar. 'Hormon', 'konjenital', 'diffüz', sırasıyla içsalgı, doğuştan, yaygın demektirler, başka da bir şey demek değildirler.

Unfortunately it would be easy to multiply these examples; we really could add very many more . . . Does it call for a great effort to use ölçüt instead of *critère*, tanı instead of *diagnose*? Quite a number of Turkish medical terms, derived or brought to light, as a rule completely express the sense of the foreign terms. *Hormone*, *congenital*, and *diffuse* mean içsalgı ['inner secretion'], doğuştan ['from birth'], and yaygın ['widespread'] respectively, and that is all they mean.

Alluding to the old argument about whether Turks should derive their technical terms from Arabic and Persian, as the Western world does from Greek and Latin, Örs goes on to make a fair point: where, he asks, did the Greeks and Romans get their technical terms from?

Tanı anlamındaki *diagnosis* Yunanca bilgi anlamına gelen bir kokten çıkmıştır. Demek oluyor ki, batı dillerindeki terimler de Türkçe karşılıkları gibi temelde genel dilden, halk

dilinden türemiştir. İngilizce tıp dilinde ortaya çıkan *scanning*, Türkçedeki karşılığı olan ‘tarama’dan daha mı çok ‘bilimseldir’? Fransızca *donneur*’ün ‘verici’ den daha ileri bir ‘bilimsellik’ taşıdığı söylenebilir mi?

Diagnosis, meaning recognition, came from a Greek root meaning knowledge. This amounts to saying that terms in the Western languages, like their Turkish equivalents, derived originally from the general language, the popular language. Is *scanning*, which has emerged in English medical language, more ‘scientific’ than *tarama*, its Turkish equivalent? Can the French *donneur* [‘donor’] be said to possess a more advanced scientific quality than *verici*?

Apropos diagnosis, the old term for it was *teşhis* [A]. The new term is *tanı*, the stem of *tanımak* ‘to know’. Both terms occur in one and the same document, the pathologist’s report referred to above, together with a third, *diagnos*. Such a wealth of synonyms, though appropriate to a literary text, is surely superfluous in a document of this nature; it calls to mind the ‘illiyet–nedenlilik–causalite’ mentioned at the end of Chapter 1.

There was no mention of the technical terms of medicine in any of the papers presented in 1988 to the first Turkish Medical History Congress (TTK 1992), which suggests that the participants were happy with the status quo. But it was surprising to hear a medical man using in a broadcast talk on curative springs (Ankara Radio, 23 Jan. 1991) the sort of language that might have been immediately intelligible to a professional audience but could have conveyed little to the general public. He mentioned that some springs were beneficial for ‘nörolojik ve müsküler komplikasyonlar’. Any lay listener who knew *müsküler* only as the plural of *müskü* ‘amulet’ and failed to recognize in it the French *musculaire*, could be excused for supposing *komplikasyon* to be the latest *Öztürkçe* for *büyü* ‘magic spell’.

After the change to the Latin alphabet in 1928, the Republic’s legal codes, promulgated in 1926, had to be rewritten. The new version of the Civil Code appeared in 1934, when the move to ‘purify’ Turkish was just getting under way, and the drafters made a conscious effort to keep the language simple. But the passage of more than sixty years has made it virtually incomprehensible except to septuagenarians, since few young lawyers have the time to gain proficiency in Ottoman. For most of them the practice of their profession would be hard indeed were it not for the existence of what may fairly be termed a bilingual edition, in which the 1934 text is given on the left-hand page and a translation into the Turkish of the 1970s on the right. A short sample, Article 414, is enough to demonstrate that we really are talking about two languages, or at least two dialects:

(1934) Küçük üzerindeki vesayet, rüşet veya hâkimin rüşet kararı ile nihayet bulur. Mahkemei asliye, rüşde karar verir iken vesayetin hitamı gününü tesbit ve kararını resmen ilân eder.

(1979) Küçükler üzerindeki korumanlık, erginlikle veya yargıcın erginlik kararıyla sona erer. Asliye mahkemesi erginliğe karar verirken korumanlığın sona erme gününü saptar ve kararını kamusal yoldan duyurur. (Velidedeoglu 1979: i. 220–1)

Trusteeship of minors terminates with maturity or the judge's decision of maturity. The court of first instance, when giving its decision of maturity, shall fix the day on which the trusteeship terminates and announce its decision officially.

For the 1934 version's 'resmen' (officially), Velidedeoglu regularly uses 'kamusal yoldan' (publicly), literally 'through the public way'. He wanted to avoid the Arabic adverb, but 'kamusal yoldan' was not a good substitute. For 'resmen', *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988) offers the half-Turkicized 'resmî olarak', which is current, and 'devletçe', which can serve for 'officially' only when the official body concerned is the state.

Even though the sense of the right-hand pages may not always be crystal clear now, the lawyer can extract the gist from them, while quoting the original text from the left-hand page to impress his client or the court.

There is a similar treatment of the Criminal Code. Here is the text of Article 361 in both versions (Güner 1981: 274-5):

(1926) Her kim iltizam ettiği taahhüdü icra etmeyerek resmî bir daireye veya bir hizmeti âmme ifasına yahut bir musibeti âmmenin önünü almağa elzem olan erzak ve eşyanın fıkdanına sebebiyet verirse bir seneden üç seneye kadar hapse ve yirmi beş liradan aşağı olmamak üzere iki yüz liraya kadar ağır cezayı nakdiye mahkûm olur.

Taahhüdün icra olunmaması failin yalnız ihmal ve teseyyübünden ileri gelmiş ise bir seneye kadar hapse ve yüz liraya kadar ağır cezayı nakdiye mahkûm olur.

(1981) Her kim kabullendiği yüklenmeyi yerine getirmeyerek kamusal bir daireye ya da bir kamu hizmeti yapılmasına yahut bir genel musibetin önünü almaya pek gerekli olan yiyecek ve nesnelere yokluğuna yol açarsa bir yıldan üç yıla değin hapse ve iki yüz liraya değin ağır para cezasına çarptırılır.

Yüklenmenin yerine getirilmemesin suçu işleyenin yalnız savsama ve özensizliğinden ileri gelmişse bir yıla değin hapse ve yüz liraya değin ağır para cezasına çarptırılır.

Anyone who, by not carrying out the commitment he has undertaken, causes the absence of food and goods essential to an official department or to the performance of a public service or to prevent a general disaster, will be condemned to imprisonment for one to three years and a heavy fine of up to TL200.

If the non-performance of the commitment is due only to carelessness and oversight on the part of the culprit, he will be condemned to imprisonment for up to one year and a heavy fine of up to TL100.

The field in which new words constantly arise is computing, and in this the Turks, like other nations, have been tempted to take the easy course of using the international—i.e. the Anglo-American—terms. Computer people have not succumbed totally to the temptation. For the computer itself, *bilgisayar* is the only name. There are words for the printer (*yazıcı*), the hardware (*donanım* 'rigging'), the software (*yazılım*), and the print-out (*çıkış*),³ but for the most part the international terms prevail. The purpose of Yalçiner and Şahin's (1993) excellent dictionary is to explain the meaning of computer terms, not to advance the language reform. So its entry

³ For 'print-out', Yalçiner and Şahin (1993) gives not *çıkış* but *yazılı çıktı* 'written output'.

under OCR is '*optik karakter tanıma*. Bkz. [Bakınız 'see'] *optical character recognition*'. Under that heading you find: 'Fotoelektrik dönüştürücüler veya ışıkla kâğıt üzerine yazılmış ya da basılmış olan karakterlerin bulunması, tanınması ve makine diline çevrilmesinde kullanılan bir teknik' (A technique used in the finding, recognizing, and translating into machine language of characters written or printed on paper by photoelectric transformers or by light).

The enter or return key is explained as *enter tuşu* or *return tuşu*, *tuş* being *touche* [F]. Where a Turkish or *Öztürkçe* term exists, it is shown, as in the entry for graphic mode: *grafik mod*, *çizgesel mod*. The explanation of 'boot' is *bilgisayarı açmak*, 'to switch the computer on'. The dictionary does not note the new transitive use of *girmek* 'to enter' in the sense of 'to input', but provides an example in 'girilecek' in the following:

garbage in garbage out (GIGO); çöp girerse çöp çıkar

Bir bilgisayar sistemine girilecek veri ile ilgili olarak, verinin hatalı olması halinde üretilecek, çıktının da hatalı olması durumu.

Garbage in, garbage out (GIGO): if garbage goes in, garbage comes out.

In connection with data to be entered in a computer system, the state of affairs where if the datum is wrong the output that will be produced will also be wrong.⁴

The text of an advertisement in the magazine *Nokta* of 31 January 1993 shows why a Turkish computer-user might need such a dictionary: 'MACWORLD TÜRKİYE ses yazı grafik animasyon film multimedya demo disketi hyperdcard [*sic*] üzerinde QuickTime ile hazırlanmış multimedya uygulaması MACWORLD/TÜRKİYE şubat sayısı ile birlikte tüm okurlarımıza bayilerde' (MACWORLD TÜRKİYE sound, writing, graphics, animation, film, multimedia demo disket, multimedia application prepared with QuickTime on hypercard, for all our readers, with the February number of MACWORLD/TÜRKİYE at the newsvendors). The non-harmonic *bayî* (*bâ'î* [A]) '(news)vendor' looks incongruous among all those ultramodern terms, but the word retains its popularity against *gazete satıcısı*.

To give an idea of ordinary people's computer-speak, here are the texts of two letters in *Okur Postası* (Readers' Mail) in the magazine *PC!* of 15 July 1997:

SATILIK 486 PC. 486 DX 2-66, 8 MB RAM, 14" 0.28 SVGA renkli monitör, 3,5" 1.44 FDD, 420 MB HDD, 1 MB ekran kartı, Windows 95 Türkçe klavye + mouse özellikleri olan bilgisayarımı 480 \$'a satıyorum.

486 PC FOR SALE. I am selling for \$480 my computer with these features: 486 DX 2-66, 8 MB RAM, 14" 0.28 SVGA colour monitor, 3,5" 1.44 FDD, 420 MB HDD, 1 MB screen card, Windows 95, Turkish keyboard + mouse.

PC TAKASI. 14 inç Monokrom ekran çok temiz hard diskli PC bilgisayarımı satmak istiyorum. Yanında yazıcısıyla birlikte 30.000.000 TL. Amiga veya Sega ile takas yapılır.

⁴ Another example comes from the newspaper *Sabah*, 29 Dec. 1997: 'RP'nin [Refah Partisi'nin] internetine porno sayfa giren muzipler' (the mischievous people who input pornographic pages into the Welfare Party's internet).

PC EXCHANGE. I want to sell my hard-disk PC computer, in very good condition, 14-inch monochrome screen. Along with its printer, TL30,000,000. Will exchange for Amiga or Sega.

TDK has not produced a glossary of musical terms, though in 1954 it published a twenty-seven-page brochure entitled *Terim Anketleri: Müzik*, the work of Turkey's greatest composer, Adnan Saygun (1907–87). With no introductory material, this consisted simply of a list in three columns, headed 'Fransızca' (French), 'Eski Terimler' (Old Terms), and 'Kullanılan veya teklif edilen terimler' (Terms in use or proposed). There was little change from column to column; the terms for 'sharp' and 'flat', for example: 'Dièse–Diyez–Diyez' and 'Bémol–Bemol–Bemol'. Sometimes a Turkish word was added: 'Allegretto–Allegretto–Allegretto; çabukça'; 'Allegro–Allegro–Allegro; çabuk'; 'Appassionato–Appassionato–Appassionato; heyecanlı'; 'Rallentando–Rallentando–Rallentando (yavaşlıyarak)'. Rarely does a Turkish word stand alone in the third column: 'Réponse–Repons; cevap–Cevap'. Rarer yet, an *Öztürkçe* word: 'Transcription–Transkripsiyon–Çevriyazı'; 'Altération–Tağyir, tefnin–Değişim'. This is what one would expect of Turkish musicians and musicologists, who adopted Western music complete with its technical terms. In her 252 pages on problems of music, Filiz Ali (1987) mentions no problem of terminology, nor does Sözer (1986) give any hint in his encyclopaedia that an alternative terminology exists.⁵ He defines BEMOL: 'Bir notanın doğal sesinden yarım perde (aralık) daha pestleşeceğini (kalınlılaşacağını) belirten işaret' (The sign indicating that a note is to be lowered a semitone below its natural pitch). The definition of DİYEZ is on similar lines.

Yet there is an alternative terminology, taught and used in the Department of Music at the University of the Aegean, but consistently disregarded not only by most musicians and musicologists elsewhere but also by Turkish lexicographers, including those of TDK, whom one would have expected to take an interest in an academic haven of *Öztürkçe*. The existence of this terminology is due to Gültekin Oransay, the gifted and influential musicologist who founded the Department, and to Adnan Saygun.⁶ Turkish musicians in general use the French terminology, with *do diyez majör* for C sharp major, and *mi bemol majör* for E flat major. The school of Oransay calls these *büyük dikdo* and *büyük yonmi* respectively, using *dik* for sharp and *yon* for flat. For 'composer' it uses not *bestekâr* [P] but *bağdar*, while for 'music' it uses not *müzik* [F] or *musiki* [A] but Ataç's *küğ*, with *küğsel* for 'musical'. Its word for 'singer' is not *şarkıcı* but *ırlagan*, which differs from *dik*, *yon*, and *bağdar* in having an obvious etymology: *ırlamak* is a provincial word for 'to sing'.

⁵ Some time before 1986, Bilgi Yayınevi, an Ankara publisher, produced a *Müzik Kılavuzu*, which I have not seen.

⁶ Some information about Saygun may be found in Gedikli (1987: 11) and in İlhan (1987). The second of these two articles, however, is not as informative about musical terms as one could have wished.

While we are on the subject of music, here is a perhaps gratuitous note for the benefit of any reader who may have formed the impression that *saz* [P] is the name of the long-necked stringed instrument that holds so important a place in folk-music. The name for this, however, is *bağlama*; *saz* means just 'instrument', be it piano, drum, flute, or anything else. Some musicians use the French *enstrüman*, some the Turkish *çalgi*, but *saz* is the usual term. Stringed instruments are *telli saz*, percussion instruments are *vurma saz*, wind instruments *nefesli saz*.

The New Yoke

The Français which so exasperates the Académie Française is as nothing compared with *Türkilizce*,¹ some examples of which we have already met. This development was foreseen in 1954 at the Seventh Kurultay, in a contribution from a schoolmaster named Abdi Tevfik Yegül (Kurultay 1954: 82). He spoke of the questions his pupils were constantly asking him about the new technical terms; why was this one or that one adopted, and would he please explain it?

‘Hocam bu Trafik kelimesi ne demektir?’ dediler ve çocuklardan birisi devam etti. ‘Şemseddin beyin lûgatına babamla birlikte baktık, mânası ticaret, ihtikâr, demiryollarında eşya nakli ve yolcu nakli gibi işlerin yapılması mânasına geliyor’ dedi. Çocuk devam etti. ‘Babamla Larousse’a da baktık. Burada da trafiğin ticaret ve seyrüsefer anlamına geldiğini’ söyledi.

Demek ki bugüne kadar Fransız mandası altına girmiş olan lisanımız bundan sonra kısmen İngiliz mandası altına girecektir. Bunu yapmayalım.

They said, ‘Teacher, what does this word “trafik” mean?’ One of the children went on: ‘My father and I looked at Şemseddin Bey’s dictionary [*Kamus*]; it means doing things like commerce, profiteering, and transporting goods and passengers on railways.’ The child continued: ‘My father and I looked at Larousse as well. There too it meant commerce and traffic.’

