A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF TURKISH NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED BETWEEN THE LATE OTTOMAN AND THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERAS

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Abstract

The aim of this work is to investigate the evolution of the Turkish language through an analysis of the newspapers' articles published between the Late Ottoman and the Early Turkish Republican Eras. To conduct this analysis, this work focuses on the etymology of words used in the newspapers' articles. We decided to focus on newspapers for two main reasons. On the one hand, press emerged in the Turkish cultural context with the aim to inform people about subjects of public interest (e.g., politics, economy, culture). Consequently, newspapers needed to adopt a language register that could be understood by a wide audience. On the other hand, we decided to focus on the language of newspapers since the latter represent one of the most effective means through which language spreads among speakers. Concerning this matter, we analyzed articles from newspapers published in the Late Ottoman Era such as *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *İkdam* and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat,* as well as others from the Early Republican Era such as *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam* and *Milliyet*. Articles included in this analysis were published between 1864 and 1936. Through the analysis of these examples, the scope of this work is to find an answer to the question on whether there are common features in Turkish language between the Late Ottoman and the Early Republican Eras. Moreover, this paper aims to understand the impact of the language reform on the evolution of Turkish.

Keywords: Turkish language reform, history of the Turkish press, late Ottoman era, early Turkish republican era.

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GEÇ OSMANLI DÖNEMİ VE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ ARASINDA YAYIMLANAN TÜRKÇE GAZETELERİN DİL ANALİZİ

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Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi arasında yayınlanan gazete makalelerinin analizi aracıyla Türk dilinin gelişimini araştırmaktır. Türk dilinin gelişimini incelemek amacıyla bu çalışmada gazete metinlerinde kullanılan kelimelerin etimolojisine odaklanmıştır. Çalışmamızın gazete incelenmesi üzerine yürütülmesi iki sebepten kaynaklanmaktadır. Bir yandan, Türkçe basın, kamuoyu ilgilendiren konular hakkında (siyaset, ekonomi, kültür gibi) toplumu bilgilendirmek amacıyla ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bağlamda, gazetelerin geniş bir okuyucu kitlesi tarafından anlaşılabilecek bir dilde yazılması gerekiyordu. Öte yandan, gazeteler dilin konuşmacılar arasında yayılmasını sağlayan en etkili araçlardan biri olduğu için gazete dilinde odaklanmaya karar verdik. Bu konuda Geç Osmanlı Dönemi gazetelerinden ise *Tasvir-i Efkâr, İkdam* ve *Tercüman-ı Hakikat,* Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi gazetelerinden *Cumhuriyet, Akşam* ve *Milliyet* gazete metinleri incelenmiştir. Araştırmaya dâhil edilen makaleler 1862-1936 yılları arasında yayınlanmıştır. Çalışmamızın amacı, örneklerin incelenmesi yoluyla iki dönem arasında dilsel eğilimlerde bir süreklilik olup olmadığı sorusuna cevap bulmaktır. Bununla birlikte bu makale, dil reformunun Türkçenin evrimi üzerindeki etkisini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk dil reformu, Türk basın tarihi, geç Osmanlı dönemi, erken Cumhuriyet dönemi.

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Introduction

The State- ruled Turkish language reform represents one of the most articulate examples of language planning of the 20th century. Started in 1928 as a script reform, in 1932, it transformed into a project of reform of the Turkish vocabulary, aiming to purify it from several words coming from Persian and Arabic that were unknown to the average Turkish speaker. In the idea of the reformers, the final goal of this project would be the individuation of a speech pattern that could be easily understood and written by a wider audience. The reform of the Turkish language has been widely discussed by the critique[1], who focuses on aspects such as the substitution of Arabic and Persian words with their Turkish equivalents, as well as the language campaigns promoted by the Turkish government in those years to encourage intellectuals and journalists to use words with a Turkish root rather than those coming from Arabic or Persian. Regarding the outcome of the reform, Brendon addresses it as one of the most successful examples of language planning in history (Brendmoen, 1998, p. 242); in an article published in 1988, İz states that only in ten years the reform achieved "a systematic Turkification of the terminology of all the fields of knowledge, of the official style of government departments, the language of daily papers and particularly of school textbooks" (İz, 1988, p. 1007). In a recent article, Yüce claims that by mid 1930s, the goals of the language reform were largely achieved. There is, however, a gap in these studies since they do not support their statements with a linguistic analysis of text written before and after the language reform. In our opinion, an analysis of this type would be useful to objectively evaluate the outcomes of the reform. Moreover, these studies do not consider the dynamics and the conditions through which language changes over the course of time. Can the process of linguistic reform be said to be fully accomplished already by 1930s? Trying to answer to this question and in order to trace the evolution and the changes occurred in the Turkish language in almost one century, we decided to carry out a linguistic analysis of Turkish newspapers published before and after the language reform, covering a period which goes from 1864 to 1936. We decided to focus on newspapers for two main reasons. On the one hand, in the Turkish context of the Late Ottoman Era press emerges with the aim to inform people about subjects of public interest. Therefore, newspapers need to adopt a language register that could be understood by a wide audience. On the other hand, in the Early Republican Era newspapers are directly influenced by the principles and ideas of the language reforms.

The article will first introduce the concept of language, it will then discuss the social dimension of languages and the relationship between language, culture, and identity. Subsequently the study will focus on the history of the Turkish language in Ottoman Anatolia. Concerning the latter, the article will show how the linguistic situation in this context was characterized by the existence of two varieties of Turkish language: H- variety (language of litera-

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[1] The most remarkable and detailed work on the subject is represented by (Lewis, 1999).

ture and bureaucracy), and a L- variety (folk language, used in everyday linguistic interactions). We will explain this dichotomy through the concept of *diglossia*, introduced by Charles Ferguson in 1959. Concerning the attempts to overcome the gap between the two varieties in written and spoken language, the article will focus on the debates about the necessity to reform the language carried on by writers and intellectuals in the Late Ottoman Era. As the article will show, these debates took place on newspapers and magazines. At the same time, they influenced the language style of newspapers articles. The paper will then show how similar ideas were discussed during the language reform era, at the end of the 1920s. To evaluate the outcomes of the language reform, the article will then conduct a linguistic analysis of newspapers articles published in the Late Ottoman and the Early Republican Era, to see whether there are common aspects in written language before and after the reform process. In the conclusive paragraphs of the article, we will discuss the results of this analysis.