That means that our language, which till now has been under French mandate, from now on will come in part under British mandate.² Let’s not do this.

The same point had been made over seventy years before, by Ahmet Midhat in *Terceman-ı Hakikat* (no. 112 (1881)):

‘Vâ esefâ ki, biz şimdiki halde bir lisan dilencisiyiz. Gâh Arabların gâh Acemlerin ve hele şimdi de Frenklerin kapılarını çalarak lâfızca kavaidce sadaka-i ma’rifetini dileniyoruz’ (Alas! At present we are mendicants in quest of a language. We knock at doors, sometimes the Arabs’ doors, sometimes the Persians’, and now particularly the Europeans’, begging for a charitable gift of knowledge in the shape of words and rules) (Levend 1972: 129).

The time when TDK’s principal business was seeking *Öztürkçe* replacements for Arabic and Persian words has long passed; much of the post-1983 TDK’s effort goes into devising and disseminating Turkish equivalents for English words in common use. It sets an example in its journal *Türk Dili* by giving its fax number

¹ The earliest use I have spotted of this splendid conflation of *Türkçe* and *İngilizce* is in Başkan (1975).

² The speaker’s choice of metaphor was due to memories of the years immediately after 1918, when some Turks favoured an American or British mandate over their country.

under the heading 'Belgegeçer (Faks)'. Whether everyone in TDK's offices says 'belgegeçer' (document-passes) rather than 'faks' is another matter; just as one wonders whether all French civil servants really call this useful device by its prescribed name, 'télécopie'. When TDK's campaign was being waged only in the pages of its journal, it did not seem likely to be very effective, preaching as it was to the converted. In 1997, however, the Society began to spread the message wider, by bringing out and circulating to schools a striking poster headed 'Burası Türkiye mi?' (Is this Turkey?). It showed a city street with an abundance of signs such as 'Happy New Year', 'Hotel', 'Real Estate Center', 'Photo Colour', and 'Chicken House'. The French contribution was limited to 'La Famme [sic] Boutique'.

It is not hard to see the reason for the present torrent of English. Just as the Turks' acceptance of Islamic civilization led to their adoption of large numbers of Arabic and Persian terms, so, though to a lesser extent, did the increasing exposure of Turkish intellectuals to Western civilization in the nineteenth century bring Italian and, even more, French words surging into their vocabulary.³ Cevdet Kudret (1966) remarks on the substitution of French words for Arabic, when *hekim* began to be supplanted by *doktor*, *baytar* by *veteriner*, *kâtip* by *sekreter*. He mentions the replacement of the Italian *locanda* 'inn' and *agente* 'agent' (in Turkish used more often for 'agency'), and the Greek *panëgûri* 'festival, fair' by the French *restaurant*, *agence*, and *foire*.

İş bu kadarla da kalmadı, daha önce girmiş Frenkçe sözcükleri dahi değiştirip yerlerine başka Frenkçe sözcükler aldık: *musiki* yerine *müzik*, *lokanta* yerine *restoran*, *acente* yerine *ajans*, *panayır* yerine *fuar* diyoruz artık . . . Dikkat edilirse, Türkçe *aşevi* en aşağı, en ucuz yemek evleri için kullanılmaktadır. *Lokanta* sözcüğü yavaş yavaş halk arasında da yayılmağa başlayınca, yüksek tabaka kendisi için daha başka bir söz aramış, *restoran*'ı bulmuş. *Aşevi* halkın, *lokanta* orta sınıfın, *restoran* yüksek sınıfın yemek yeridir. Böylece, kendimiz halktan uzaklaştıkça dilimiz de Türkçe'den uzaklaşmaktadır. Frenkçeyi aldıkça, çok inceldiğimizi sanıyoruz. Sözelimi, halk *ayakyolu*'na ve *aptesané*'ye, orta tabaka *helâ*'ya, biz okumuşlarsa *tuvalet*'e gideriz; son zamanlarda bir de *W.C.* çıktı, arasına oraya da gidiyoruz. (Kudret 1966: 74–5)

Nor did it stop there; we have changed European words that had entered earlier also, taking other European words to replace them. Now we say *müzik* instead of *musiki*, *restoran* instead of *lokanta*, *ajans* instead of *acente*, *fuar* instead of *panayır* . . . If you look into it you will see that the Turkish word *aşevi* is used of the commonest and cheapest eating houses. As *lokanta* began to spread gradually among the populace too, the top stratum sought for themselves yet another way of saying it and found *restoran*. *Aşevi* is the eating place of the populace, *lokanta* of the middle class, *restoran* of the upper class. Thus the further we distance ourselves from the populace, the further our language departs from Turkish. The more we adopt European language, the more refined we think we are becoming. In that connection: the populace goes to the *ayakyolu* and the *aptesane*, and the middle

³ Fashions in words do change, without any intervention by a Language Society. Until the Second World War, the colloquial English for 'Are you trying to make fun of me?' was 'Are you taking the mike out of me?' Warriors returning from overseas in or after 1945 were surprised to find that the current expression was—as it still is—'Are you taking the micky?'

class go to the *helâ*, whereas we educated folk go to the *tuvalet*; moreover the WC has recently turned up, and now and again we go there as well.⁴

For over a century the usual Turkish for 'furniture' was *mobilya*.⁵ The old words *döşeme* and *mefruşat* [A] had ceased to serve; they meant *alaturka*⁶ 'Turkish-style' furniture, whereas the new Italian-style furniture brought its own name with it. In those days, 'furnished' was *mobilyalı*. Peyami Safa used *möble*, the French *meublé*, for 'furnished'. More recently, however, *mobilya* has had to compete with another *möble*, not from *meublé* but from *meuble* 'furniture'.⁷

After the irruption of Italian and then French, now, in the American century, it is the turn of English.⁸ To some degree the language reform must be held responsible: older people are sometimes aware that the word that comes to their lips may not be understood, but are uncertain about finding the right new word to express what they want to say in what purports to be their mother tongue, so they resort to a foreign and unambiguous word. A far larger class of users of foreign words are professional people—especially doctors, as we have seen in the previous chapter—when they think the obvious word is not sufficiently technical. A friend who at one time edited a Turkish medical magazine told me that when he used *beslenme* for 'nutrition' a doctor corrected it to *nütrisyon*. Nowadays that doctor would probably have chosen the English *nütrışın*, following the trend illustrated in a cartoon in *Cumhuriyet* of 13 December 1993. It shows two men, both marked as intellectuals by their spectacles, walking along the street. One of them is saying: 'Türkçe yerine İngilizce konuşanlara kıl oluyorum abi . . . operasyon yerine opereyişin, spekülasyon yerine speküleyişin diyenler yüzde sekseni buldu. Hiç olmazsa fifti fifti kullansak yabancı sözcükleri be abi!' Friend, I'm getting fed to the teeth with people who talk English instead of Turkish. The number of those who say 'opereyişin' instead of 'operasyon', 'speküleyişin' instead of 'spekülasyon', has risen to 80 per cent. If at least we were to use [Turkish words and] foreign words fifty fifty, my friend!).

⁴ He omits to mention another term used by the *halk*: 'yuz numara' (number one hundred), the door being marked with two zeros. Popular etymology ascribes this to an early Turkish visitor to Paris who mistook the French 'sans numéro' for 'cent numéro', but the French term is 'le numéro cent'.

⁵ It still is in popular speech, which also preserves another old Italian borrowing, *familya*, in the sense not so much of 'family' as of 'wife'. *Aile* [A] 'family' is the word used to avoid explicitly saying *karı* 'wife'. To put it bluntly, *familya* is a euphemism for *aille*, once a euphemism for *karı* but now, to the unsophisticated, virtually synonymous with it.

⁶ This useful word is borrowed from the Italian *alla turca*. Its antonym is *alafranga*, Italian *alla franca* 'European style'.

⁷ Compare the final *es* of *kilometre kare*, one standing for the French mute *e*, the other for *é*. The Turkish form of *neutre* [F] is *nötr* 'neutral', with no final *e*, so *möble* does not need its final *e* to represent *meuble*, except that, if you want to say 'furnished' but scorn both *mobilyalı* and *döşenmiş* as being outmoded, *möbleli* is the word for you, whereas **möblülü* would have been unpronounceable.

⁸ English had in fact been the main source of maritime terms since the early 1800s, according to the erudite though sometimes erratic Bedros Effendi Kerestedjian (1912: 143): 'Disons, une fois pour toutes, que les termes de marine et d'instruments de fabrique que [*sic*] étaient empruntés, autrefois, à l'italien, sont aujourd'hui pris généralement de la langue anglaise: les officiers instructeurs de la marine et des fabriques impériales, en Turquie, étant depuis près d'un siècle recrutés en Angleterre.'

The following, from an article by Mümtaz Soysal (1990) is cited not only for its manifest good sense but also for the vigour of its style.⁹ The Head of State referred to was President Turgut Özal:

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin devlet başkanı sabah, akşam 'transformasyon' dan söz eder, bakanlar 'subvansiyone' bile değil, 'sübvanse' edilen girişimleri anlatır . . . Bir okuyucunun isyan ederek duyurduğuna göre, İzmir Belediyesi'nin camdan otobüs durakları 'hem indoor hem outdoor, hem visible, hem invisible' imiş.

Ya halkın kullandığı telefon. Telefonların üzerindeki 'jeton iade holü' ne ne demeli? Haydi 'jeton'la 'iade'yi anladık da, 'hol' nesi? Türkçe 'delik' demek varken İngilizce 'hole' ü imdada çağırın densizi bulup Dil Kurultay'ının bütün uyeleri önünde eşek sudan gelinceye kadar sopaya çekmedikçe, galiba bu çeşit zıvrıklıkların sonu gelmeyecek.

The Head of State of the Turkish Republic speaks morning, noon, and night of *transformation*. Ministers talk of enterprises that are not even *subventionné* but *subvensé* . . . According to information supplied by a reader in revolt, the Izmir Municipality's glass bus-shelters are described as being 'both "indoor" and "outdoor", both "visible" and "invisible"':

And what about the public telephones? What can one say of the words they bear: "Token Return Hole"? All right, let us concede that we understand *jeton* [F] and *iade* [A]; what is *hole*? Until we find the dim-witted oaf who, it being open to him to say the Turkish *delik*, enlists the aid of the English *hole*, and he is given a sound thrashing in the presence of all the members of the Language Congress, I suppose there will be no end to daftnesses of this kind.¹⁰

The use of *hol* for 'hole' was particularly ill conceived, because *hol* had long been known to Turks in a different sense; it was another English borrowing, from 'hall' in the sense of a large public room or the entrance hall of a house. But perhaps they may get used to having *hol* with two disparate meanings, as they already have *kot* with five: it means a type of cotton material, the jeans made from it, altitude, and code,¹¹ and also appears in *kotdışı pazar* 'marché de valeurs non-cotisées', 'unlisted securities market'; this from the French 'cote' 'Stock Exchange quotation'.

Süpermarket now figures in the dictionaries, and so does *süper*, defined in such terms as 'Nitelik, nicelik ve derece bakımından üstün olan' (Superior from the point of view of quality, quantity and degree). *Süperdevlet* is in regular use for 'superpower' but has not yet got into the dictionaries. Sports writers call the player who scores the most goals 'en skorer oyuncu'. The normal word for a bodyguard, or bouncer or chucker-out at a night-club, is *koruma* 'protection', but the with-it word is 'bodyguard', spelled like that. There is, however, no shortage of French.

⁹ For the writer's distinction too. Professor Soysal, while Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara, suffered greatly for upholding freedom of thought in the bad days of the early 1970s.

¹⁰ The daftnesses continue, and not only in Turkey. I have in front of me a leaflet entitled 'The Patient's Charter', published by HM Stationery Office in 1991 for the Department of Health. It promises that in due course there will be, *inter alia*, a Turkish version, 'Peşşint Çartır'.

¹¹ This makes a verb *kotlamak*. If, when using the telephone, you are asked 'Adınızı kotlar mısınız?' (Will you spell out your name in code?), you should reply, if your name is Mehmet or Meredith, 'Muğla'daki M, Edirne'deki E' (M as in Muğla, E as in Edirne) and so on.

The slip of paper your waiter gives you when, dinner over, you ask for 'hesap', will probably have the printed heading 'Adisyon'. The Turkish for 'ambulance' is *cankurtaran* 'life-saver', but the legend you will see on the front of most ambulances in Turkey is *Ambülans*. Mümtaz Soysal (1993)¹² has an ingenious explanation of how this may have come about:

Sözcüklerin doğuşunu, yaşayışını ve ölüşünü izlemek her zaman ilginçtir.

'Ambülans' sözünü alın. Niçin doğdu? Daha doğrusu, çağdaş Türkçenin en güzel sözcüklerinin biri olan 'cankurtaran'ı nasıl öldürdü? Belki de cankurtaranların can kurtarmaya başlamasıyla birlikte oldu bu değişiklik. Kimbilir, şehir düzenleri bozuldu, yollar tıkanıp da, çağrılan cankurtaranlar zamanında gelmeyince hastalar, yaralılar hastaneye kaldırılmadan öldüler. Geç gelen cankurtaran, adıyla çelişen bir araçtır. Adı herhalde bundan değişti.

Oysa, 'ambülans' öyle mi? Adının ne anlama geldiğini bilen yok ki, geç gelince kızılınsın. 'Can kurtarmayan ambülans da olabilir' diye düşünmeye başlıyor insanlar ve bu sözde alfrangalıkla birlikte müthiş bir şarklılık, adamsendecilik, olmaması gereken bir hoşgörüyü yerleşiyor.

It is always interesting to trace how words are born, how they live, and how they die.

Take the word *ambülans*. Why was it born? More to the point, how did it kill off *cankurtaran*, one of the most attractive words in contemporary Turkish? It may well be that this change took place just when the life-savers began not saving lives. Who knows, urban order deteriorated, the roads became clogged, and, when the life-savers that were summoned did not arrive in time, the sick and injured died before being removed to hospital. The life-saver that arrives late is a vehicle that belies its name. It was surely because of this that the name changed.

But is that so with *ambülans*? There is no one who knows what the name means, so why should anyone feel angry when it arrives late? People start to think, 'A non-saver of life may just as well be an ambülans [as anything else],' and in those words, despite the occidental flavour, there nestles a terrible oriental quality, a 'So what?' attitude, a tolerance which ought not to exist.

In an earlier article Soysal (1986) said:

Kendi dilini geliştirmek yerine başkalarının dilini böylesine yalan yanlış benimseyen bir başka toplum da yoktur . . . Radyolarında harfleri bile gâvurca okuyup 'er-aş pozitif' diye kan isteyen ve 'Oşinografi Dairesi'nin bildirimlerini okuyan bir toplum bu tarzancayla mı kendi düşüncesini üretecek?

Nor is there any other society that, instead of developing its own language, adopts in so cockeyed a fashion the language of other people . . . A society which even pronounces on its radio the names of the letters of the alphabet in the manner of the heathen, asking for 'er-aş pozitif' [Rh positive] blood, and which reads notices from 'the Department of Oceanography'—is it going to produce its own ideas in this monkey-talk [Tarzanish]?

The pronunciation of 'Rh' as /er-aş/ reflects the French training of many Turkish doctors, while the English-language domination of the field of electronics is

¹² The article is entitled 'Atmasyon' (Showing off), from *atma* 'bragging' plus the French suffix of such words as *telekomünikasyon*. See Lewis (1988: 172).

shown by the pronunciation of the abbreviation TV for television; some do say /te-ve/, but /ti-vi/ is at least as common. FM for frequency modulation is universally pronounced /ef-em/, not /fe-me/.