The Concept of Language

Giving a general definition, language is a system of words and sounds. This system ensures communication between people which are part of the same community of speakers. In this respect, communication should not be considered only as a means through which we exchange messages between a sender and a receiver, at the same time through language we share culture, traditions, identity, and feelings. Since they contribute to the formation of unity, continuity and acculturation process in social life, communication and language can be considered as two of the most effective and important tools for the development of societies. In this context, language consists of a system of signs that represent culture, emotions, traditions, and words form the concrete equivalents of these abstract signs. According to the pragmatist philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce, as used in the social sphere, words correspond to "symbols". To explain the definition of symbol, it is necessary to explain the concept of sign as elaborated by Peirce. According to the latter, a sign is "anything that adapts to the sign object without any real or fundamental correspondence is a representation" (Peirce, 2003, p. 323). In other words, the sign is a form of representation. According to the definition given by Peirce, a symbol is a sign whose meaning is commonly shared among people, and it would lose its meaning if there wouldn't be people attributing that specific meaning to a specific word. To give an example, why we can consider words like "bird", "scale" as symbols? Because the words "bird", "scale" will not remind us of any "scale" or "bird" in particular, they will rather create a connection with the concepts of "bird" or "scale" in our minds. In other words, the word itself is a symbol. This conceptualization of words as symbols referring to concepts is revived at the beginning of the 20th century by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, who defines languages as systems where each word is connected to a specific concept. Moreover, according to Saussure, languages continue to

be alive and exist only because they are spoken in a social context. In other words, there is a connection between language and its social dimension.

Language as a Social Institution

In the *Course in General Linguistics,* Saussure defines language as "a social institution". By way of explanation, language is a system of symbols formed by and within communities, and the ground of its legitimacy is represented social acceptance. Regarding these aspects, Jürgen Habermas analyses the formation of societies in his work entitled *The Theory of Communicative Action.* According to Habermas, human societies are founded on common norms and values accepted through the mechanism of "consensus". In this framework, linguistic communication contributes to the formation of consensus. Concerning this aspect, on the one hand, communication (language) provides the formation of the process of socialization, on the other hand, according to Habermas's approach, language itself emerges as a social action. From a sociological perspective, social action is an action that takes place between different individuals and affects everyone. In this respect, we can consider language as a social action as it provides communication, interaction and sharing of various information and emotions among people in all directions. In this respect, the concept of language proficiency includes both the ability of individuals to speak, and the ability to express their own ideas and feelings through words. This strict bond between language, emotions, culture, and identity ensures that each individual speaks the language learned in childhood throughout his life and -at the same time- he connects to it its own culture and identity.

Language and Culture

As outlined by Scott Wright in *Language, Communication and the Public Sphere*, through language we can process our life in the social and public sphere. In the context of communication, language is dependent on the concept of culture in many ways. The relationship between language and culture in the history of thought has been analyzed in many ways by linguists, linguistic philosophers, and anthropologists. Wilhelm von Humboldt is among the first thinkers to emphasize the relation between language and culture. In his work entitled *On the Diversity of Human Language Construction and its Influence on the Mental Development of the Human Species*, the 18th century-German philosopher explained the importance of language in the construction of community and culture. The American anthropologist Franz Boas, through his research on languages spoken by indigenous peoples of the Americas contained in *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, offers a first tentative explanation concerning how languages shape our perceptions. This relationship is later analyzed more in detail by one of Boas's students- Edward Sapir- who, together with the linguist Benjamin Lee- Whorf, elaborates the theory of linguistic relativism. Ac-

cording to the latter, the language we speak effects our perceptions, both in terms of cognition and culture. More recently the critique has abandoned the Sapir- Whorf hypothesis and the related cognitive aspects to rethink the bond between language and culture as a relation emerging in the social sphere. In this framework, Claire Kramsch in *Language and Culture* states that language expresses cultural reality and context we live in. Language clearly shows our views, ideas, and feelings. Sharing them in the social sphere means sharing the culture formed within the social framework. Additionally, according to the author, the communication tool (e-mail, letter, phone call, etc.), as well as the accent, words, tone, gestures we choose to communicate give many important details and information from a proxemic cultural point of view (Kramsch, 1998, p. 3). There is also a third step that provides a language-culture relationship: speakers identify themselves and others using language; they see their language as a symbol of their social identity. Banning its use is often perceived by its speakers as a rejection of their social group and culture. In other words, speakers of the same language perceive each other as belonging to the same cultural context. As explained by Saussure in the *Course in General Linguistics*, language is transferred from generation to generation within the social and cultural context. In this process, language acquires new forms by changing according to the cultural, social, and linguistic features that each generation of speakers interacts with.

The Turkish language does not represent an exception to this rule: through the contact with both linguistic (other languages) and extralinguistic factors (e.g., society, culture), the vocabulary, grammar, and phonetics of Turkish have changed and keep changing over the course of time.

The Turkish language in Ottoman Anatolia

Turkish language as spoken nowadays, is considered as an "evolution" of the Turkish language as it was spoken in the Ottoman Empire before the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. In the article entitled *Diglossie dans le domaine ottoman. Évolution et péripéties d'une situation linguistique* Johann Strauss evaluates the linguistic diversity of the Anatolian geography during the Ottoman Empire. The scholar states that it would be very difficult to enlist all the idioms spoken in this area. Together with Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, inhabitants of this area spoke languages such as Armenian, Greek, Kurdish. As outlined by the linguists Tahsin Banguoğlu and Milan Adamović, over the course of centuries, morphological structures, as well as the vocabulary of Arabic (Banguoğlu, 1938, p. 22) and Persian (Adamović, 1985, p. 6), had a consistent influence on the Turkish language. The reason for this should be researched in the contacts between Arabic, Persian, and Turkish speakers in terms of literature and religion. Regarding this aspect, as outlined by Ahmet Ercilasun in *Başlangıçtan Yirminci Yüzyıla Türk Dili Tarihi* (*History of The Turkish Language Since the Beginnings to the 20th Century*), since the 11th century Per-

sian becomes the language of poetry, literature, and bureaucracy. Concerning Arabic -especially with the influence of Islamic thought- Turkish scholars start to use Arabic vocabulary and grammar in their philosophical writings (Ercilasun, 2013, p. 436). According to Strauss, over the centuries, these contacts led to a linguistic situation defined as diglossia. In the definition given by Ferguson, this term defines the coexistence of two varieties of the same language within a speech community. The latter identifies one variety as the high one -typically the language of literature and bureaucracy- and the other as a low variety, which is the language spoken in colloquial interactions. Concerning the Ottoman context, the diglossia consists in the difference between a H- variety (*saray dili*, language of the Seraglio) represented by the language of culture and bureaucracy -where there is a predominance of words and grammar elements from Arabic and Persian- and a L- variety represented by the language spoken in everyday linguistic interactions (*halk dili*, colloquial language), where Turkish words are prevalent.