On Fridays, some newspapers' front pages carry a promise that tomorrow's issue will bring next week's television programmes: 'Yarın TV Guide'. Friends I have consulted cannot guess how that last word is pronounced by readers ignorant of English. Even when one knows that *okeylemek* means 'to OK', that *fizibilite raporu* has long been the Turkish for 'feasibility report',¹³ and *kalite kontrolü* for 'quality control', one can still be startled by new developments in *Türkilizce*. The programme of the 1998 International Conference on Turkish Linguistics included a paper entitled: 'Türkçe'de Kompleks Predikasyonlar içindeki Gerundium Grubu Ögelerinin Relativizasyonu' ('Relativization of Elements of the Gerund-Group within Complex Predications in Turkish'). If that does not startle you, how about this? The notice outside the places where they measure your vehicle's emission of exhaust-gas reads: 'Egzos Gazı Emisyonu Ölçüm İstasyonu'. Beyond saying that *ölçüm* means 'measurement', just this once I shall break my rule about leaving no Turkish quotation untranslated.

Another new borrowing is *-kolik*, from the suffix of *alcoholic* and its offspring *chocoholic* and *workaholic*, the *Türkilizce* for the last-named being *çalışmakolik* or *işkolik*. Tea addicts are called *çaykolik*. An older such suffix is *-matik* as in *bankamatik*, a cash-dispensing machine. Lately its use has spread in unlikely directions:

Devlet Bakanı Işıl Saygın, ilk kez tapu işlemlerinin bankamatik kartları gibi manyetik kartlarla yürütülmesini sağlayan 'Tapumatik' sisteminin açılışını yaptı. ('Tapular artık tapumatike'. *Hürriyet*, 12 Ağustos 1997, haber) . . .

Bu arada yeri gelmişken üç derginin adından da söz etmeliyim. 'Haftalık Ekonomi, Politik, Finans, Borsa Dergisi PARAMATİK', bilmece-bulmaca dergileri ZEKAMATİK ve ÇÖZMATİK. (Sakaoğlu 1998)

Minister of State Işıl Saygın has performed the opening of the Tapumatik system, which for the first time makes it possible for land-registration operations to be conducted by means of magnetic cards resembling cash-cards ('Title-Deeds at Last Automated', *Hürriyet*, 12 Aug. 1997, news item) [*tapumatike* is a quasi-French past participle from *tapu* 'title-deed' plus *-matik*] . . .

This brings me to¹⁴ the names of three magazines: *Paramatik*, the *Weekly Journal of Economics, Politics, Finance, and the Stock Market*, and the riddle and puzzle magazines *Zekamatik* and *Çözmatic* [*para* 'money', *zeka* 'intelligence', *çöz-* 'to solve'].

A less obvious example of the influence of English is a new phenomenon: the current greeting *Selâm* in place of *Merhaba*. This is not evidence of increasing religiosity, but is due to the prevalence of English-language films on television, which results in what is called *dublaj Türkçesi* 'dubbing-Turkish'. The aim when dubbing is to use Turkish words requiring lip movements similar to those of the original,

¹³ There are two correctly derived words for 'feasibility', *olurluk* and *yapılabilirlik*, only nobody much uses them. For 'report' there exists the neologism *yazanak*, but it is nowhere near as common as *rapor*.

¹⁴ Literally, 'At this point, now that its place has come, I must also mention'.

and the lip movements for 'Selâm' are closer to those for 'Hello' than to those for 'Merhaba'. Other such phenomena may be on the way. Another instance of television's effect on speech: according to Hasan Pular, writing in *Milliyet* of 4 February 1995, *Vay anasını!* is no longer the normal way of expressing surprise, its replacement being *Vavvvv!* 'Wow!'

What Atatürk would have made of all this is an interesting topic for speculation. It is clearly not what he had in mind when he spoke of liberating Turkish from the yoke of foreign languages. Maybe he would have welcomed all the Anglicisms and Gallicisms as evidence of his country's Westernization, preferring them to Arabisms and Persianisms. But what he wanted his countrymen to speak and write was Turkish.

The New Turkish

There are two questions we have to address: has the reform eliminated the gap between the language of the intellectuals and the language of the people, and has it impoverished the language? The answer to the first question is that the gap, though not so huge as it once was, is still there. But that is natural, because some people need and use more words than others. No one ever expected the intellectuals to stop talking about bacteriology or astronomy or political science or whatever their particular interests might be. The hope was simply that they would give up the use of Ottoman words for everyday concepts; they would not, so to speak, say 'domicile' when they meant 'house', or 'animadvert on' when they meant 'find fault with', or 'I shall exercise cogitation on this topic' when they meant 'I'll think about it'. And they don't. To that extent the reform has been a success. On the other hand, the spread of *Öztürkçe* and the influx of English have hardly changed the speech habits of non-intellectuals; the language spoken today by the agricultural labourer, the shopkeeper, and the small craftsman is not markedly different from that spoken by their grandparents. These people keep much of the old language alive. To this extent the gap has widened and the reform has failed.

Certainly most of the dispossessed Arabic and Persian words are gone for ever, and many Turks feel that their language has already been damaged beyond repair. Since 1983, however, it has begun to settle down and enjoy a new period of convalescence, although, given the endless deluge of English borrowings, it is too early to say 'of natural development'. In the new TDK's suggested replacements for those borrowings, *Öztürkçe* is far from predominating; some of them are what we may call proper Turkish and what the old TDK would have called Ottoman. The list in *Türk Dili* for November 1997 included *sihhi* for *hijyenik*, and *fizik tedavi uzmanı* 'physical treatment expert' for *fizyoterapist*. For *kemoterapi* 'chemotherapy' we are even given a choice of adjective: *kimyasal/kimyevî tedavi*. For *enformel* 'informal', *resmî olmayan*. The best they could do for *klonlamak* 'to clone' was *kopyalamak*, the Italian *kopya* having long since supplanted the Arabic *istinsah* 'copy'.

Aksoy (1982: 115–16) says:

Ben tasfiyeci değilim: Dilden, bütün yabancı sözcüklerin atılabileceğine inanmıyorum. Ama tasfiyecileri suçlamak aklımın köşesinden geçmiyor. Onlar bütün yabancı sözcüklere Türkçe karşılıklar bulma çabası içindeler. Bu, alkışlanacak bir tutumdur. Biliyorum ki 'yüzde yüz başarı' ya ulaşamayacaklardır. Ama çabaları, dile birtakım değerler

kazandırabilir. 'Tasfiyeci', dilin zenginleşmesi için hiç çaba göstermeyen 'tutucu'dan daha yararlı bir kişidir. Unutulmamalıdır ki tasfiyeciler var diye dil çığırından çıkmaz. Şimdiye değin birçok tasfiyeci gelmiş geçmiştir. Önerileri ne ölçüde gerçekleşmiştir? Toplum, çalışma verimlerinin hepsini süzgeçten geçirir, işine yarayan alır.

I am not a purifier: I do not believe that all foreign words can be expelled from the language. Yet it never crosses my mind to find fault with the purifiers. They are endeavouring to find Turkish equivalents for all foreign words, an attitude to be applauded. I know they will not be able to achieve one hundred per cent success, but their endeavours may win a number of valuable items for the language. The 'purifier' is more useful than the 'conservative' who makes no effort to enrich the language. One must not forget that the language won't go off the rails just because of the existence of purifiers. A good many purifiers have come and gone before now. To what extent have their proposals materialized? Society filters all the results of their work and takes what suits its purposes.

It does indeed. That is why *yüklenici*, for example, though correctly formed from a Turkish root and Turkish suffixes (*yükle-n-* 'to take on a burden', and *-ici* denoting regular activity), has not caught on. It was intended to replace *müteahhit* 'contractor', but builders who have spent their working lives with contractors do not know the new word and continue to refer to them as *mutahit*. *Cep Kılavuzu* gave *tecim* for *ticaret* [A] 'commerce', and *tecimer* for *tüccar* [A] 'businessman'. Any businessmen who ever seriously called themselves *tecimer* have left no mark; *tüccar* is still the word. There may be some writers who talk about *tecim*, but if so they are living in the past: *Türkçe Sözlük* (1983) did not include *tecim* though it still gave *tecimsel* for *ticari* 'commercial'. The 1988 edition includes neither, and marks *tecim evi* for *ticarethane* [AP] 'place of business' as obsolete.

Fahir İz, doyen of scholars of Ottoman and modern literature, does not doubt that the reform has been a success (İz 1984): 'Büyük Türkçede dilin yapısına uymayan kırk elli söz vardır. Terimlerde bu sayı yüz dolayındadır. Bunlar yazı diline kazandırılan binlerce söz yanında devele kulaktır' (Present-day Turkish has forty or fifty words incompatible with the structure of the language. In the case of technical terms the figure is around a hundred. Beside the thousands of words won for the written language by the reform, this is insignificant ['the ear on a camel']). He rather skates over the fact that the reform has had little effect on the way ordinary people talk; in his text he mentions just one neologism that has entered the spoken language, the malformed *ilginç* 'interesting'. In his summing-up he says: 'Bugün artık Dil Devrimi'nden geri dönülemeyeceği kesindir. Halkın konuştuğu dili bırakıp tekrar Arapçaya ve Farsçaya dönmek hiçbir zaman söz konusu olamaz' (By now there can definitely be no turning-back from the Language Reform. There can be no question of the people's ever abandoning the language they speak and turning once more to Arabic and Persian). He spoils the effect, however, in the next paragraph:

Artık kimseye seçim yerine intihabat, seçmen yerine müntahip, basın yerine matbuat, yayın yerine neşriyat, başyazar yerine ser-muharrir, yazı kurulu yerine heyet-i tahririye, takma ad yerine nam-i müstear, Akdeniz Adaları yerine Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid, Oniki Ada yerine

Cezayir-i İsnâaşer, Kuzey Buz Denizi yerine Bahr-i Muhit-i Münccemid-i Şimali yazdırmanın ve söyletmenin yolu yoktur.

There is no way of making anyone write and say the Ottoman instead of the *Öztürkçe* for 'election', 'voter', 'the Press', 'publication', 'editor-in-chief', 'editorial committee', 'pseudonym', 'Islands of the Mediterranean', 'Dodecanese', and 'Arctic Ocean'.

The title of his brochure is 'The Turkish of Us All', but who are the 'us'? I cannot believe that any of those words, new or old, with the exception around election time of *seçim* and possibly *seçmen*, are often on the lips of the habitués of the tea houses of Kırklareli or Bayburt. Are these the 'people' who are not going to turn once more to Arabic and Persian? How are they to turn or not to turn 'once more' to two languages they never knew?

The standpoint of Faruk Kadri Timurtaş (1979) is very different, as the title of his book reveals: 'Dictionary of New Words, Fake and Otherwise'. He himself uses *kelime* not *sözcük* for 'word', but *sözlük* for 'dictionary' rather than *lûgat*, which now sounds highly archaic; he thus avoids the cacophonous *sözcükler sözlüğü*. Though not so tolerant of illegitimate creations as Fahir İz, he is no diehard;¹ witness his comment on *içerik*, the new word for *muhtevâ* 'contents' (1979: 54–5).

Son yıllarda uydurmacıların çokça kullandıkları kelimelerden biri de *içerik*'tir, 'muhtevâ' mânâsına geliyormuş. Dilimizde *içeri* kelimesi bulunmakla birlikte, *içerik* diye bir kelime yoktur . . . Muhtevâ kelimesinin artık eskidiği ve herkes tarafından bilinmediği doğrudur ama, bunun karşılığı *içerik* değildir. Muhtevâ yerine 'iç, öz' kullanılabilir.

Another word much used by the fakers in recent years is *içerik*, purporting to mean *muhtevâ* 'contents'. Although *içeri* exists in our language, there is no such word as *içerik* . . . It is true that *muhtevâ* is antiquated and not known to everyone, but the replacement for it is not *içerik*. *İç* or *öz* may be used instead.

Where he would not agree with Fahir İz is on the number of illegitimate formations in *Öztürkçe*. He lists more than three thousand neologisms, which he places in three categories: words correctly formed, incorrectly formed 'fakes', and words that, though semantically or morphologically incorrect, have become so widely used that they qualify as *galat-ı meşhur*, the Ottoman term for 'error legitimized by usage'. Averaging the results of a spot check of one-fifth of the list shows 40 per cent in the first category, 37 per cent in the second, and 23 per cent in the third, making a total of just under two thousand incorrect forms; a far cry from İz's 'forty to fifty'.

Gültekin devotes a chapter—'Yeni bir Seçkin Dili Tehlikesi var mıdır? (1983: 97–101)—to a discussion of whether there is a danger of the emergence of a new élite language. He decides that there is not:

Türk yazı dili son elli yılda çok büyük değişiklikler geçirdi. Elli yıl önce yazılan birçok yazı bugün anlaşılıyor, bu normaldir. Ama bundan sonra da aynı ölçüde bir değişiklik süreci

¹ He was responsible for a neat linguistic term: *kendileştirmek* literally 'to make one's own' for 'to assimilate', properly *temsil etmek* (Aksoy 1982: 114).

beklememek gerekir. Elli yıl sonra, bugün yazılan yazıların anlaşılmaması gibi bir durum olmamalıdır ve olmayacaktır.

Written Turkish has undergone very great changes in the last fifty years. A good many writings of fifty years ago are unintelligible today; this is normal. But from now on, a process of change of the same order must not be expected. Fifty years ahead there should not and will not be a situation in which what is being written today is unintelligible.

The calm 'bu normaldir' that ends the second sentence gave me a cold grue. Thinking that I might have misunderstood, I searched the dictionaries to see whether *normal* had recently acquired some new significance, but found none. There was no getting round it; when Gültekin says it is normal for something written fifty years ago to be unintelligible, he means exactly that; a shocking tribute to the success of the language reform.

In Chapter 1 I mentioned the 'translations into modern Turkish' and 'simplified versions' of standard authors to be seen in the bookshops. Here is a pertinent comment by Fuat M. Andic, quoted in *Cumhuriyet* of 7 May 1995:

Galiba geçen sene idi, Babiâli'de Yakup Kadri'nin bir kitabını, *Erenlerin Bağından*'ı arıyorum. Hiçbir yerde yok. Onun birçok kitabını basmış bir yayınevi, *Erenlerin Bağından*'ı neden basmadınız sualime 'O kitabı Türkçeleştirecek kimseyi bulamadık' diye cevap verdi. Bin dokuz yüz otuzlu yıllarda basılan ve benim orta mektepte okuduğum bir kitabı bugün Türkçeleştirmek lâzımmış! Çince mi yazmış acaba Yakup Kadri? Üstelik o Türkçeyi anlayıp da uydurmacaya çeviren bulunamıyor!

It must have been last year that I was looking in Babiâli² for one of Yakup Kadri's books, *Erenlerin Bağından*. It was nowhere to be found. I asked a publishing firm which had printed a number of his books why they had not printed that one. They replied, 'We haven't been able to find anyone to put it into Turkish.' Apparently a book printed in the Thirties, which I read at middle school, today has to be put into Turkish! Did Yakup Kadri write it in Chinese, I wonder? And, to crown it all, no one can be found to understand that Turkish and turn it into fakeish!

Those who condemn the old TDK and all its works usually round off their argument by saying that parents and children no longer understand one another: 'Baba ile evlât birbirini anlamaz hale gelmiştir.' This is an exaggeration. If the children, busy with their homework, grumble about how much *ev ödevi* their teacher has assigned for this evening, it should not take the parents long to work out that *ev ödevi* is what they used to call *ev vazifesi*. Children will understand what their parents mean by *hakkında* 'about', though they themselves will use *ile ilgili* or *-e ilişkin*. Some of them may even use *hakkında* in school just to show off, and this could be the salvation of some older words. I recall my grandson, at the age of 7, coming home with an involved tale about something that had happened that day at school. It ended with, 'So you see it was the other way round. Or, as you big people would say, *vice versa*.' One's recognition vocabulary is always larger than one's working vocabulary.

² The street of bookshops, stationers, and newspaper offices, below the Babiâli, the old Sublime Porte.

The reform left the Turks with virtually no choice of levels of discourse. To write as one spoke seemed a laudable aim at a time when 90 per cent of the population could not read much of what was being written, nor fully understand it even if it were read out to them. A minister invited to open a new bridge or conference or exhibition in the old days would never use *açmak* for 'to open'; the only permissible verb was *küşad* [P] *etmek*. But in present-day Turkish it is not easy to rise to a solemn occasion unless one risks baffling most of one's audience by resorting to Ottomanisms.³ When Turks try to express themselves by employing an Ottoman word, not surprisingly they sometimes get it wrong—for example, 'Müsteşekkirimiz' (for 'Müteşekkiriz'), which was an Istanbul waiter's response to being over-tipped. An English approximation might be 'I am gratificated!'⁴

Even well-educated Turks are just as liable to be unclear about the meanings of some neologisms as about the meanings of Ottoman words. There is, for example, a confusing cluster of neologisms beginning with *öz*, in addition to the old words *özen* 'care, attention', *özge* 'other', and *özenti* 'counterfeit': *öze* and *özgü* 'peculiar (to)', *özgür* 'free', *özek* 'centre', *özel* 'private', *özerk* 'autonomous', *özet* 'summary', *özgül* 'specific', and *özgün*, which was intended to replace *aslı* 'original' but is used by many for 'authentic'. But in the latter sense *özgün* does not have the field to itself; in Turkey you can buy audio-cassettes labelled 'Otantik Halk Oyunlarımız' (Our Authentic Folk-Dances). One wonders how much that first word conveys to most people who see it, though it may be no less meaningful to the young than the posters one sees nowadays in Britain advertising 'An Evening of Acoustic Songs'.

It cannot be too often remarked that many of the creators of new words were salaried employees of TDK, the others being enthusiastic amateurs. Very few in either group were experts on the language. Consequently, many of the neologisms were not based on Turkish roots and Turkish suffixes. This fact did not bother the man in the street. He learned the new words first at school, as the steady stream of new coinages from the Language Society was channelled through the Ministry of Education. He then saw them constantly in newspapers and on public notices. Although people with a feeling for language may not have liked the new words, they soon found themselves obliged to use at any rate some of them if they wished to communicate. But in Turkey as elsewhere few knew or cared anything about the origins of the words they used, which is why one hears *bölgevi* for 'regional' and *önemiyyet* for 'importance', both being *Öztürkçe* words with Arabic suffixes.

Despite that sweeping generalization, one must own to being taken aback by a speech made by the Minister of Culture in May 1992. Having publicly expressed

³ For a way in which plain *açmak* can be elevated for a ceremonial occasion, however, see *açılışını yapmak* on page 138.

⁴ Of course it is not only Turks who get words wrong. Not every British journalist distinguishes between *mitigate* and *militate*, and one longs to see some public figure sue a newspaper for accusing him of prevarication when all he has been guilty of is procrastination.

his heartfelt thanks to TDK for all the new words it had given the nation, he continued: 'Örneğin, Türk Dil Kurumunca üretilen Kurul, Kurultay, Yurt, Ülke, Tanrı, Töre, Tüzük, Yargıç, Savcı, Giysi, Ezgi, Isı, Evren ve Amaç gibi sözcükler, Orta Asya'nın değişik bölgelerinde olduğu gibi, bugün Türkiye'de de yaygın bir şekilde kullanılmaktadır' (For example, words produced by TDK, such as *kurul* . . . *amaç*, are widely used today in Turkey as in various regions of Central Asia) (*Süreklî Türk Dili Kurultayı* 1992: 7). Well, not quite. Of those fourteen words, TDK produced just three, none of them used in Central Asia: *kurul* 'committee', *yargıç* 'judge', and *savcı* 'prosecutor'. The rest are centuries older than TDK, except that the old TDK could have claimed any credit there might be for reducing the double *s* of *ısı* 'warmth' to a single *s*. *Amaç* is a Persian borrowing (*āmāj*).

Here is another part of Mümtaz Soysal's (1986) article 'Türkçenin Düşmanları', already cited in Chapter 10:

Türkçe köklerden kalkarak sağlam bir düşünce ve bilim dili yaratmaktan başka çaremiz yok. Anlaşılır ve bilinir olanı da Türkçeleştirmek hevesine kapılmadan, dili yoksullaştırmayıp tam tersine zenginleştirerek, 'tebliğ' ile 'beyanname' nin farklı kavramların karşılığı olduğunu bilip, 'bildiri' diyerek kesip atmak yerine, 'bildiri, bildirge, bildirim' farklarını yaratarak. Fakat, bir yandan da, geçmişinden kopuk bir toplum olamayacağı için, yeni kuşaklara, birazcık da olsa, Osmanlıca'yı da öğreterek. Yabancı dilleri bülbül gibi konuşup ecdadının dilini anlamayan çocuklar yetiştirmiş bizden başka bir toplum yoktur herhalde.

The only expedient open to us is to create a sound language of thought and science by starting from Turkish roots, without yielding to the impulse to Turkicize what is intelligible and familiar, not impoverishing the language but, on the contrary, enriching it; by knowing that *tebliğ* and *beyanname* represent two different concepts ['communication' and 'declaration'] and creating the distinctions *bildiri*, *bildirge*, *bildirim* ['communication', 'declaration', 'notification'] instead of cutting the Gordian knot and saying *bildiri*. But also, since no society can exist severed from its past, by teaching the new generations some Ottoman, even if it be only a tiny bit. Surely no society but ours has brought its children up to speak foreign languages fluently but not to understand the language of their forebears.

One of the many significant passages in that article is where Soysal speaks of the need for *bildiri*, *bildirge*, and *bildirim*, to obviate using *bildiri* in all three senses. Much the same point was made by Ali Püsküllüoğlu in *Cumhuriyet* of 6–7 August 1996, in two articles devoted to the word *söylem*. This neologism was intended to mean *söyleyiş* 'manner of speaking', or *söyleniş* 'pronunciation',⁵ though it was perverse to create it when the language already possessed those two regularly formed and unambiguous words. Püsküllüoğlu's thirty-odd citations show that different writers use it in different senses. The days when neologisms were regularly circulated to schools are past; when hearing—or, more often, reading—a new word such as *söylem* for the first time, one knows only that it has something to do with saying. Few will bother to look it up in a dictionary but, like Humpty Dumpty,

⁵ So *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988). It is not given in *Örnekleriyle Türkçe Sözlük* (1995–6), presumably because the compilers saw no reason for its existence.

will use it to mean just what they choose it to mean. And why shouldn't they? Isn't that what its inventor did? One of Püsküllüoğlu's many examples: 'Tutamayanlar'ı diğer Türk romanlarından ayıran . . . türlü biçemlere ve özyaşamöyküsü, ansiklopedi, günlük, şiir, tiyatro, mektup gibi çeşitli söylemlere yer vermesidir' (What sets *Tutamayanlar* [Atay 1986] apart from other Turkish novels is that it finds room for sundry styles and various *söylemler* such as autobiography, encyclopaedia, diary, poetry, theatre, letters). Here *söylem* must mean 'genre'. In others of Püsküllüoğlu's citations it seems to be used for 'style', 'communication', 'manner', 'contents', 'tone', and 'language'. One also sees it used for 'expression' and for 'rhetoric'.

In Ömer Asım Aksoy's spirited defence of the reform (1982: 115) he gives (with no specific reference) a moving quotation from Falih Rıfkı Atay:

'Vaziyet' sözünün Türkçeye yerleştiği inancında olduğumuzdan lügatte bu kelimeye iki karşılık koymuştuk: 'Position' manasına 'vaziyet' kalacaktı. 'Situation' karşılığı 'durum' kullanacaktık. Siz şu işe bakın: Önceleri alay sözü olarak yazılan ve söylenen 'durum', Türkçeden hiçbir zaman çıkmayacağını sandığımız 'vaziyet' i bütün manaları ile dilden kovdu. Hiç tutmayacağını sandığımız 'genel' aldı yürüdü. Doğrusu benim zevkim 'sel' ve 'sal' nispetlerine isyan etmiştir. Ama ne çıkar bundan, yani benden? . . . Bütün yeni kuşağın dili o. Ben ki yirmi, yirmi beş yıl kadar Türkçenin önünde yürüdüm, yeni kuşak şimdi benim önümdedir. Türkçenin kendi zevkim ölçüleri içinde hapsolmamasına kızmalı mıyım? Hayır.

Because we were confident that the place of *vaziyet* in Turkish was secure, we had put two equivalents for it in the dictionary [*Cep Kılavuzu*]. In the sense of 'position', *vaziyet* would remain. For 'situation' we would use *durum*. Just consider this: *vaziyet*, which we had supposed would never disappear from Turkish, has in all its senses been chased out of the language by *durum*, which in the beginning people used in writing and speech as a joke. *Genel*, which we had supposed would never catch on, is now all the rage. I must say that my taste rebelled against the adjectival suffixes *-sel/sal*, but what effect did that have?—I mean, what effect did I have? That is the language of all the new generation. I, who for some twenty or twenty-five years marched in the vanguard of Turkish, now find the new generation ahead of me. Should I be angry that Turkish is not imprisoned within the dimensions of my taste? No.

Aksoy misses something that can be read between the lines of Atay's generous confession: the disappointment felt by him and his colleagues, who thought they had enriched the language by finding two separate words for the two separate senses of *vaziyet*, only to see it impoverished when *durum* usurped both senses. Nor could they have been best pleased when the new word eventually found for 'position' turned out to be *konum*, which they had offered in *Cep Kılavuzu* as a replacement for *tevdîat* and *mevduat* 'bank deposits' (now *yatırım*).

Agâh Sırrı Levend, Secretary-General of TDK 1951–60 and President 1963–6, said in reply to a question at a meeting of its administrative committee in September 1951: 'Bir anlamda türlü kelimeler bulunması, o dilin zenginliğine delâlet etmez. Meselâ Arapçada "Ayın" kelimesinin 40 anlamı vardır: "deve"nin 50 adı

vardır. Bu bir zenginlik değildir' (The existence [in a language] of various words in one meaning is no indication of the richness of that language. In Arabic, for example, the word 'ayn has forty meanings, the camel has fifty names. This is not richness) (*Türk Dili*, 1 (1951), 54–5).

One does not like to contradict Levend, but it is indeed richness if you are a desert Arab whose whole way of life depends on camels. One might as well say that English is not a rich language because it has a multitude of names for structures: house, office building, mansion, hut, factory, school, warehouse, block of flats . . . The camel has in fact only one generic name in Arabic, *ba'ir*, and a collective noun *ibil* 'camels'. The other names making up Levend's 'fifty' are specific to the age, sex, and use of the individual creature in question: *jamal* is a he-camel, *nāqa* a she-camel, *rāhila* a she-camel fit to be saddled, *huwār* a baby camel from the time of birth until weaned, and so on and so on.⁶

Never mind about Arabian cameleers; what about Turkish writers who like to have a choice of words? Levend should have remembered that once upon a time Turkish was probably the only language that came anywhere near English in the richness of its vocabulary. It had individual words expressing the senses of to state, to affirm, to declare, to assert, to impart, to communicate, to report, to convey, to comment, to hint, to remark, to narrate, and more. To express all these senses, the Turks for the most part now have to make do with *anlatmak* 'to tell', *söylemek* 'to say', and *bildirmek* 'to inform', with adverbs to supply the nuances. So, for 'to hint', if they wish to avoid or do not know the old *ima etmek*, they have to say 'üstü kapalı söylemek' (to say covertly) or 'dolaylı anlatmak' (to tell indirectly). This is what we might call Basic Turkish. Those who deplore *Öztürkçe* and call it 'Türk Esperantosı' overlook the extreme regularity of Esperanto. Basic English affords a closer analogy, having all the idiosyncrasies of English but none of the subtleties.⁷ Various words for seeking knowledge were once available to the Turks. There was *istisfar* 'to ask someone to explain a text', *istiknah*, 'to seek to plumb the depths of a problem', *istilâm*, 'to make an official request for information', *istizah* 'to seek clarification', *istimzaç*, 'to make polite enquiries about someone's well-being or to enquire whether someone is *persona grata* to a foreign government'. Only the last two find a place in *Türkçe Sözlük*, the dictionary most widely used in Turkey, which marks both of them as antiquated.

Orhan Okay (1981: 274) made a shrewd observation about the titles of the Turkish translations of four French philosophical works, the *Pensées* of Pascal, the *Méditations* of Lamartine, the *Réflexions* of La Rochefoucauld, and the *Idées* of Alain. He notes that the 'Thoughts', the 'Meditations', the 'Reflections', and the

⁶ As to 'ayn, 'forty meanings' is an exaggeration, unless *kırk* is being used in its metaphorical sense of 'umpteenth', but there may be over twenty, though to get the figure that high you have to count hole, small aperture, eye of a needle, and eyelet as four distinct meanings.

⁷ Basic English, with a vocabulary of 850 words, was invented in the late 1920s by Charles Kay Ogden, as a vehicle for international communication. It attracted considerable attention in the 1930s, but nothing has been heard of it since the Second World War and the subsequent emergence of non-basic English as the international language.

'Ideas' all come out in the new Turkish as 'Düşünceler' (Thoughts), whereas the older language offered a choice among *düşünceler*, *murakabat*, *tefekürat*, *tefelsuf*, *teemmül*, and *mülâhazat*. The same writer also remarks that *takdim etmek* 'to offer humbly', *arzetmek* 'to offer respectfully', *ihsan etmek* 'to bestow', *bahşetmek* 'to confer', *lütfetmek* 'to offer graciously', and *ita etmek* 'to grant' have all been replaced by *vermek* 'to give' and *sunmak* 'to present'.

Aksoy (1982: 23) positively advocates impoverishment. He comes out strongly against the view that maintaining Ottoman synonyms is a way of enriching the vocabulary and avoiding repetition: 'Yinelemeden kurtulmanın yolu da yabancı sözcüğe başvurmak değil, yazı yazmasını öğrenmektir. Yinelemek zorunlu olan yerlerde ise bundan kaçınmamak gerekir. Arapça ya da Fransızca yazan kişi, bir sözcüğü ikinci, üçüncü kez yinelememek için onun Türkçesini, Almancasını mı kullanır?' (The way to escape repeating oneself is not to have recourse to foreign words; it is learning to write. In places where repetition is unavoidable, one must not abstain from it. Does someone writing in Arabic or French use a Turkish or German equivalent to avoid repeating a word for a second or third time?). He gives short shrift to the objection that *ilişki* 'relation' cannot replace *münasebet* in everyday expressions such as 'ne münasebet?' (what's the relevance of that?),⁸ 'münasebetsiz etmeyiniz' (don't behave in an unseemly fashion), and 'münasebet almaz' (it is not seemly). He explains (pp. 57–8) that *münasebet* in these expressions does not mean *ilişki* but is an inseparable part of the whole expression. The question he does not address is whether anyone can be expected to drop these and a host of other expressions which contain non-Öztürkçe words.