From the eighteenth-century Turkish intellectuals and poets belonging to the *Türki-i Basit* movement outline that -over the course of centuries- a wide gap has emerged between these two varieties of Turkish. According to these authors, common people are not able to understand the language of literature and bureaucracy, which included many Arabic and Persian words that most of the audience was not able to understand. Nevertheless, it is only in the nineteenth century, with the emergence of a process of reform and modernization of the Ottoman Empire known as *Tanzimat* (*Reforms*), that intellectuals start to systematically debate about the language gap and its impact on the social dimension of language.

Debates on the Turkish language in the Late Ottoman Era

Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words: how to balance the words from these languages in written texts? To individuate a speech pattern understandable by a wide audience, is it necessary to get rid of Arabic and Persian words? These are the questions around which the discussions about language revolve in the Late Ottoman Era. In this period, debates about the diglossia in the Turkish language take place on the pages of newspapers and magazines such as *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *Muhbir*, *Servet-i Funün*, and *Basiret* and are held by influent intellectuals and writers of the era.

In an article written for *Tasvir-i Efkâr* in 1866, Namık Kemal states that language has become difficult due to the existence of foreign words (including words from Arabic, Persian, and Western languages) in Turkish literary and bureaucratic language. According to the author, it is difficult for the readers to understand a written language which contains many words that they are not familiar with. Ali Suavi shares similar ideas about the same subject. In a piece written for the newspaper *Muhbir* and published four months after the article by Namık Kemal, the writer summarizes his thoughts on language with these

lines: it will be written according to a speech pattern that everyone can understand (*Muhbir*, 2 January 1867, p. 1). Ahmet Mithat joins the debate about language with an article published on *Basiret* (19 May 1871, p. 639) where he writes:

> Well, what should we do? Should we live without language? Isn't there a language spoken by our people? Let us use the language of people. [...] If we remove the influences and the adjectives of Arabic and Persian, today, seven hundred people will be able to understand the things we write, tomorrow for sure seven thousand people will be able to do so.[2]

Similar preoccupations concerning the gap between the readers and texts written in Turkish are shared by Şemseddin Sami and Muallim Naci, who both support the idea that the language of literature and culture, should be accessible for a wider audience.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the debate shifts into the distinction and categorization of words according to their Arabic, Turkish, or Persian etymology. Through this classification, intellectuals aim to contribute to the institutionalization process of the language by working on the vocabulary of the Turkish language. Mahmut Kemal and Veled Çelebi are among the intellectuals who participate in the discussions taking place in these years. Both argue in the pages of the newspaper *İkdam* that in the Turkish vocabulary there are more Arabic than Persian influences.

Discussions regarding Turkish language continue also during the first decades of the twentieth century. In these years, intellectuals rethink the necessity to write in a way that could be accessible for a wider audience. Consequently, rather than on their etymology (Arabic, Turkish, and Persian), in this phase the linguistic debate focuses on the diffusion of words: it is not important whether words come from Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, what matters is the ability of individuals to use and understand them. According to Levend, this is the main idea of the "Genç Kalemler" movement emerging in these years (Levend, 1960, p. 322). Ziya Gökalp offers an interesting point of view on the subject when in *Türkçülüğün Esasları* he states that Arabic and Persian words have become part of Turkish folk speech, therefore erasing them would represent a violation both against people and the vocabulary of philosophy, morals, and religion[3].

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[2] Pek a'lâ ne yapalım. Lisansız mı kalalım? Hayır, halkımızın kullandığı bir lisan yok mu? İşte anı millet lisanı yapalım. [...] Arapça ve Farsça'nın ne kadar izafetleri ve ne kadar sıfatları varsa kaldırıversek, yazdığımız şeyleri bugün yediyüz kişi anlıyabilmekte ise yarın mutlaka yedi bin kişi anlar (*Basiret*, 19 May 1871, p. 639).

[3] "Removing the Arabic and Persian words from Turkish would deprive this language of its liveliest words, its religious moral and philosophical terminology (Halk lisanına geçmiş olan Arabi ve Farisî kelimeleri, Türkçeden çıkarmak, bu lisanı en canlı kelimelerinden, dinî ahlâki, felsefî taktirlerinden mahrum edecekti)" (Gökalp, 1923, p. 10).

As showed until this point, discussions about Turkish language cover different opinions and positions throughout the Late Ottoman Era. On the one hand, the debate focuses on the necessity to individuate a speech pattern understandable for the audience. On the other hand, the focus shifts on the etymology of words. Concerning these aspects, a general preoccupation shared by authors seems to be the percentage of Turkish words that should be used in written language. Towards the end of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of the Republican Era, discussions focus on the same subjects, thus representing a progression of language debates held during the decades before. In this period, language debates will lead to the first official attempt to reform written language, held by the Turkish State and known as *Türk Dil Reformu* (Turkish Language Reform).

The Early Republican Era and the Turkish Language Reform

As showed until this point, in the Late Ottoman Era language debates focus on the etymologies of words in written Turkish language. In the Early Republican years, language debates cover similar issues. There is, anyway, a difference with the previous era since -from the early days of the Republic, the language debate becomes a State- run affair.

Concerning this aspect, even though being systematically debated among intellectuals, until the end of the Ottoman Era, language-related subjects very rarely are part of the political agenda.[4] With the beginning of the Republican Era, the reform of the language becomes one of the main topics discussed by the Parliament. In this context, started during the Economic Congress in 1923, the debate around the adoption of Latin script to write the Turkish language, in 1928 culminates in the alphabet reform of 1928. The latter represent the first step of a wider State-run language planning strategy, whose following step will be the reform of the Turkish vocabulary started in 1932 by the State-run Turkish Language Association. The latter is founded with the aim to conduct scientific research on written and oral sources of Turkish; to ensure the use of correct Turkish terminology in fields such as science, art, literature, academia, and language teaching. Moreover, it aims to reveal the richness of the Turkish vocabulary. To achieve these goals, the Turkish Language Association focuses on the vocabulary of the Turkish language, promoting the use of words with Turkish etymology instead of those coming from Arabic and Persian. On the one hand, starting with the First Congress on the Turkish Language in 1932, these debates and research resulted in the organization of two- year meet-

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[4] Few exceptions are represented by the institutionalization of Turkish as official language of the Ottoman Empire in 1876, as well as the debates concerning the reform of the Turkish script and the possibility to adopt the Latin alphabet. Regarding this subject, Münif Paşa advocated the adoption of Latin letters already in 1862. In early twentieth century, members of the Young Turks movement such as Celal Nuri, Abdullah Cevdet, and Hüseyin Cahit brought up the same issue.

ings, during which linguists debated different ideas and theories concerning languages, and carried on discussions on the etymology (Turkish, Persian, Arabic) of words most used in written and spoken Turkish.