An effective voice on the other side is Fatma Özkan (1995: 974–81):

Bir dilde, bir kavram, nesne veya varlığı karşılayan birden fazla kelime varsa, zamanla bu kelimelerin arasında ince anlam farkları doğar. Aralarında böyle nüanslar bulunan kelimelerden birini dile dolayıp diğerlerini unutturmak, dilimizin ifade imkânlarını daraltır. Meselâ, son zamanlarda, 'beğenme, takdir etme, hoşlanma, hazzetme, zevk alma' kelimelerinin hepsini birden karşılamak üzere, *keyf alma* sözü dillere pelesenk⁹ oldu . . . Aynı şekilde, *affedersiniz*, *kusura bakmayınız*, *özür dilerim* ibârelerinin yerine, *bağışla* demek, dilimizin ifâde gücünü azaltmaz mı? Hatta, hepsini bir kenara itip, İngilizce *I am sorry*'nin tercümesi olan *üzgünüm* sözüyle meram anlatmak hangi mantıkla açıklanabilir? *Şeref*, *haysiyet*, *gurur*, *kibir*, *izzetinefis* kelimelerinin yerine sadece *onur*'u koymak; *şüphe*, *endişe*, *merak* kelimelerinin yerine yalnızca *kuşku*'yu getirmek, dilimizin kaybı mı, kazancı mıdır?

If a language possesses a plurality of words to express a concept, a thing, or an entity, fine distinctions of meaning eventually arise among them. To let one of them be on everybody's

⁸ I am reminded that over forty years ago, in the days when Istanbul men about town were still addressing each other as 'Mon cher', I ran into a friend who was in a state of fury at what had just happened to him in a smart shop on İstiklâl Caddesi, where he had gone to buy a tie. It seems that the shop assistant had greeted him with 'Monsieur désire?' Spluttering, he had replied, 'Monsieur mü? Monsieur mü? Quelle münasebet?'

⁹ This misuse of *pelesenk* 'balsam' for *persenk* 'buzzword' is not uncommon. 'Buzzword' seems to be our closest equivalent, though one is a little put off by a remark in *Time Magazine* for January 1980: 'The air is thick with devalued buzz words, including "buzz words".'

lips and let the others be forgotten means reducing our language's capacity for expression. For example, *keyf alma* ['relishing'] has recently become the buzzword standing for *beğenme* ['approval'], *takdir etme* ['appreciation'], *hoşlanma* ['liking'], *hazzetme* ['rejoicing'], and *zevk alma* ['taking pleasure']. Similarly, does it not diminish our language's power of expression to say *bağışla* ['spare (me)'] instead of *affedersiniz* ['forgive (me)'], *kusura bakmayın* ['excuse me'], and *özür dilerim* ['I beg pardon']? Even more, what logic can help to explain pushing all of these to one side and expressing your meaning with *üzgünüm*, a translation of the English 'I'm sorry'? Is it a gain or a loss for our language to replace *şeref* ['honour'], *haysiyet* ['self-respect'], *gurur* ['pride'], *kibir* ['self-esteem'], and *izzetinefis* ['dignity'] just by *onur*, to introduce *kuşku* ['suspicion'] alone as a substitute for *şüph*e ['doubt'], *endişe* ['anxiety'], and *merak* ['worry']?

Onur, originally the French *honneur*, is not a creation of the language reform, though its *Öztürkçe* status seems to be due to its being plugged by TRT, the state broadcasting service. It is shown in *Tarama Sözlüğü* (1963–77) as used in several places in the vilayets of Bilecik, Bolu, Ankara, Kayseri, and Hatay, for *kibir* 'self-esteem' and *çalım* 'swagger'.¹⁰ For 'personal honour', ordinary people's speech retains *namus*, originally the Greek *nómos*. (Oddly enough, *onur* appears in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as an obsolete form of *honour*.)

An idea of the dimensions of the impoverishment can be gathered by browsing in a modern Turkish–Turkish dictionary, particularly in the pages containing many words of Arabic origin: those beginning with *m* and, to a lesser extent, *t* and *i*. Look for words that have only a definition, as distinct from those for which a one-word equivalent is given. Every word in the former category represents a failure on the part of the reformers. English has no exact equivalent of the lovely Ottoman word *selika* [A] 'the ability to speak well and write well'. Nor has modern Turkish. *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988) marks it as antiquated. But why did TDK permit it to become antiquated without devising an *Öztürkçe* substitute? Perhaps the cynics' answer is the right one: why bother to create a word for an obsolete concept?

But there are everyday concepts that used to be succinctly expressed and no longer are. *Müddet* 'period', *mühlet* and *mehil* 'respite', 'permitted delay', and *vâde* 'term' have all fallen before *süre*, a Frankenstein's monster whose progenitors were the Turkish *sür-* 'to continue' and the French *durée* 'duration'.

For that useful verb *tevil etmek* 'to explain away', 'to interpret allegorically', *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988) gives 'söz veya davranışa başka bir anlam vermek' (to give another meaning to a statement or an action). *Türkçe Sözlük* does not, however, mention here the *Öztürkçe* equivalent, *çevrilemek*, although that word is defined in the same dictionary as 'Çevriye uğratmak ["to subject to translation"]', *tevil*

¹⁰ I have had occasion to refer in uncomplimentary terms to Eyuboğlu's etymological dictionary (1988); nevertheless I note his explanation of how this French word entered Anatolian rural dialect, just in case some fact is lurking in it. His story is that it came through the speech of Greek-speaking Anatolian intellectuals who studied French in the foreign schools. That does not begin to explain how the French *honneur* appears in the dialects of a swath of provinces across Central Anatolia but not in the cities where there are or were foreign schools, notably Istanbul, Izmir, and Tarsus. Its use in Hatay is understandable in view of the French influence that for many years was strong in that region.

etmek'. Anyway, it never caught on, probably because it was too easily confused with another neologism, *çevrelemek* 'to surround', and it does not occur in *Örnekleriyle Türkçe Sözlük* (1995–6). So *tevil* may survive.

Consider the nuances of the many words expressing the concept of change. In English, besides *change*, we have *alteration*, *alternation*, *mutation*, *variation*, *permutation*, *vicissitudes*, *deviation*, *modification*, *transformation*, *metamorphosis*. Many of these can be paralleled in Ottoman, i.e. early Republican Turkish: *isti-hale*, *tahavvül*, *tebeddül*, *tebeddülât*, *tagayyür*, *takallüp*, and so forth, whereas the modern Turk's choice is pretty much restricted to *değişmek* 'to change' and *başkalaşmak* 'to become different'. True, biologists if they wish may call on the neologism *değişke* (not in *Örnekleriyle Türkçe Sözlük* (1995–6)), for which *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988) gives: 'Her canlıda dış etkilerle ortaya çıkabilen, kalıtımla ilgili olmayan değişiklik, modifikasyon' (Change unrelated to heredity, which may emerge under external influences in every living thing; modification).

The vast resources of Ottoman Turkish were at the disposal of the reformers. They did not have to perpetuate the whole exuberant vocabulary; they were free to pick and choose, but they deliberately elected to dissipate their heritage. They should have been aware of the danger that their work would lead to a depletion of the vocabulary if they failed to find or devise replacements for the words they were striving to eliminate. Had Sayılı (1978) been written earlier, and had the reformers read it and taken it to heart, they could have done better, but the damage had been done forty years before.

Yet all is not lost. Language is a set of conventions, which ordinarily just grow. What the reformers did was to create conventions; to say that henceforth the tradition will be thus and thus. Once a convention has been established, it makes no difference if it has slowly matured over the centuries or was manufactured last week in an office in Ankara or a study in Istanbul or a café in Urfa. But learning a new word does not automatically banish the old word from one's memory. I had a fascinating conversation in Istanbul with an elderly taxi-driver, who wanted to know what I was doing in Turkey. I told him that I was particularly interested in the language reform. He replied that he had never heard of it; the language was one and unchanging. For 'language', incidentally, he used the old *lisan* [A] and not *dil*. So I asked him, 'What about *önemli* ['important'], which some people now use instead of *mühim*?' 'Oh no,' he answered, 'they're quite different. Suppose the Municipality says that that building over there isn't safe and it's *önemli* to repair it, that means it may be done five or ten years from now. But if they say it's *mühim*, that means work will start tomorrow.' To him the old Arabic word was the more impressive of the two, and he was not aware that *önemli* was totally artificial.

This incident lends support to the view of a Turkish friend, that nuances of meaning are emerging and will continue to emerge between old words and their *Öztürkçe* replacements; he himself did not feel *medeniyet* and *uygarlık* to be synonymous. If he was talking about a particular civilization or the history of civilization, he would use the former, and for 'civilized' he would say 'medeni'. *Uygar*,

on the other hand, conveyed to him something more dynamic: civilized and vigorous and progressive. The story in Chapter 8 of the two Izmir taxi-drivers who did not feel that *uygarklık* had anything to do with *medeniyet* is relevant in this context, as is the last sentence of Chapter 7 n. 12.

Fatma Özkan's words quoted above appear to be borne out: 'If a language possesses a plurality of words to express a concept, a thing, or an entity, fine distinctions of meaning eventually arise among them.'

Now that the creation of *Öztürkçe* has been at a virtual standstill since 1983, there are signs that the process of impoverishment has begun to go into reverse. Not that discerning writers waited for 1983 before feeling free to choose whatever words they pleased, though it must be remembered that it took courage to do so when your choice of words could brand you as a communist or a reactionary. One who had such courage was Zeki Kunalp, and this is what he wrote in the introduction to his memoirs of a long and brilliant career in diplomacy. Unlike him, I shall not apologize for the length of what follows (though I have abbreviated it somewhat), because, like him, I think the matter is important.

Kitapta kullandığım lisandan da bahsetmek isterim, hatta biraz uzunca. Okurlarımdan onun için özür dilerim, ama konu bence mühimdir. Görüleceği gibi eskiye ve yeniye aynı derecede iltifat ettim, ne Osmanlıca, ne de arı Türkçe yazmaktan ürktüm. Her iki şiveyi aynı cümlede kullanmaktan bile çekinmedim. Türkçe kelime bulamadığım vakit, Türkçeleştirilmiş Frenkçeye başvurmakta dahi mazur görmedim. Kökü ne olursa olsun, hangi kelime fikrimi en iyi ifade ediyorsa onu seçtim . . . Ya memlekette o anda hakim siyasî havaya uymak, ya ideolojik tercihlerimize iltifat etmek için eski veya yeni dilden yalnız birini kullanır, öbürünü topyekûn reddederiz. Bunun böyle olduğunu anlamak için Ankara'daki malûm otobüs durağının yakın mazimizdeki muhtelif isimlerini hatırlamak kâfidir. Siyasî iktidara göre bu durak isim değiştirmiş, kâh 'Vekâletler', kâh 'Bakanlıklar' olmuştur. Demokrat Parti iktidarının sonuna doğru 'Erkân-ı Harbiye-yi Umumiye Riyaseti' demeye bile başlamıştık. 27 Mayıs'dan sonra tekrar 'Genelkurmay Başkanlığı' na döndük. Bu biraz gulunçtür, çünkü bir dilin ne partisi, ne de dini vardır. İhtilâlcî ve tutucu aynı dili kullanırlar. Aynı dille bir mukaddes kitap yazılabileceği gibi bir aşk romanı da yazılabilir. Dil bir araçtır, gaye değildir, tarafsızdır.

Biz, umumiyetle, bunun farkında değiliz. Meselâ fanatik şekilde arı Türkçe taraftarı isek istediğimiz manayı taşıyan arı Türkçe bir kelime bulmadık mı, diğer bir kelimeye o manayı da yükletiriz, ihtiyacımızı mükemmelen karşılamakta olan Arabî, Farişî veya Frenkçe kelimeyi sosyo-politik inançlarımızdan ötürü kenara iteriz. Böylece lisanımızı fakirleştirir, nüansları yok eder, vuzuhdan yoksun tatsız bir şekle sokarız. Halbuki bir lisan ne kadar çok kaynaktan kelime sağlayabilirse o nisbette sarahat, renk ve vüs'at kazanır . . . Yaşadığımız dünya gittikçe ufalıyor, milletler birbirine yaklaşıyor, dilleri birbirini etkiliyor ve bu suretle hep birden zenginleşiyorlar. (Kunalp 1981: 15-17)

I should like to say something, even at some length, about the language I use in this book. For this I ask my readers' pardon, but to my mind the subject is important. It will be seen that I have shown the same regard for the old as for the new; I have not shied away from writing either Ottoman or pure Turkish. I have not even refrained from using both forms of language in the same sentence. Nor, where I have been unable to find the right Turkish

word, have I seen any harm in resorting to a Turkicized Western word. I have chosen whichever word best expresses my thought, no matter what its origin . . . In order to conform to the political climate prevailing at the time or to gratify our ideological preferences, we use only one of the two languages available to us, the old or the new, rejecting the other entirely. To see that this is so, it is sufficient to recall the various names borne in our recent past by that well-known bus stop in Ankara. This stop has changed its name according to the political party in power, becoming now 'Vekâletler', now 'Bakanlıklar' [both meaning 'Ministries']. Towards the end of the Democrat Party regime, we had even begun to refer to the office of the Chief of the General Staff by its Ottoman name of 'Erkân-ı Harbiye-yi Umumiye Riyaseti'. After 27 May [the day of the 1960 *coup d'état*] we reverted to the modern 'Genelkurmay Başkanlığı'. This is somewhat ludicrous, because a language has no party or religion. Revolutionaries and conservatives may use the same language. A sacred book can be written in any given language, and so can a love story. Language is a means, not an end; it does not take sides.

We generally fail to realize this. For example, if we are fanatical partisans of pure Turkish, when we cannot find a pure Turkish word to express the meaning we want, we load that meaning on to some other word and, for the sake of our socio-political beliefs, cast aside the Arabic, Persian or Western word that perfectly meets our needs. In this way we impoverish our language, we obliterate its nuances, we deprive it of clarity and thrust it into a tasteless form. Whereas, the more numerous the sources a language can draw on for words, the more explicit, the more colourful, the more copious it becomes . . . The world we live on is steadily diminishing in size, the nations are growing closer together, their languages are influencing one another and are thereby becoming jointly enriched. (Lewis 1992: 2–3)

Since Kunalalp wrote that, more and more writers have been doing as he did and using whatever words they prefer. In the pages of any magazine, 'Ottomanisms' may now be seen that twenty years ago one would have thought obsolete: *meçhulümdür* 'it is unknown to me', *-e tâbi* 'subject to', *-e sahip* 'possessing'.

Pleasant though it is for lovers of the old language to see and hear more and more elements of it coming back into use, they should not deceive themselves into assuming that the language reform is over and done with. The effects of fifty years of indoctrination are not so easily eradicated. The neologisms *özgürlük* and *bağımsızlık* have been discussed in Chapter 8. The objection most critics raise to these two words, however, is on grounds not of malformation but of lack of emotional content. Untold thousands of Turks, they say, fought and died for *hürriyet* and *istiklâl*; how many would be ready to fight and die for *özgürlük* and *bağımsızlık*?

There is an answer to this rhetorical question: you do not miss what you have never known. To those who have grown up since the 1950s, *Hürriyet* is the name of a daily newspaper and a square in Beyazıt, while *İstiklâl* is the name of a street in Beyoğlu. To the majority of them, *özgürlük* and *bağımsızlık* mean what *hürriyet* and *istiklâl* meant to older generations and what 'freedom' and 'independence' mean to English-speakers, and yes, they are ready to fight and die for them if need be. If they think about the language reform at all, they see nothing catastrophic in it; the language they have spoken since infancy is their language.