As documented by Jeoffrey Lewis in *Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*, members of the Academy collected words and researched 150 works containing words which were part of the Turkish vocabulary but rarely used since their Arabic and Persian equivalents were preferred in spoken and written Turkish (Lewis, 1999, p. 62). As part of this language reform project, members of the Turkish Language Association as well as statesmen encouraged writers, journalists, teachers to use words with Turkish etymology in their writings, books, and articles.

To evaluate whether there are significative changes in written language when language reform becomes a State-run issue, we decided to collect and analyze a corpus of texts written in Turkish, from the nineteenth century -when language-related issues start to be discussed systematically among intellectuals -and mid-1930s when -according to the authors quoted above, the effects of the language reform are evident in written language. To see whether the Republican ideas concerning language and the State-run policies put in place to achieve a linguistic reform produced a significative change in writing style, we decided to distinguish the corpus into texts published during the Late Ottoman Era, and texts published during the Early Republican period.

An Analysis of Word Etymologies in Newspapers': Articles Published Between the Late Ottoman and the Early Republican Eras

To analyze the features of Turkish language in the Late Ottoman and the Early Turkish Republican Eras, we decided to analyze the etymological features of newspapers' articles written in both periods. The choice to focus on the language of newspapers can be explained by two main reasons. On the one hand, press emerges in the Turkish cultural context with the aim to inform people about subjects of public interest (e.g., politics, economy, culture)[5]. Therefore, newspapers need to adopt a language register that could be understood by a wide audience. On the other hand, we decided to focus on the language of newspapers since the latter represent one of the most effective means through which language usages, words, and linguistic expressions spread among speakers (Topuz, 2016, p. 15)[6].

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[5]"Takvim-i Vakayi neden çıkartıldı? Yabancı ülkelerde basının iki yüz yıllık bir tarihi vardı. Dışarıdaki olayları gazetelerden izleyenler bunları Padişah'a duyuruyorlardı. O yıllarda İzmir'de çıkan Fransızca gazeteler de geniş yakınlar uyandırmıştı. Bu olayların Padişah'ı etkilediği anlaşılıyor".

[6] Concerning the Turkish case, Orhan Koloğlu stated that the emergence of the press in the 19th century contributed to the diffusion of Turkish language in the territories of the Ottoman Empire. For a more detailed account, see (Koloğlu, 2010, pp. 18-27).

Word Etymologies in Newspapers' Articles Published Between 1862 and 1923 (Late Ottoman Era)

For this section of the study, we selected articles from the newspapers *İkdam, Tasvir-i Efkar and Tercüman-i Hakikat.* We chose to focus on these newspapers since they covered a wide range of topics of public interest (politics, culture, economy), thus appealing to a wide audience. Moreover, intellectuals publishing articles on these journals strongly defended the necessity to individuate a speech pattern in written language that could be easily understood by readers.

This section of the study examined articles published in these newspapers from 1862 to 1923. The period covers the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. The corpus examined consists of 60 texts, with 20 samples from each newspaper.

Purpose

In the first part of this part of our study, we examined the lexical features of articles from newspapers published in the Late Ottoman Era.

Method

For the etymological analysis of the corpus, we considered the following features:

- Occurrence of words from Arabic and Persian
- Occurrence of words with Turkish etymology
- Occurrence of words from Indo- European languages.

The etymological analysis of the corpus was based on the information provided by the following etymological dictionaries: *Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlügü* (*Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish Language*), by Eren Hasan; İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu's *Türk Dilinin Etimoloji Sözlüğü* (*Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish Language*); and *Nişanyan Sözlük. Çağdaş Türkçenin Etimolojisi* (*Nişanyan's Dictionary. The Etymology of Contemporary Turkish*), by Sevan Nişanyan.

Analysis of the examples

Concerning the use of words from Arabic and Persian, texts analyzed show a prevalence of words having an Arabic or Persian etymology. Here are some examples of this aspect:

1. Vasil **(ar.)** namına **(pers.)** vürud **(ar.)** iden sabunların **(ar.)** mahlut **(ar.)** ve **(ar.)** muzırr-ı **(ar.)** sıhhat **(ar.)** olduğu inde'l-muayene **(ar.)** anlaşıldığın-

dan tevkif **(ar.)** idilmişdir (*İkdam*, 30 July 1900, p. 2).

2. Geçen pazar günü saat **(ar.)** on buçuk raddelerinde **(ar.)** hutab **(ar.)** kapus haricinde **(ar.)** kain kerestecilerde **(pers.)** hacı Ali efendinin keresteci dükkanından ateş **(pers.)** zuhur **(ar.)** ederek etrafına **(ar.)** sirayetle **(ar.)** keresteci **(pers.)** dükkanı **(ar.)** ve **(ar.)** 7 aded **(ar.)** sair **(ar.)** dükkan **(ar.)** ve mağaza muhterik **(ar.)** olmuştur (*Tasvir-i Efkâr*, 20 February 1868, p. 2).

3. Dünki gün ber mudat **(ar.)** akd-ı **(ar.)** ictima' **(ar.)** eden meclis-ı **(ar.)** mahsus-ı **(ar.)** vükelada **(ar.)** bazı mevadd-i mühimme **(ar.)** ve **(ar.)** müsta'cele **(ar.)** hakkında **(ar.)** icra-yı **(ar.)** müzakere **(ar.)** olunarak netice-i **(ar.)** müzakerinin **(ar.)** bamazbata **(ar.)** atebe-i **(ar.)** ulyaya (ar.) arz **(ar.)** ve **(ar.)** takdim **(ar.)** olunacağı müstahbedir **(ar.)** (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat,* 29 May 1890, p. 2).

As shown in the examples below, words with a Turkish etymology are also used extensively in some texts:

1. [...] diye **(tr.)** içeri **(tr.)** giriyor **(tr.)**, Musa Çelebi'yi merdiven başında **(tr.)** bırakıyordu **(tr.)**. Receb Paşa önceden **(tr.)** iç **(tr.)** ağalarına **(tr.)** öğretmişdi **(tr.)**: Musa Çelebi merdiven başında **(tr.)** yalnız **(tr.)** kalınca **(tr.)**, iç **(tr.)** ağaları **(tr.)** bir **(tr.)** omuzda **(tr.)**, aşağıya **(tr.)** eşkiyanın ortasına **(tr.)** yuvarlıyorlar **(tr.)**, zorbalar bed- baht genci **(tr.)** hançerle yaralıyordu. **(tr.)**. Receb Paşa, güya hiçbir **(pers./tr.)** şeyden **(tr.)** haberi yokmuş **(tr.)** gibi **(tr.)**, ayağında **(tr.)** sade bir **(tr.)** mest, kundurasız koşuyor **(tr.)**, yalandan **(tr.)** (*İkdam*, 20 April 1914, p. 2).

2. Dahiliye Nezareti'ne tayin buyrulan **(tr.)** Bursa valisi Ebu Bekir Hazım Bey'den **(tr.)** dünde **(tr.)** varid olan **(tr.)** bir **(tr.)** telgrafnamede enflüanzadan muztarib olduğundan **(tr.)** ancak **(tr.)** üç **(tr.)** dört **(tr.)** güne **(tr.)** kadar Dersaadet'e geleceği **(tr.)** bildirilmişdir **(tr.)**. Hariciye Nazırı Safa Bey **(tr.)** rahatsızlığına (ar./tr) mebni dünde **(tr.)** makamına gelmemişdir **(tr.)**. (*Tasvir-i Efkâr*, 12 February 1920, p. 2.).

3. Almanya bandıralı Libera vapuru ile **(tr.)** dünkü **(tr.)** gün **(tr.)** yirmi **(tr.)** beş **(tr.)** Alman seyyahini şehrimize gelerek **(tr.)** Beyoğlu'nda Bristol oteline inmişlerdir **(tr.)**. (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 19 September 1900, p. 2).

In terms of vocabulary, the texts examined contain words from Indo- European languages such as English, French, Greek and Italian:

1. Geçen Ciharşenbe gicesi saat bir raddelerinde Selanik rıhtımında lokantacı **(it.)** Görges Veledi Anastaş ile diğer lokantacı **(it.)** İzmidli Peligano münazaa itdikleri esnada Peligano Görgi'nin alt dudağını dişi ile ısırub büsbütün kat' ile firar itmiş ise de zabıta-ı mahalliyece taharrisine ibtidar idilmişdir (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 26 December 1891, p. 2).

2. Churchil'in matbaasına hamallık ile giren Filib Efendi **(gr.)** fitri zekası se-

bebiyle matbaacı ve gazeteci **(fr.)** olmayı kurmuş Vakit, sonra Tarik gibi gazeteler **(fr.)** çıkarmıştı. Sultan Abdülaziz Han devrinin sonlarında yani Şinasi'nin vefatından, Kemal'in çekilmesinden sonra Teodor Kasab'ın İstikbal'ı, Hayal'i ve Ali Efendi' **(gr.)** nin Basiret'i en mühim gazetelerimizden **(fr.)** idi. Sonra Ahmed Mithat «İttihad»'i ve bunu müteakib Tercüman-i Hakikat'i çıkarmaya başladı (*İkdam*, n. 30, p. 1).

3. Almanya ve İngiltere ve İran sefir kebirleri esaletli Baron **(fr.)** Mareşal Von Biberştein Vesir Nikola O Konor Vargald ile cenab eşref Prens Mirza Rıza Daneş Han hazreti ve İtalya ve Karadağ maslahat güzarları Marko Martino ve Mösyö **(fr.)** Matanoviç dün Bab-ı Aliye gelerek zat fehametsimet hazret sadrazamı ve hariciye nezar alisi devletli Tevfik Paşa hazretleri ile mülakat eylemişlerdir. Muşarun ileyh Sır **(eng.)** Nikola O Konor hazretleri hariciye nezaret celilesi müsteşarı devletli Nuum Paşa hazretler ile de mülakat eylemişlerdi (*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 21 May 1906, p. 2).

Word Etymologies in Newspapers' Articles Published Between 1932 And 1936 (Early Republican Era)

In this section of the study, we examined the linguistic features of newspapers' articles written during the Early Republican Era. We included texts from the newspapers *Cumhuriyet, Akşam* and *Milliyet*. We chose these periodicals since the editorial line and writings style of these newspapers reflected ideas and principles of the State- ruled language reform.

In this section of the study, we worked on a corpus constituted by articles published between 1932 and 1936. We decided to focus on these years since- as stated above- in these years the reform of the Turkish language is officially actuated by the Turkish government. The corpus analysed consists of 60 texts, with 20 examples from each newspaper.

Purpose

In the first section of this study, we analysed the etymology of words in newspapers' articles published throughout the Late Ottoman Era. To see whether there is a continuity in linguistic trends between the Late Ottoman Era and the Early Republican years, we analysed a corpus of newspapers articles according to the same features took in consideration for the corpus constituted by texts from the Late Ottoman Era.

Method

For the etymological analysis of the corpus, we considered the following features:

•   Occurrence of words from Arabic and Persian

•   Occurrence of words with Turkish etymology

- Occurrence of words from Indo- European languages

The etymological analysis of the corpus was based on the information provided by the following etymological dictionaries: *Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlügü* (*Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish Language*), by Eren Hasan; İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu's *Türk Dilinin Etimoloji Sözlüğü* (*Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish Language*); and *Nişanyan Sözlük. Çağdaş Türkçenin Etimoloji* (*Nişanyan's Dictionary. The Etymology of Contemporary Turkish*), by Sevan Nişanyan.

Analysis of the examples

As showed in the examples below, some texts show a prevalence of words coming from Arabic or Persian:

1. Belediye **(ar.)** İktısat **(ar.)** müdiriyeti **(ar.)** tarafından **(ar.)** hamallar **(ar.)** için yeni bir tarife **(ar.)** tanzim **(ar.)** edilerek Daimi **(ar.)** Encümene **(pers.)** verilmiştir. Bu tarifede **(ar.)** köprü; merkez **(ar.)** addedilerek İstanbul birçok mıntakalara **(ar.)** ayrılmış ve **(ar.)** her **(pers.)** mıntakaya **(ar.)** göre ücret **(ar.)** tesbit **(ar.)** olunmuştur. Tarife **(ar.)** Daimi **(ar.)** Encümence **(pers.)** kabul **(ar.)** edildikten sonra pazarlık **(pers.)** usulü **(ar.)** kalkacaktır (*Cumhuriyet*, 22 July 1933, p. 2).