What Happened to the Language Society

The years from 1932 to 1950 were TDK's high noon. It had the support of Atatürk's Republican People's Party, which after his death was led by his faithful İsmet İnönü. The Society, however, had no shortage of opponents. Those who disapproved of Atatürk's secularist policies took exception to the change of alphabet and to the language reform, rightly judging that at least part of the purpose behind both was to make the language of the Koran less accessible. There were other opponents, including many who were broadly in favour of the reform but did not approve of eliminating Arabic and Persian words in general use.

The strength of feeling on this matter may be judged from the conciliatory tone of the speech of İbrahim Necmi Dilmen, Secretary-General of TDK, on 26 September 1940 at the eighth Language Festival:

Yabancı dillerden gelme sozlere gelince, bunlar da iki turlüdür: Bir takımı, kullanıla kullanıla halkın diline kadar girmiş olanlardır. Bunları, dilimizin kendi ses ve turetım kanunlarına göre, benimsemekte diyecek bir şey yoktur. Ancak türkçenin kendi dil kanunlarına uymıyan, halkın anlamadığı, benimsemediği sozleri elden geldiği kadar çabuklukla yazı dilimizin de dışına çıkarmak borcumuzdur. (*Türk Dili*, 2nd ser. (1940), 20)

As for words from foreign languages, they are of two kinds. One category is words that with constant use have entered all the way into the language of the people. There is nothing to be said against adopting these in accordance with our language's own laws of phonetics and derivation. But when it comes to words which do not obey the linguistic laws of Turkish and are not understood and not adopted by the people, it is incumbent on us to expel these from our written language too, as quickly as we can.

In those days TDK was set on Turkicizing technical terms. The report on scientific terminology submitted to the Fourth Kurultay (Kurultay 1942: 20) included this:

Gerçekten inanımız odur ki bilim terimleri ne kadar öz dilden kurulursa bilim o kadar öz malımız olur. Terimler yabancı kaldıkça, bilim de bizde başkalarının eğreti bir malı olmaktan kurtulamaz.

Türkçeden yaratılan bir terim, anlamı ne kadar çapraşık ve karanlık olursa olsun, ne demeye geldiğini Türk, çocuğuna, Türk gencine az çok sezdirir.

Indeed it is our belief that scientific terms become our own in so far as they are based on the pure language. So long as they remain foreign, science in Turkey cannot escape being on loan from other people.

A term created from Turkish, however involved and obscure its meaning may be, will give the Turkish child and young person more or less of a perception of what it means.

The 'az çok' was a wise qualification. *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri* (1942) had been published in time for that Kurultay; we have seen some examples of its contents in Chapter 8. If children or young persons, in the course of their reading, came across books employing some of the terms prescribed in it, they might well find themselves lacking a perception of the meaning. A word like *insanbiçimcilik* 'human-shape-ism' for 'anthropomorphism' they might work out,¹ but what would they make of *almaş* and *koram*? Or *sanrı* 'hallucination'? Its first syllable could be the noun *san* 'fame' or the stem of *sanmak* 'to suppose'. But might it not be the new *san*, the *Öztürkçe* for *sıfat* 'attribute'? Or could *sanrı* be a misprint for *Tanrı* 'God'? Poor children and young people!

Over the next few years, however, the Society came to see that the steady influx of international terms was unstoppable, and in 1949 it officially changed its attitude: 'Yabancı dillerdeki bilim ve teknik terimlerinin ileri milletlerce müşterek olarak kullanılanları, incelenip kabul edilecek belirli bir usule göre dilimize alınabilir' (Foreign-language scientific and technical terms used in common by the advanced nations may be taken into our language in accordance with a specific method which will be studied and accepted) (Kurultay 1949: 146).

In 1942 a start had been made on modernizing the language of officialdom, hitherto untouched. The building tax, *bina vergisi* to ordinary people, was still *müsakkafat resmi* 'duty on roofed premises' to the tax authorities, while secret sessions of the Assembly, *gizli oturum* to the participants, were recorded in the minutes as *celse-i hafiye*. It was decided that the best way to begin would be to produce an *Öztürkçe* version of the 1924 Constitution, the *Teşkilât-ı Esasiye Kanunu* (Law of Fundamental Organization). The 1942 initiative did not get very far, but in November 1944 the Parliamentary Group of the governing Republican People's Party set up a commission to prepare a draft, and the result of their labours was Law No. 4695, the *Anayasa*, 'Mother-Law', accepted by the Assembly on 10 January 1945. Article 104 read: '20 Nisan 1340 tarih ve 491 sayılı Teşkilât-ı Esasiye Kanunu yerine mânâ ve kavramda bir değişiklik yapılmaksızın Türkçeleştirilmiş olan bu kanun konulmuştur' (This law, which has been put into Turkish with no change in meaning and import, replaces the Law of Fundamental Organization no. 491 dated 20 April 1924). That was true, but it is not so much what you say as the way you say it; the new text was certainly intelligible to more people than the old had been, but the *Anayasa* aroused the ire not only of the habitual opponents of the language reform but also of lawyers and others who felt that the dignity of the Constitution was

¹ They might have raised their eyebrows at the form, seeing that in normal Turkish the third-person suffix is always omitted before *-ci* (Lewis 1988: 50).

diminished by the abandonment of the stately Ottoman phraseology.² Here is the text of Article 33 in both versions:

(1924) Reisicumhur, hastalık ve memleket haricinde seyahat gibi bir sebeble vezaifini ifa edemez veya vefat, istifa ve sair sebep dolayısıyla Cumhuriyet Riyaseti inhilâl ederse Büyük Millet Meclisi Reisi vekâleten Reisicumhur vezaifini ifa eder.

(1945) Cumhurbaşkanı, hastalık ve memleket dışı yolculuk gibi bir sebeple görevini yapamaz veya ölüm, çekilme ve başka sebeplerle Cumhurbaşkanlığı açık kalırsa Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanı vekil olarak Cumhurbaşkanlığı görevini yapar.

If the President of the Republic is unable to exercise his duties for any reason such as illness or travel abroad, or if the Presidency falls vacant through death, resignation, or other reason, the President of the Grand National Assembly shall provisionally exercise the duties of the President of the Republic.

The drafting of this Constitution was the occasion for modernizing the names of the four months *Teşrin-i evvel*, *Teşrin-i sani*, *Kânun-u evvel*, and *Kânun-u sani* (October–January), into *Ekim*, *Kasım*, *Aralık*, and *Ocak*, because the second and fourth occurred in the text. There had been previous partial modernizations: *Birinci* and *İkinci Teşrin* and *Kânun*, and *İlkteşrin* and *Sonteşrin*, *İlkkânun* and *Sonkânun*. The new name for January preserves the meaning of *kânun* ‘hearth’. With the new name for December it became the subject of jokes on the theme that the transition from December to January—*Aralıktan Ocağa*—now meant passing through the gap into the fire.³

Tahsin Banguoğlu fought and lost a long fight to save the language from the reformers’ worst excesses, a fight that began in 1949, when he was Minister of Education and President of TDK. Early in 1950 he set up an academic committee of the Society with the task of ensuring that work on devising technical terms should continue ‘in keeping with the phonetics, aesthetics and grammar of the language’. The Society did not take long to let it slip into oblivion. He was often reviled as an enemy of the reform, which he was not; he contributed at least one successful neologism, *uygulamak* for *tatbik etmek* ‘to apply, put into

² Half a century later, something of the sort began to happen in England. Under the heading ‘Legal Reform could Declare Latin Phrases ultra vires’, *The Times* reported (28 Oct. 1994): ‘Proposals to streamline procedures under which the public can challenge government and local authority decisions in court were unveiled by the Law Commission yesterday. They include replacing Latin terms with English. The report recommends that the names of remedies sought under judicial review should no longer be mandamus, prohibition or certiorari, but mandatory, restraining and quashing orders. It said that although it was recognised that there were limits on the extent to which legal terminology could be made accessible to lay people, it should be as understandable as possible.’ In April 1998 an English judge repeated the message. If it happens, we could revive the Dickensian *Özingilizce* for *habeas corpus*: ‘have his carcass’.

³ According to Erer (1973: 136), TDK decided at one time (not specified) to update the remaining months, February–September, into *Kısır*, *Ayaz*, *Yağmur*, *Kiraz*, *Kavun*, *Karpuz*, *Mısır*, *Ayva*, meaning respectively Barren, Frost, Rain, Cherry, Musk-melon, Water-melon, Maize, Quince. These too would have lent themselves to joking; Erer points out that for ‘In April the rains begin’ one would have to say ‘Yağmurda yağmurlar başlar’. True, and what about ‘There were no water-melons in July’? And indeed ‘There was no rain in April’—‘Yağmurda yağmur yağmadı’?

practice'. What made him unpopular with the extremists was his competence as a specialist in the language.

In the May 1950 elections, the Republican People's Party, with 39.9 per cent of the vote, was defeated by the Democrat Party of Adnan Menderes, with 53.3 per cent. TDK's by-laws (*tüzük*) laid down that the Minister of Education was its President *ex officio*. The new Minister ordered the removal of this provision, and in the following February the Society held an Extraordinary Assembly and duly amended its *tüzük*. The Budget Commission recommended a reduction in the Society's annual Ministry of Education grant from TL50,000 (then equal to £2,000) to TL10,000. During the Assembly debate on the Commission's report in February 1951, one Deputy, having affirmed that the Society had 'lost its scientific personality and had become the tool of political aims' and that 'all it did was ruin the language', proposed that its grant be discontinued altogether, a motion which the Assembly voted to accept (Levend 1972: 486). This did not mean the end of the Society's activities, partly because of the receipts from its publications⁴ but more because under Atatürk's will it shared the residual income from his estate, after some personal bequests, with the less controversial Historical Society, Türk Tarih Kurumu.⁵ The fact that the Minister had severed his connection with it, however, meant that it could no longer channel its output directly into the schools.

One of Menderes's ministers, Ethem Menderes (no relation), believed in *Öztürkçe*, but there was nothing he could do to stem the tide. On 24 December 1952 the Assembly approved a law restoring 'the Law of Fundamental Organization no. 491 . . . together with such of its amendments as were in force up to the date of acceptance of Law no. 4695'. The voting was 341 for and 32 against, with nine abstentions.

The *Öztürkçe* names of ministries and other bodies were also replaced by their previous names, complete with Persian *izafets*: *Bakanlık* 'Ministry' once more became *Vekâlet*, *Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım* 'Health and Social Aid' became *Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenet*, *Bayındırlık* 'Public Works' became *Nafia*, *Savunma* 'Defence' became *Müdafaa*, *Genel Kurmay Başkanı* 'Chief of the General Staff' became *Erkân-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye Reisi*, and *Savcı* 'Public Prosecutor' was again *Müddei-i Umumî*. This was the worst blow so far suffered by the Language Society. Most newspapers went with the prevailing wind and moderated their use of neologisms, without abandoning them entirely. Yet the majority of the generation that had grown up since the beginning of the language reform did not share the Democrat Party's attitude.

⁴ Particularly in demand was TDK's *Türkçe Sözlük*, which had become an essential work of reference not just for devotees of *Öztürkçe* but for anyone wanting to understand the newspapers and the radio.

⁵ The two Societies' share rose from TL40,000 in 1938 to TL118,000 in 1941, TL125,000 in 1952, TL269,000 in 1955, TL505,000 in 1960, TL901,000 in 1961, TL1,815,000 in 1964, and TL1,923,000 in 1966 (Kurultay 1966: 117). In 1946, 46% of TDK's income came from the government and 30% from Atatürk's legacy (Heyd 1954: 51).

It was at this time that Falih Rıfki Atay wrote that the State Radio had been ordered to stop calling members of the Assembly *Milletvekili* and to revert to *Meb'us*, 'giving due weight to the 'ayn between the *b* and the *u*'.⁶

TDK was now on the defensive. Heyd (1954: 50) wrote:

During the last few years the Society has refrained from suggesting any further neologisms. This moderate attitude is reflected in a small dictionary of foreign (mostly Arabic and Persian) words with their Turkish equivalents, published by the Society in 1953. Its title, *Sade Türkçe Kılavuzu*, seems to indicate that in the present phase 'simple' (*sade*), and not 'pure' (*öz*), Turkish is the Society's slogan.

On 27 May 1960 the Democrats were overthrown by a group of officers, the leading thirty-eight of whom constituted themselves as the National Unity Committee, and the tide turned. The language reform having from the first been attacked by those opposed to Atatürk's other reforms, the officers saw the Democrat Party's attitude to language, exemplified in its restoration of the 1924 Law of Fundamental Organization, as being all of a piece with its policy of undoing Atatürk's work of making Turkey into a secular republic. Shortly after the military takeover, the Society's subsidy was restored. In January 1961 a government circular was sent to all ministries, forbidding the use of any foreign word for which a Turkish equivalent existed. The new Constitution of July 1961 was in 'the new Turkish', though not completely, as is evident from the following sample, the text of Article 34 (the Persian *veya* and words of Arabic origin are shown in *italic*):

Kamu görev *ve hizmetinde* bulunanlara karşı, bu görev *ve hizmetin* yerine getirilmesiyle ilgili olarak yapılan *isnatlardan* dolayı açılan *hakaret davalarında*, sanık, *isnadın* doğruluğunu *ispat hakkına sahiptir*. Bunun dışındaki *hallerde ispat* istemenin *kabulü*, ancak *isnat* olunan *fiilin* doğru olup olmadığının anlaşılmasında kamu yararı bulunmasına *veya şikâyetçinin ispatı razı* olmasına bağlıdır.

In *cases of libel* arising from *allegations* made against those engaged in public duties *and services* in connection with the discharge of these duties *and services*, the defendant *has the right to prove* the truth of the *allegations*. In *situations* falling outside the above, the *acceptance* of the request *to adduce proof* depends on its being in the public interest for it to be determined whether or not the *alleged action* is true, or on the *plaintiff's consent* to the *adducing of proof*.

On 10 September 1962 General Cemal Gürsel, the chairman of the National Unity Committee, who was elected President of the Republic in the following month, sent the Dil Kurumu a personal letter which, apart from one *kadar*, one *resmî*, and a few *ves*, really was in the new Turkish:

⁶ This was in an article in *Dünya* (11 Jan. 1953; repr. in *Türk Dili*, 2 (1941), 333–5), entitled 'Şaka Yolu' (By Way of a Joke), so it should not be taken as gospel, but even if his "'b" ile "u" arasındaki "ayn"ın hakkını vereceksin' was part of the joke, the State Radio no doubt did receive some such order, since *Meb'us* was the term used in the 1924 Constitution, restored in 1952, while the 1945 Constitution used the relatively *Öztürkçe* form *Milletvekili*. *Meb'us* is Arabic (*maḥ'ūt*), as are *millet* and *vekil*.

İnancım şu ki, Dil Kurumu yıllardan beri sessizce ve inançla çalışmakta ve büyük işler de başarmaktadır. Bu uğraşmada yavaşlık ve elde edilen sonuçlarda yetersizlik varsa, kesin olarak inanıyorum ki, bunun sorumluluğu Dil Kurumu'nda değil, bizlerde ve aydınlardadır. Aydınlar, yazarlar, kurumlar ve kurultaya⁷ kadar resmi kurullar, güçlerinin tümüyle değil birazıyla olsun Dil Kurumu'nun çalışmalarına yardımcı olmak zorundadırlar. Bu kişiler ve kurullar, dilimizin özleştirilmesinde sorumluluğun yalnız Dil Kurumu'nda olduğunu sanıyorlarsa yanılıyorlar. (Levend 1972: 488)

It is my belief that the Language Society has for years now been working quietly and with faith and achieving great things. If there has been any remission in this effort and any inadequacy in the results, I am convinced that the responsibility for this rests not with the Society but with us and the intellectuals. Intellectuals, writers, societies and official bodies all the way up to the Grand National Assembly are under an obligation to assist the Language Society's labours, if not with all their might then at least with a little of it. These individuals and bodies are wrong if they think that the responsibility for purifying our language belongs to the Language Society alone.