2. Ankara 27 (Hususi **(ar.)**)- Hariçten **(ar.)** gelecek muhacir **(ar.)**, mülteci **(ar.)** ve **(ar.)** aşiret **(ar.)** eferadının **(ar.)** beraberinde **(pers.)** getirecekleri eşya **(ar.)** hakkındaki **(ar.)** kanun **(ar.)** layihası **(ar.)** meclise **(ar.)** verilmiştir. Layiha **(ar.)** bu devrede **(ar.)** müzakere **(ar.)** edilecektir. Layihada **(ar.)** muhacirlerin **(ar.)**, çifçi **(pers.)**, sanatkar **(ar./pers.)** ve **(ar.)** tüccar **(ar.)** olmalarına göre yanlarında getirebilecekleri eşya **(ar.)** tayin **(ar.)** ediliyor. Çifçiler **(pers.)** çift **(pers.)** hayvanlarile **(ar.)** arabalarını, çiftliğe **(pers.)** müteallik **(ar.)** tohumluk **(pers.)** ve **(ar.)** yiyecek zahirelerini **(ar.)** kamilen **(ar.)** ötedenberi besledikleri hayvanlarla **(ar.)** zirai **(ar.)** mahsullerin **(ar.)** beş bin liraya kadar **(ar.)** olan kısımlarını **(ar.)** getirebileceklerdir (*Akşam*, 28 February 1934, p. 2.).

3. Almanya ile bu sene **(ar.)** yaş meyva **(pers.)** üzerinde iyi iş yapılabileceği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu sene **(ar.)** Almanyanın yerli meyva **(pers.)** istihsalâtı **(ar.)** matlub **(ar.)** derecede **(ar.)** iyi değildir. Ekseriyeti **(ar.)** teşkil **(ar.)** eden elma, armud ve **(ar.)** erik rökoltelerinin geçen seneye **(ar.)** nisbetle **(ar.)** hayli **(pers.)** düşük olduğu gelen malûmattan **(ar.)** anlaşılmaktadır. Öte taraftan **(ar.)** Ispanyada devam **(ar.)** edegelen kanlı ihtilal **(ar.)**, Almanyanın en mühim **(ar.)** meyva **(pers.)** satıcılarından biri olan bu memleketi **(ar.)** piyasadan büsbütün uzaklaştırmıştır. Almanyaya ehemmiyetli **(ar.)** miktarda **(ar.)** meyva **(pers.)** ihrac **(ar.)** eden Yugoslavya ve **(ar.)** Bulgaristandanda da bu sene **(ar.)** mahsullerinin **(ar.)** az olduğu tahakkuk **(ar.)** etmiştir. Taze **(pers.)** meyva **(ar.)** ihracatçıları **(ar.)** Berlin Ticaret **(ar.)** Odası vasıtasile **(ar.)** Alman ithalatçılar-

ile **(ar.)** temasta **(ar.)** bulunmaktadır (*Cumhuriyet*, 31 October 1936, p. 2).

As shown by the examples below, many texts show a high percentage of words coming from Turkish:

1. Ziyaeddin Said adlı **(tr.)** tanımadığım **(tr.)** bir **(tr.)** baydan **(tr.)**, geçende **(tr.)** bir **(tr.)** mektup aldım **(tr.)**. Beni **(tr.)**, ve birkaç **(tr.)** arkadaşı **(tr.)**, Kadıköyde açtığı **(tr.)** büro makineleri sergisine **(tr.)** çağırıyordu **(tr.)**. Sergi **(tr.)**, bürolarda kullanılan **(tr.)** yazı **(tr.)** ve hesap makineleri ile **(tr.)** doldurulmuştur **(tr.)**. Burada **(tr.)** bize **(tr.)** gösterilen **(tr.)** makineler arasında **(tr.)**, öyleleri **(tr.)** var **(tr.)** ki en **(tr.)** işlek **(tr.)** insan kafasının yarım **(tr.)** saatte başaramayacağı **(tr.)** sayıları **(tr.)**, bir **(tr.)** çırpıda **(tr.)**, göz **(tr.)** açıp **(tr.)** kapayıncaya **(tr.)** kadar hesaplıyor (ar.**/tr.**). Altı **(tr.)** yedi **(tr.)** evli **(tr.)** (haneli) rakamları, küçük **(tr.)** bir **(tr.)** el **(tr.)** dokunmasi **(tr.)** ile **(tr.)** altalta **(tr.)** egtirip **(tr.)** topluyor **(tr.)**, yan **(tr.)** yana **(tr.)** getirip **(tr.)** çıkarıyor **(tr.)**, yahut çabucak **(tr.)** istenilen **(tr.)** parçalara ayırıyor **(tr.)** (*Milliyet*, 6 March 1935, p. 4).

2. Dün **(tr.)** öğleden **(tr.)** sonra **(tr.)** Kadıköyünde bir **(tr.)** cinayet olmuş **(tr.)**, Kurbağalıderede üçüncü **(tr.)** sokakta outran **(tr.)** Lâman isminde yirmi **(tr.)** iki **(tr.)** yaşlarında **(tr.)** bir **(tr.)** kız **(tr.)**, berber Tevfik isminde biri **(tr.)** tarafından tabanca **(tr.)** ile **(tr.)** başından **(tr.)** vurulmuştur **(tr.)**. Tevfik dükkkânımın önünden **(tr.)** geçen **(tr.)** Lâmanı durdurmuş **(tr.)** ve bir **(tr.)** müddet konuşmuştur **(tr.)**. Bu **(tr.)** konuşmada **(tr.)** hiddetlenen Tevfik, «-Ben **(tr.)** şimdi **(tr.)** sana **(tr.)** gösteririm **(tr.)**.» demiş **(tr.)** tabancasını **(tr.)** çektiği **(tr.)** gibi **(tr.)** Lamanın başına **(tr.)** ateş etmiştir **(tr.)**. Láman hastaneye kaldırılmıştır **(tr.)**. Yarası **(tr.)** ağırdır **(tr.)** (*Akşam*, 3 May 1936, p. 2).

3. Dün **(tr.)** Samatyadan geçmekte **(tr.)** olan **(tr.)** bir **(tr.)** tramvayın sahanlığında bulunan **(tr.)** bir **(tr.)** adam müvazenesini kaybederek **(tr.)** düşmüştür **(tr.)**. Düşme **(tr.)** neticesinde adam başından **(tr.)** ve sol **(tr.)** böğründen **(tr.)** tehlikeli surette yaralanmıştır **(tr.)**. Derhal hastaneye kaldırılan **(tr.)** bu **(tr.)** adamı ifadesi alınamadığından **(tr.)** hüviyeti anlaşılamamıştır **(tr.)**. Kendisinin **(tr.)** dilsiz **(tr.)** olduğu **(tr.)** anlaşılmıştır **(tr.)** (*Akşam*, 16 December 1933, p. 2).