Statistical analyses have occasionally been undertaken to see how much of the current vocabulary of the press consisted of 'native' words—i.e. words known, presumed or declared to be of Turkish origin—and how much was 'foreign'—i.e. Arabic or Persian. Unfortunately, no two of them agree. The most reliable is Kâmile İmer's (1973) scholarly study, which goes down only to 1965. Table 12.1 is taken from her summary of word counts of the news sections in five newspapers: *Ulus*, *Akşam*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, and *Hürriyet*. 'Ottoman' at the head of the last column refers to words compounded of Arabic or Persian roots and Turkish suffixes, such as *hatırlamak* 'to remember', and *endişeli* 'anxious'. It will be seen

TABLE 12.1. Origins of vocabulary of five newspapers, 1931–1965 (%)

Year	Turkish	Arabic	Persian	Other	Ottoman
1931	35.0	51.0	2.0	6.0	6.0
1933	44.0	45.0	2.0	4.0	5.0
1936	48.0	39.0	3.0	5.0	5.0
1941	48.0	40.0	3.0	4.0	5.0
1946	57.0	28.0	3.0	7.0	5.0
1951	51.0	35.0	3.0	6.0	5.0
1956	51.0	35.5	2.0	7.5	4.0
1961	56.0	30.5	3.0	6.0	4.5
1965	60.5	26.0	1.0	8.5	4.0

⁷ The meaning of *kurultay* here is unclear. It cannot be the Dil Kurultayı (the Language Congress), which is not a committee or official body. The translation is based on the assumption that it is a slip for *Kamutay*, the replacement at one time proposed for 'Buyuk Millet Meclisi'. If the assumption is correct, the fault probably lay with a careless proof-reader and a typist too young to remember *Kamutay*.

that the proportion of Turkish words declined soon after the Democrats' coming to power and was not restored until their downfall.

İsmet İnönü had always been an enthusiast for language reform; it will be remembered that he was the author of *gelenek* for 'tradition'. He was personally involved in drafting the 1945 Anayasa. As Prime Minister in a succession of coalition governments in 1962–5, he gave TDK every support; for example, writers of school textbooks were instructed by the Ministry of Education to use 'arı bir Türkçe' (a pure Turkish). But general elections were due in October 1965. In the first few years after the *coup*, the solid block of four million voters who had always turned out for Menderes had kept their heads down, like the Democrat supporters among the newspaper-proprietors and journalists. With the return to civilian rule, however, they began to feel their oats. There was a clear prospect of victory for the Justice Party, whose vice-chairman had declared it to be the continuation of the proscribed Democrat Party. TDK had for some time been alarmed by a stream of press attacks on its 'constant interference with the natural course of the language'. On 29 May 1965, 'her türlü yanlış anlamayı önlemek için' (to prevent any misunderstanding), it produced an uncompromising manifesto, of which these are some extracts:

Atatürk'ün hükümet organları dışında özel bir dernek olarak kurduğu ve özel bir dernek olarak yaşamasını vasiyetiyle sağladığı Türk Dil Kurumu'nun amacı, dilimizin özleştirilmesi ve geliştirilmesidir . . .

Dilin hızla arınması ve gelişmesi için ona kendi yapısına uygun olarak 'müdahale' edilebilir ve edilmelidir. 'Dile müdahale etmemeli; onu zaman içinde kendi kendine gelişmeye bırakmalı.' İlkesi doğru değildir. Dil doğal ve toplumsal bütün olaylar gibi 'müdahale' ile biçim alır . . .

Yabancı sözcükleri atmakla Türkçeyi yoksullaştıracığımız kanısı da yanlıştır. Uygun karşılığı bulunmayan hiç bir yabancı sözcük dilden çıkarılmamıştır; çıkarılamaz da.

Kurum dışında ve yurttaşlar arasında hızla gelişen bir özleştirme akımı vardır. Birçok kimseler ortaya yeni yeni sözcükler atmaktadırlar. Bunların kimisi başarılıdır, tutunmaktadır. Kimisi de başarısızdır. Dil Kurumu'nu yermek isteyenler, başarısız olanları ona mal etmektedir.

Dil Kurumu 'uydurmacı' değildir. Dili zenginleştirmek için şu bilimsel yollardan yararlanır: Halk ağzından derlemeler, eski metinlerden taramalar, türetmeler. Türetmeler dilimizin kök ve eklerinden, dil kurallarına ve dil duygusuna uygun olarak yapılır . . . (*Türk Dili*, 14 (1965), 661–3)

The Turkish Language Society was founded by Atatürk as a private society outside the organs of government, and in his will he ensured its survival as a private society. Its goal is the purification and development of our language . . .

For its speedy purification and development, the language can and should be 'interfered with', in conformity with its own structure. The principle that there must be no interference with the language, but that it must be left to develop by itself with time, is mistaken. Language, like all natural and social events, is shaped by 'interference' . . .

The belief that by discarding foreign words we will impoverish Turkish is also mistaken. No foreign word without an appropriate equivalent has been or can be discarded.

There is a rapidly developing current of purification among citizens outside the Society. A number of people are putting out ever new words. Some of these are successful and catch on; some are unsuccessful. People wishing to disparage the Language Society lay the unsuccessful ones at its door . . .

The Language Society does not make words up. It employs the following scientific ways of enriching the language: gleanings from popular speech, combing through old texts, and derivations.

Derivations are made from the roots and suffixes of our language, in conformity with the rules of language and feeling for language . . .

The manifesto had no perceptible success in mollifying the Society's adversaries. For one thing, they did not have to be particularly well endowed with a feeling for language to know that TDK's 'derivations' were not always from native roots and suffixes.

The Society sometimes found it necessary in the 1960s to disclaim certain ludicrous expressions put into circulation by its opponents to parody some of its coinages. Among the best known are *gök konuksal avrat* 'sky guestish dame' for *uçak hostesi* 'air hostess'; *öz ittirimli götürgeç* 'self-propulsional carry-thing' for *otomobil*; *ayakiter götürgeç* 'foot-pusher carry-thing' for *bisiklet*; *tütünsel duman-gaç* 'tobaccoish smoke-thing' for *sigara* 'cigarette'; *içi geçmiş dinsel kişi* 'passed-out religious person' for *İmam bayıldı* 'the Imam swooned' (the name of a highly esteemed aubergine dish); and *ulusal düttürü*, very approximately 'clannish ditty', for *millî marş* 'national anthem'. The reason why unsophisticated people thought these were genuine TDK products is that they found them no different in kind from some of the Society's own creations; how can one tell that a grotesque parody is a parody when the original is itself grotesque?⁸

In the years 1966–9 attacks on the Society intensified and attempts were made, unsuccessfully, to sequester its assets by legal means. In 1967 a sympathetic senator introduced a law compelling all public and private bodies and commercial firms to make their titles, stationery, notices, and trade marks conform to 'the language of the Constitution'. Ingeniously bogged down in a series of committees, it got nowhere. Not that it would have had much effect, because there are an awful lot of words in common use that are not in the text of the Constitution.

On 7 March 1970 a group of conservatives led by Nihad Sâmî Banarlı founded the Kubbealtı Cemiyeti (Under-the-Dome Society). The Kubbealtı is the building in the Topkapı Palace where, in the Ottoman period, the Council of State used to meet, under the presidency of the Grand Vizier. Later the Society promoted itself to Academy: at the beginning of 1972 the first number of its quarterly journal appeared, under the title *Kubbealtı Akademisi Mecmûası*. Its other publications include a respectable series on Turkish calligraphers that

⁸ The author is reminded of an Ottoman history seminar at an American university, where a participant remarked that the discussion ought to be about Ottoperson herstory. After the seminar, the others present agreed that they had thought she was joking, but none of them could be sure.

continues in the 1990s under the imprint of the Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San'at⁹ Vakfı (Culture and Art Foundation).

There have been other organizations committed to reversing the reform, among them Muallimler Cemiyeti (Society of Teachers), and Türk Dilini Koruma ve Geliştirme Cemiyeti (Society for the Protection and Development of the Turkish Language). In 1967 TDK published *Dil Devrimi üzerine*, a reprint of some newspaper articles on the language reform, at least three of which poured scorn on the latter body for, *inter alia*, calling itself not a *dernek* but a *cemiyet*, its president not *başkan* but *reis*, its secretary-general (Nihad Sâmî Banarlı) not *genel yazman* but *umumî kâtip*, its accountant not *sayman* but *muhâsip*, its members not *üye* but *âzâ*. That particular criticism was a bit unfair; what else could be expected from a society whose *raison d'être* was disapproval of the language reform? Somewhat fairer was the criticism that, if they felt that keenly about the old language, the title they should have chosen was Türk Lisanını Muhafaza ve İnkişaf Cemiyeti.¹⁰

Neither of these societies seems to have been very vocal since 1983, no doubt because the post-1983 TDK has done nothing much to offend anybody, except, by its very existence, the deposed top people of the pre-1983 TDK.

By the mid-1970s, the proportion of 'Turkish' words, real and invented, in the news columns of the press was regularly as high as 70 per cent, and in some places, notably the leading articles in *Cumhuriyet*, it rose to 90 per cent and more. At that point, many readers would either reach for a dictionary or turn to the sports pages, where the technical terms (e.g. *haf* 'halfback', *bek* 'fullback', *forvet* 'forward'), though scarcely *Öztürkçe*, would be familiar to them. It was common knowledge that Nadir Nadi Abaloğlu, the editor of *Cumhuriyet*, wrote his editorials in the Turkish he had grown up with, then had them translated into *Öztürkçe*—compare Agop Dilaçar's story of his visit to Necmettin Sadak in Chapter 4.

Bülent Ecevit, Prime Minister in 1973–4, 1978–9, and again in 1998, was an ardent *Öztürkçeci*, some of his utterances being fairly impenetrable, more so perhaps in his speeches than in his writings.¹¹ He attracted huge crowds wherever he went and, although not every member of those crowds could have understood all he said, his charisma led to a popularization of *Öztürkçe*. When the Justice Party returned to office in 1979, however, the new ministers issued streams of circulars banning neologisms from official correspondence. What was instructive about these circulars was not so much the words they banned as the words they used,

⁹ The antiquated spelling *san'at* for *sanat* is worth noting; the use of an apostrophe to mark an original Arabic 'ayn or hamza has long been dropped. Few now are aware that *sanat* is of Arab origin (*şan'a*), and it passes for Turkish, like *temel* 'basis', 'basic', which lives on unchallenged despite its Greek origin (*themélion*).

¹⁰ As it stands, this can only mean 'Society for Protecting the Turkish Language and for Development'; *Ettirme* should have been inserted after *İnkişaf* to make it transitive.

¹¹ Mustafa Balbay, however, writing in *Cumhuriyet* (27 Sept. 1990), quotes Professor Şaban Karataş: 'Bülent Bey, yeni kelimeleri kullanmayı sever . . . Ama dikkat edin biraz sinirlenince dili değiştiriyor, Arapça kelimeler kullanmaya başlıyor' (Bülent Bey loves using the new words, but notice that when he becomes a little irritated his language changes and he starts using Arabic words).

ignoring the fact that, for example, the *sözcük* 'word' they employed in the preambles to their blacklists was no less a product of linguistic engineering than the *eşgüdüm* 'coordination' and *olasılık* 'possibility' which they proscribed.

In September 1980 the military again seized power, the politicians having failed to stop rightist and leftist students murdering each other, latterly at an average rate of twenty-two a day. Two years later a new Constitution was promulgated, with some *Öztürkçe*, but not enough to offend any but the most diehard. Much of it was the *Öztürkçe* of 1961: the language of the many passages and whole articles taken over from the 1961 Constitution, among them Article 34 quoted above (Article 39 in the new), was left unaltered. Nor was the language of the additional material as extreme as it might have been—for example, the second clause of Article 12 contains only three inventions, *toplum*, *ödev*, and *sorumluluk*, all of them generally accepted (the words in italic are of non-Turkish origin): '*Temel hak ve hürriyetler, kişinin topluma, ailesine ve diğer kişilere karşı ödev ve sorumluluklarını da ihtiva eder*' (The *fundamental rights and freedoms* also include the duties and responsibilities of the individual towards society, his *family, and other* persons). One's impression is that the drafters were trying to steer a more or less middle course between the old and the new, with some bias towards the old. For TDK, this was the writing on the wall.

The Society, as Atatürk's heir and a private body, not an organ of the state but what we would call a quango, had assumed that its existence was guaranteed in perpetuity, that it could never be abolished. Nor was it; when the conservatives thought the time was ripe it was simply taken over. A law passed on 11 August 1983 reconstituted it as part of a new Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu (Atatürk Cultural, Linguistic, and Historical Institute), linked to the Prime Minister's office, and gave it an almost entirely new Council of Management. The debates on the draft legislation in the Council of State revealed the intensity of the hatred the Society had aroused.¹² A number of legal objections to the proposal were voiced, none of which seemed to be adequately dealt with, but that is not our present concern. Adnan Orel, the spokesman of the National Education Commission, denounced 'Yıllardır dilimize karşı işlendiğine elemle şahit olduğum ihanet' (The treason that, to my sorrow, I have for years seen committed against our language). He continued:

Bu Tasarının kanunlaşmasıyla Türk dili Aziz Atatürk'ümüzün hayata gözlerini yumduğu günden beri içine düşürüldüğü felaketten kurtarılacak, maruz bırakıldığı bir bakıma yangın gibi, sel gibi, zelzele gibi tabii afetlere benzer; fakat onlar gibi tabii değil, hayfâ ki, gayrı tabii bir facianın kurbanı olmaktan halâs edilecektir. Artık milli varlığımızın en hayati, en kıymetli temel unsurlarından, ana direklerden biri olan dilimiz, kurulduğu maksat ve gayeden tamamen ayrılan bir kurumun tasallutundan kurtarılıp devletin sahabetine kavuşturulacak ve işin ehli olan gerçek ilim otoritelerinin şuurulu vicdanlarına, dirayetli ellerine emanet olunacaktır . . .

¹² *Danışma Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi*, 19 (June–July 1983), *passim*. Adnan Orel's speech quoted below came on 28 July.

[TDK] . . . canım Türkçeyi fakirleştirmiş, kısırlaştırmış, zayıflatmış, sığlaştırmış, çirkinleştirmiş, hülasa kolunu kanadını kırıp (Tabirimi af buyurun) yolunmuş tavuğa çevirmiştir. O güzelim dilin ahengi, zerafeti, yabancı dillerle kelimeler mefhumlar, mana nüansları bakımından olan muadelet ve paralelliği yok olmuş, hisleri, heyecanları, fikirleri anlatabilmekteki zenginlik ve etkinliği kaybolmuş; akraba dillerle olan münasebeti, diğer Türk lehçeleriyle irtibatı yok edilmiş, Dilimizin asırlar boyunca normal ve tabii gelişmesinin ona kazandırdığı bize mal olmuş kelimeler, terimler, ifadeyi meram unsurları atılıp, onların yerine Dilimizin ahenk kaidesine, gramerine, yapısına ve hiçbir vasfına uymayan, acayip, çirkin, uydurma kelimeler, terim ve tabirleri üretilip doldurarak, zavallı Dil maskaraya çevrilmiştir.