Texts examined show also words from Indo-European languages (especially French and English):

Doktorlardan **(fr.)** başka avukatların **(fr.)** kazane vergileri de tesbit edilmiştir. Avukatlarda **(fr.)** adli müşavirler de doktorlar **(fr.)** gibi fevkalade, birinci, ikinci, üçüncü ve dördüncü derecelere ayrılmışlardır. Baro **(fr.)** bunların isimlerini kısım, kısım finans **(fr.)** şubelerine vermeğe başlamıştır. Fevkalade derecenin

kazane vergisi 1000, birincinin 300, ikincinin 80, üçüncünün 40, dördüncünün kazane vergisi ise 10 liradır **(ita.)**. Baro **(fr.)** bunları tesbit ettikçe listeleri finans **(fr.)** şubelerine vermektedir (*Cumhuriyet*, 20 August 1935, p. 2).

Londra 9- Röyter ajansının **(fr.)** hususi muhabiri yazıyor: Libya seyahatinden, çölde ve Derne sahillerinde 550 kilometrelik **(fr.)** turnadan Mısıra döndüm. İtalyan **(ita.)** kıtalarının ekserisi Trablustan çekilmiş ve şimdi en mühim tahşidat Dernede yapılmıştır. Burada takriben otuz bin silahlı asker vardır ki, bunda pek yakında doğu Afrikasına gidecek olan dokuz bin Arap dahil değildir. Bu bölgede yirmi zıhrlı otomobil **(fr.)**, birkaç yüz ağır kamyon **(fr.)**, 32 tank **(eng.)** ve 130 uçak mevcuttur. Tobruk limanında dört deströyer **(eng.)**, dört deniz altı gemisi ve dört deniz uçağı bulunmaktadır (*Akşam*, 10 October 1935, p. 2).

Beş senelik birinci planın **(fr.)** önemli esasları arasında bulunan demir ve kimya endüstrisi **(fr.)** gibi oldukça çetin endüstrilerin **(fr.)** de bir an evvel kurulması için Sumer Bank **(fr.)** lazım gelen tedbirleri almış, hazırlıklara başlamıştır. Demir için Avusturya ve İsveç'ten üç mütehassıs, kimya için maruf bir Alman **(fr.)** mütehassısı temin edilmiştir. Mütehassıslar pek yakında memleketimize gelmiş olacaklardır. Banka **(fr.)** bu büyük işini en kısa zamanda başarılmasını temin maksadı ile bu branşlara **(fr.)** müteallik teşkilatını yapmaya başlamıştır. Bu iki endüstri **(fr.)** şubesinin de kurulmasına başlanması ile birinci beş senelik endüstri **(fr.)** planına **(fr.)** ikmal edilmiş nazarile bakılabilecektir (*Milliyet (Tan)*, 16 September 1935, p. 3).

Conclusion and Discussion

The lexical analysis of newspapers' articles from *İkdam*, *Tasvir-i Efkar* and *Tercüman-i Hakikat* shows that the 60% of words used in the texts comes from Arabic and Persian, 35% of words from Turkish, and 5% of words comes from Indo-European languages. In this framework, although the words coming from Arabic and Persian languages prevail in some texts, other examples show a prevalence of words with a Turkish etymology. Regarding the vocabulary with an Indo- European etymology, examples analyzed show the presence words coming from Greek, English, French and Italian.

Figure 1. Etymology of words in newspapers from the Late Ottoman Era.
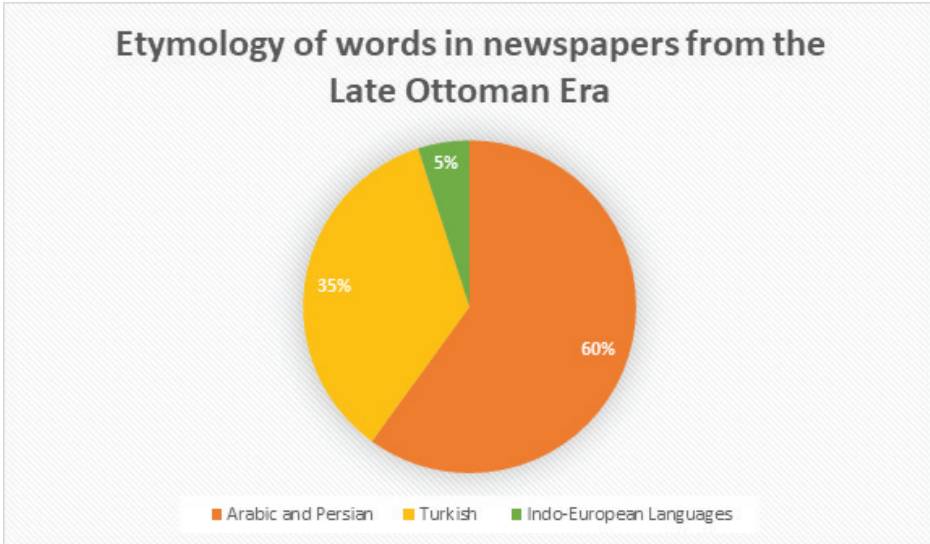
As explained in the paragraphs above, the writing style and lexical choices in these articles might have been influenced by the language debates concerning the vernacularization of the Turkish language carried out by intellectuals in the Late Ottoman Era.

For this reason, we compared these data with those resulting from the analysis of newspapers' articles published in newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam* and *Milliyet* during the Early Republican period and -more specifically-after 1932, when the State-run language reform started.

Concerning this aspect, According to Yüce, by the half of the 1930s "the mission of the language reform was largely completed" (2019, p. 14). Özdoğan expresses similar ideas, stating that the reform proved to be particularly successful in written language by 1935 (Özdoğan, 2015, 257), for this reason we decided to include articles published between 1932 and 1936.

We decided to focus on this comparison for two reasons. On the one hand, the aim is to see whether the implementation of a reform process led and monitored by language academies (as in the Early Republican Era) and by state authorities can influence linguistic changes more decisively than debates on linguistic style (as in the Late Ottoman Era). On the other hand, we wanted to see if the language reform process was completed around the mid-1930s.

Results of the lexical analysis shows that the 45% of words used in the articles come from Arabic and Persian, 49% of words have Turkish etymology, while 6% of words come from an Indo- European language such as English, French, and Italian.

As far as foreign words are concerned, we can see how their presence has slightly increased compared to the examples analyzed in the corpus of texts from the Late Ottoman period.