When this Draft becomes law, the Turkish language will be delivered from the calamity into which it has been plunged since our dear Atatürk closed his eyes to life. What it has suffered resembles in a way such natural disasters as fire, flood, and earthquake, but unlike them is not natural; the language will be saved from being the victim of—alas!—an unnatural disaster. Our language, one of the most vital, most precious constituents and mainstays of our existence as a nation and a state, is about to be freed from the tyranny of an organization that has totally departed from the aim and purpose for which it was established; it will be brought into state ownership and entrusted to the judicious consciences and capable hands of truly scholarly authorities who know their jobs . . .

[TDK] has impoverished our beloved language, has made it sterile, feeble, shallow and ugly; in short, it has broken its legs and wings and turned it into—pardon the expression—a plucked chicken.¹³ The harmony and grace of that lovely language has been eliminated, as has its ability to match other languages in words, concepts, and shades of meaning; gone are its richness and effectiveness in expressing feelings, emotions and ideas; annihilated its connection with kindred languages and its relationship with other Turkish dialects. The words, technical terms, and elements for expressing oneself, which were won for it by its normal and natural development over the centuries and have become our own, have been cast away and their places filled by grotesque, ugly, and fake words, terms, and expressions that have been fabricated in no conformity with the rule of harmony of our language, its grammar, its structure, or anything else about it. The unhappy language has become an object of ridicule.

It would be hard to fault him, except in the matter of technical terms. Yet one only has to examine the words employed in his speech, which for the most part were more old-fashioned than those of other speakers in the debate (e.g. *aklıselim* not *sağduyu* 'common sense', *vicdan* not *bulunç* 'conscience', *nesil* not *kuşak* 'generation'), to know that it is not going to be possible to put the clock back. Among his *Öztürkçe* words were *toplum* 'society', *kesim* 'sector', *gözetim* 'supervision', *denetim* 'control', *terim*, *yönlendirmek* 'to guide', *etkilik* 'effectiveness', *üretmek* 'to produce', and *ödül* 'prize'.¹⁴

Another speaker described TDK as 'a Society which calls an air hostess "a sky guestish dame"'. This phrase—"gök konuksal avrat"—was a reference to the old

¹³ It is impolite to mention non-human creatures, cats excepted, without a word of apology. I have heard villagers apologize similarly when speaking of atheists: 'Affedersiniz, dinsizler . . .'

¹⁴ *Ödül* 'prize', though brought into the standard language by the reform, is not an invention; it is widely used in Anatolia.

spoof mentioned above, and his remark justly brought objections from some of his colleagues: 'That's a lie!' and 'Someone made that up! It's a lie!' The speaker, unruffled, went on to give some authentic examples of TDK's output: 'I have in my hand one of the Society's publications, entitled "Finding equivalents for words of Western origin".¹⁵ It calls *banket* ["verge"] *yol omzu* ["road shoulder"] . . . *Buldozer* it calls *yol düzler* ["road leveller"], and *greyder* ["grader"] *yer düzler* ["earth leveller"].' Other members did not seem to find these specimens of TDK's crimes as heinous as he did, so he gave some more: *genörgütçü* 'gen[eral]-organization-ist' for *bürokrat*, *geçinge* (from *geçinmek* 'to get along, make a living') for *bütçe* 'budget', *düzüngü* for *ideoloji*.¹⁶ His peroration was not at all bad. The Nasrettin Hoca story to which it alludes tells how a passer-by sees the Hoca spooning something into a lake. He asks him what he's up to and the Hoca replies, 'I'm putting ferment in so that the whole lake turns into yoghurt.' 'Silly man!' says the other, 'It won't work.' 'But just suppose it does!'

Millet hayatıyla, devlet hayatıyla dalga geçmektir bu, gayri ciddi hareketlerdir. Efendim, biz üretiriz, salarız, toplum tutarsa onu biz tamam deriz, koyarız. Tamam, tutunmuştur bu kelime, bu 'tilcik' tutunmuştur ve Türk dilinin malı olmuştur. E . . . peki, siz seçip seçip böyle ortaya atacaksınız, bin tane kelime türeteceksiniz, içinden bir tanesi tutacak. O zaman Nasrettin Hoca'nın göle maya çalması gibi bir mesele oluyor. 'Ya tutarsa . . .' Tutmuyor.

This is monkeying with our life as a nation, as a state; this is frivolous behaviour. 'My dear sir, we produce them, we throw them around, and if the public takes to them we say, "Fine," and there we leave it. Very good, this word, this speechlet, has caught on and become part of the Turkish language.' Well, all right, you'll keep picking them out and launching them like this, you'll call a thousand words into being and one of them will catch on. Then comes a problem like Nasrettin Hoca's dropping ferment into the lake. 'But just suppose it works!' It doesn't.

In 1985 a group of disgruntled devotees of the former TDK established Dil Derneği, a new Language Society to carry on the work of the old. One does not hear much of it; although lacking the financial resources of the old TDK, it continues to function but is not churning out *Öztürkçe*. It has produced some useful and scholarly works, notably on applied linguistics (e.g. Dil Derneği 1991).

On 24–8 September 1990 came Birinci Türk Dili Kurultayı (The First Turkish-Language Congress), arranged by the Ministry of Culture. Right in the middle of it, on the 26th, came the annual *Dil Bayramı* (the Language Festival), and the tasteless choice of title, as if the real Birinci Türk Dili Kurultayı (of 1932) had never been, was the target of much criticism. It was doubtless for that reason that its next meeting was called not 'İkinci' (Second) but Sürekli (Continuing) Türk Dili Kurultayı (4–8 May 1992), the proceedings of which were published under that name by the Ministry of Culture. It was not a conspicuous success. Many of the speeches were parochial, being taken up with the numerous defects of TDK's

¹⁵ *Batı Kaynaklı Sözcüklere Karşılık Bulma Denemesi*, ii (Ankara: TDK, 1978).

¹⁶ *Düzüngü* is a provincial word for *ayna* 'mirror'. Here it might be the result of a clerical error for *düşünü*, once proposed as a replacement for *ideoloji*.

spelling guide, *İmlâ Kılavuzu*, to the evident disappointment of the Central Asian delegates, who had hoped for a serious discussion of the possibility of achieving a common written language.

In 1970 the old TDK had begun suggesting 'yabancı kelimelere karşılıklar'—equivalents for foreign words (no longer Arabic and Persian but English and French) that had entered or were in process of entering the language. It did little to stem the tide; the only examples that linger in the memory are *uzgörüüm* for 'television' and *uzgöreç* for 'television receiver', but they had no more success than the *uzaduyum* for 'telepathy' suggested in *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri* (1942).

The new TDK began a similar campaign in 1994 in *Türk Dili*, 507: 218–21;¹⁷ (why it felt a need for this has been demonstrated in Chapter 10). The Society had set up a *komisyon* that would meet once a month to discuss possible equivalents for a number of such words in a list previously circulated, and to agree on one or more equivalents for each. The language of the announcement was conservative; some would call it reactionary: *siyasîler* 'politicians', *kelime* 'word', *sirayet eden* 'infecting', *tedbir* 'measure', *taraf* 'side', and even the sentence 'Gün geçmiyor ki batının yeni bir kelimesi . . . arzıendam etmesin' (A day does not pass without a new Western word's . . . putting in an appearance).¹⁸ There was, however, a sprinkling of *Öztürkçe* (though not a single *-sel*): *araç* 'medium', *kamu kurum ve kuruluşları* 'public associations and institutions', *-e yönelik* 'directed towards'. The first list of foreign words for which substitutes were offered included *şov* 'show' and several of its compounds. For *şov* itself, *gösteri* was proposed. Turkey being as yet little touched by political correctness, for *şovmen* 'showman' the suggestion was *gösteri adamı*, and, for *vanmen şov* 'one-man show', *tek adam gösterisi*. For *talk şov* 'chat-show', *söz gösterisi* or *çene yarışırma* 'chin-wag', literally 'jaw-racing', and for *talk şovcu*, *çene yarışırıcı*. It will be seen that *talk şov* has been taken over directly from English with no attempt at Turkicizing it (i.e. not *talk şovu*), just as the French *kilomètre carré* was long ago taken over as *kilometre kare*. For *şovrum* 'show-room', the recommendation was *sergi evi* 'display house'. Regretfully one must add that *şov* still reigns supreme and more often that not is spelled *show*; 'talk-show' is commoner than 'talk şov'.

For *sentir* 'centre', which 'despite the existence in our language of *merkez* [A], is tacked on to the names of various societies and institutions', a return to *merkez* was proposed, so *ticaret merkezi* for trade centre and *iletişim merkezi* (*iletişim* 'communications') for media centre, in preference to *medya sentiri*. Neither appears in *Örnekleriyle Türkçe Sözlük* (1995–6), though it does give *santra*, a football term, as in *santra çizgisi* 'centre line'.

Here we have an indication of how rapidly French is being overtaken as the source of new words: *sentir* is not shown in *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988), though *santr* is.

¹⁷ The cover is dated March 1994, the first page February 1994.

¹⁸ The Ottoman *arziendam* 'putting in an appearance', which is not to be found in the TDK's own *Türkçe Sözlük* (1988), is made up of 'ard [A] 'presentation', linked to *endam* (*andām* [P]) 'body' by the Persian *izafet*.

The replacements proposed for other items in the list displayed the same preference for Turkish words even of Arabic origin; thus for *instant coffee* or *neskafe* the suggestion was *hazır* [A] ('ready') *kahve* and, for *fast food* *hazır yemek*, while for *konsensüs* 'consensus' a choice was offered between *uzlaşma* and *mutabakat* [A]. The suggested replacement for *fundamentalist* was *köktenci* ('from-the-root-ist') and for *fundamentalizm*, *köktencilik*. This accords with the view of Western scholars, that in the Islamic context 'radical' is a more appropriate term than 'fundamentalist'. In fact, the word generally used is *köktendinci* 'radical religionist'.

In 1995 the proposals so far made were published in book form,¹⁹ with an interesting introduction in which the aims of the Society are summarized: '1) Türk Dilini araştırmak, 2) Türk Dilini yabancı etkilerden korumak ve geliştirmek' ((1) To research the Turkish language, (2) to protect the Turkish language from foreign influences and to develop it). Words that have entered the language over the centuries, from whatever source, are considered to be Turkish. These include such words as *elektrik*, *atom*, *demokrasi*. Even words formed irregularly are acceptable if they are thoroughly entrenched in the language of the people—for example, *kural* 'rule', *önem* 'importance', *bağımsızlık* 'independence', *bilinç* 'consciousness'.

Each month's *Türk Dili* brings its quota of borrowings, with recommendations for Turkish alternatives. In no. 555 (Mar. 1998) came *gurme*, *sit-com*, and *stand-up*, as in 'stand-up komedyenler'. The Society's proposal for the first was *tatbilir*, although those who see themselves as members of the international community of gourmets may not take kindly to the appellation of taste-knower. Nor is it likely that many people will abandon *sit-com* in favour of its literal translation *durum güldürüsü*, but the suggested abbreviation *durgül* may have more of a chance. The proposal for 'stand-up komedyen' was *sözçatar* 'tacking words together', which does not look very promising, though a pleasant example is given of its use: 'Sözçatarlar Türkiye'de konu sıkıntısı çekmiyorlar' (Stand-up comedians suffer from no dearth of topics in Turkey).

The Society is clearly determined to fight the use of English words for which Turkish equivalents exist or can be devised; *bölüm* should be used rather than *seksiyon*, *bilgi şöleni* ('knowledge-feast') rather than *sempozyum*.²⁰ Sadly, there does not seem to be a widespread appreciation of the Society's genuine efforts to undo the worst of the reform while striving to keep new foreign imports at bay; many people seem to be quite unaware that the TDK is not what it used to be.

Even now, though years have passed since the fall of the old TDK, there are still hearts in which the fierce emotions it roused have not died. A book published in

¹⁹ *Yabancı Kelimelere Karşılıklar* (1995: 631). Notice the sign of the times: 'Kelimelere' not 'Sözcüklere'.

²⁰ *Şölen*, of uncertain origin, was proposed in *Tarama Dergisi* (1934) for *ziyafet* 'feast', and in *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri* (1942) for 'potlatch'. The initial *ş* makes an OT origin unlikely.

1993 affords an example (Mısıroğlu 1993); here is one of its eleven introductory 'Uyarı' (warnings): 'Aziz Genç! Bugün memleketimizin bir numaralı meselesi, enflasyon veya güneydoğu Anadoludaki anarşi değildir! Kıbrıs'ın kaybedilmek üzere olması da değildir! Bütün bunların hepsinden daha ehemmiyetli olan, lisanımızdaki korkunç tahribattır!' (Dear Youth! Today, our nations's number one problem is not inflation or the anarchy in south-eastern Anatolia! Nor is it the fact that Cyprus is on the point of being lost! What is more important than all of these is the terrible devastation of our language!). As usually happens, this sworn enemy of *Öztürkçe* uses some himself: *dinsel*, not *dini* or even *diymi*,²¹ for 'religious' all over the book and, in the above quotations, *uyarı* not *ikaz* for 'warning', and *güneydoğu* not *cenub-u şarki* for 'south-eastern'. His theme is that the language reform is atheism and that the reformers are enemies of the Koran, Islam, and God. People who say *önsezi* rather than *hiss-i kablelvuku* for 'premonition' are damned. Those who use such bastard words ('piç kelimeler') are either racist Turkists ('ırkçı-Türkçü'), or Kemalists or Communists ('Komonist'). No fair-minded reader who wades through a few pages of this stuff can deny that there had to be a language reform, though not necessarily on the lines of the one that actually happened.

Well, we may put that example down to simple-minded fanaticism, but the same excuse will not do for this one. It is an extract from a letter to the author, written from Istanbul in September 1994 by an old friend, bilingual in Turkish and English. 'Zabanvari Facialar Kurumu' (The Linguistic Tragedies Society) is his quasi-Ottoman term for the Dil Kurumu. For his 'Ulusalduüttürü Turkish', see page 160.

Yesterday we celebrated Dil Bayramı, or some nonsense like that. (I say 'celebrated'—I don't think anyone actually knew.) The radio, however, said something interesting. It quoted somebody on the committee of Zabanvari Facialar Kurumu (or whatever they're called) as saying 'Turks have throughout history always had a written language understood by all. This should happen again.' I hope this means someone has donated a brain to those boys. If they have any sense, they'll abandon the excesses of Ulusalduüttürü Turkish and start talking like me.

The significant thing about that letter is that it was written eleven years after the old TDK had ceased to exist and some twenty years after it had abandoned the excesses. But the man who wrote it has clearly not forgotten, much less forgiven, what it did to the language, and he holds the new TDK (if he is aware of the change) responsible for the sins of the old. In retrospect one can see that it might have helped if the authorities had waited a year or so after the takeover and then quietly given the reborn Society a new name.

²¹ Pietists wishing to preserve the correct pronunciation of Arabic terms use *iy* to indicate a long *i*, so *ıyman* for *ıman* /*ımān*/ 'faith', though they do not usually indicate the length of the *a*, as they could by doubling it. Often they use *iy* to indicate a long *i* where none exists, spelling e.g. *mühim* 'important' as *mühiyim*.

Hasan Eren, Secretary-General of the new TDK, told the author some years ago, 'Türk Dil Kurumu'nun esas gayesi, dilde birliğin sağlanmasıdır' (TDK's basic aim is to ensure unity in the language). Given that writers tend to be individualists, one may prophesy that it will be a long time before Turkey's flourishing literary community allows that to happen. But if this prophecy comes true, on present showing the new TDK will not be to blame.

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