These data show a greater presence of lexicon of Turkish origin. Compared to the articles analyzed from the late Ottoman period, in fact, the percentage of words from Turkish has grown up to 49%, while words of Persian and Arabic origin are present for 45%, therefore, to a lesser extent.

These data can undoubtedly be interpreted as a successful result of the Turkish state's language policies in those years: as we have seen, one of the goals of the Turkish Language Association was to promote the use of Turkish words in the written language of newspapers, books, and school textbooks. At the same time, however, the results of our research seem to debunk claims that the Turkish language reform process eliminated most words of Arabic and Persian origin from the written language. Indeed, in the texts analyzed, we find that words of Turkish origin and word coming from Arabic and Persian continue to be used in almost equal percentages.

Figure 2. Etymology of words in newspapers from Early Republican Era.
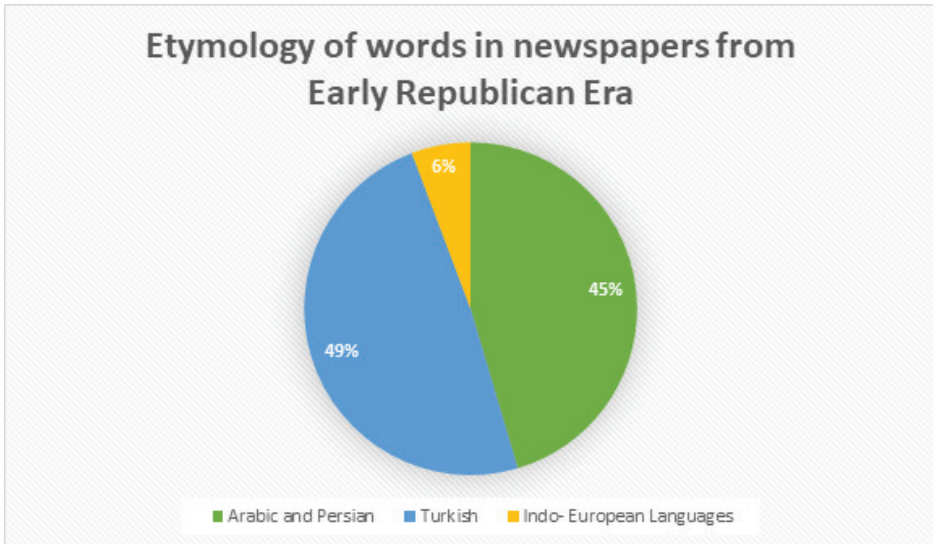
Since 1932, through a project aiming to preserve the Turkish language, the Turkish Language Institution encouraged the use of words of Turkish origin in written language (e.g., textbooks, newspapers). Notwithstanding this, the analysis of newspapers' articles written in this period shows a multilingual language structure, where Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words are mixed.

Regarding this aspect, as we have seen in the first paragraphs of this article, there are several factors that make language - both written and spoken - resistant to change. These factors are culture, identity, the habit that is

created in habitually using one word instead of another. Since these linguistic habits and cultural codes are learned unconsciously, individuals do not think about the etymologies or origins of the words they are pronouncing or writing.

Emotional factors and feelings also contribute to strengthening the link between the language we usually speak (and write), culture and identity. By what criteria can we decide that one word is more correct than another? There are no objective criteria for answering such a question. Whether a word is nicer, more accurate, or more vulgar may differ depending on the speaker. In other words, the words of the languages are "perceived" differently according to each speaker, that is, the person attributes these feelings to the words according to his own perception. Several words coming from Persian and Arabic are still used in contemporary Turkish language. As an example, to express the concept of freedom, Turkish vocabulary has two entries: one is "hürriyet" (from the Arabic "hurriya"), and the other is "özgürlük", which has a Turkish etymology. There is not an objective criterion for choosing which of these words is correct or more appropriate. The right to decide on this matter belongs to the speakers of the language and individual taste will be decisive in this regard:

> Kalp yerine yürek diyenleri eleştirmek için, "Kalp, yürek demektir, ama kalpsiz yüreksiz demek midir?" türünden savlarla ortaya çıkmak da kalıpları, alışkanlıkları savaştırmaktan başka bir anlam taşımaz.

> Kalpsiz sözcüğüyle yüreksiz sözcüğü aynı anlama gelmez kuşkusuz, ama kalpsiz kavramını yürek sözcüğünden yararlanarak karşılamak istiyorsak, ille de bir -siz eki kullanmak zorunda değiliz, katı yürekli de diyebiliriz. […] Ak ile beyazı, kara ile siyahı bir arada kullanmanın ussal ya da dilsel bir gereklilik olmaması bir yana, böyle bir tutum sözlerimize herhangi bir güzellik, herhangi bir derinlik de getirmez.

> Coming up with arguments such as "Heart (kalp) means heart (yürek) but does heartless (kalpsiz) mean heartless (yüreksiz)?" to criticize those who say "heart" (kalp) instead of "heart" (yürek), does not mean anything else than fighting patterns and habits.

> Without any doubt, the words heartless (kalpsiz) and heartless (yüreksiz) do not have the same meaning, but if- using the word heart (yürek)- we want to generate a synonym of heartless (kalpsiz), we do not necessarily need to add the suffix -less (-siz) to the word heart (yürek). We could say hard- hearted (katı kalpli), instead. […] Aside from the fact that using white (ak) or white (beyaz), black (kara) and black (siyah) does not represent any rational or linguistic requirement, such an attitude does not bring any beauty or any depth to our words.

As Yucel explains in the quote above (Yücel, 2016, pp. 98-99), several factors ranging from culture to personal preferences, play a role when one chooses which words to use when speaking or writing. If we look at the dictionary of the Turkish Language Institution, there is no difference between the meanings of the words "yürek" and "kalp", they both mean heart, and- metaphorically- affection, love.

How do we choose between these two words when we speak? There is not an objective criterion. As explained by Ferdinand the Saussure through the concept of "sentiment of language" (Saussure, 2002), words have a multi-faceted nature: each word we use has a social, cultural, and emotive dimension.

For all these reasons it is very difficult to impose linguistic changes through language planning strategies. Language Academies can provide information on the rules for writing correctly, or on the vocabulary of a language. However, only the speaker or the writer can decide which words to use, which spelling rules to adopt when speaking or writing. In the case of the Turkish language reform, as regards the newspaper articles, it is possible to state that the language debates of the Ottoman intellectuals in the first stance, and the works of the Turkish Language Academy in the second stance, contributed to increase the number of Turkish words in written texts as early as the mid-1930s. However, considering the data resulting from this research, it is not possible to claim that the Turkish language reform achieved a complete Turkification of written language in the same years.

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