ON CONTEXT OF TURKISH LANGUAGE REVOLUTION, TURKISH COLLECTIVE MEMORY

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by

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To Turkish Language which continues to stay alive,
has lasted and keep existence
forever

APPROVAL PAGE

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study

ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

Havva DÖNMEZ

July, 2009

ABSTRACT

Havva DÖNMEZ   **July 2009**

ON THE CONTEXT OF TURKISH LANGUAGE REVOLUTION, TURKISH COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The Turkish Language Revolution was accomplished within three steps by the new Turkish Republic which has established by as "a new state with a unitary nation". The first step was *"Alphabet Reform"* which replaced the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet in 1928. In the second step in 1932 a new movement called *"Öztürkçeleştirme"* occurred sought to purify and simplify Arabic and Persian rooted words in Turkish language to rplace them with Turkish ones. The last step a new theory called "Sun Language Theory" was propounded due as a purifying movement and also to strengthen Turkish History Thesis.

According to Benjamin Lee Whorf and his Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis, language is not only a device of thought and experience but is also the basin in which thoughts were kneaded as dough. This approach states that thought is shaped not only in society but also in language. Whorf claims that the grammar of a language, language's words and word's historicity and also the intensification of words through issues, influence the speech community and society.

When the Turkish language and its alterations are examined on the frames of Whorf Sapir Linguistic Relativity hypothesis, it is expected to observe that changes

in language cause differentiations ranging from appreciation of Cosmos and to simple daily practices in Turkish society.

Concepts and words which appear in daily life exist within historically. But the Turkish language has gained lots of words which have no historical, cultural and collective background in the Turkish experience.

This thesis aims to examine the relation between Turkish Language Revolution and collective memory on the tie of Linguistic Relativity theory.

Key words: Turkish Language Revolution, Collective memory, Collective memory on Turkish Society, Memory, Linguistic Relativity.

KISA ÖZET

Havva DÖNMEZ   **Temmuz 2009**

TÜRK DİL DEVRİMİ BAĞLAMINDA, TÜRKİYE'DE TOPLUMSAL HAFIZA

Yeni bir devlet, yeni bir millet, yeni bir tarih anlayışıyla kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devletinin günümüze kadar etkisini hala sürdüren ve reform olmaktan ziyade devrim olma özelliği taşıyan Türk Dil Devrimi, iki aşamada hayata geçirilmiştir. İlkin 1928 yılındaki Harf Devrimi ile birlikte yürürlükte olan Arap alfabesinin Latin alfabesi olarak değiştirilmiş ve ikinci aşama olarak da 1932 yılında dilde sadeleştirme ve Öz Türkçeleştirme çalışmaları başlamıştır.

Benjamin Lee Whorf'un süregelen dil tezlerini tersine çeviren dil yorumunda; dil düşüncenin yalnızca aracı değil, düşüncenin yoğrulduğu, şekillendiği tekne olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Bu yaklaşıma göre düşünceyi belirleyen şey toplum değil, dilin yapısıdır. Dil sosyal gerçekliğin kılavuzu olarak ele alınmıştır. Whorf teorisinde dilde var olan gramerin, kelimeler ve tarihçelerinin, hatta kelimelerin hangi kategorilerde yoğunlaştığının dahi özelde konuşma topluluklarını (speech community), genelde toplumu şekillendirdiğini öne sürer.

Whorf'un dil yorumunu temele koyarak Türk Dili ve geçirdiği evrimler incelendiğinde; Türk Dilinde meydana gelen değişimlerin, Türk toplumunda dış dünyayı algılamadan başlayarak, düşüncenin oluşturulmasına kadar bir çok alana etki etmesi, toplumu farklılaştırması beklenir.

Günlük hayatta kullanılan kavramlar, kelimeler tarihleriyle birlikte var olurlar. Türkçe ise Türk Dil Devrimi ile kelime hazinesinde önemli değişimler geçirmiştir.

Bu çalışmada Whorf'un dil teorisi merkeze alınarak, Türk Dil Devrimi ile Türkiye'de Toplumsal Hafıza arasındaki ilişki ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Dil Devrimi, Toplumsal Hafıza, Türkiye'de Toplumsal Hafıza, Dilsel Görecelilik

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ibid.   The same book or article as the one that has just been mentioned

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TBMM   Turkish Grand National Assembly

SAE   Standard Average European English

TDK   Turkish Language Association

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Furthermore thanks to Fatih University because of the academic atmosphere and wide-ranged electronic sources.

I would like to express my love to my mother and father, who always encouraged and chased eagerly alter me to finish this study.

PREFACE

Writing is very hard in the social sciences. Writing is very hard for me as an average Turkish master student in sociology. Nietzsche calls writing a dance with words. And it is clear that Nietzsche is a good dancer. And he mostly chooses the best partners for dance.

Mark Twain says that "the difference between the right word and the almost right word is the difference between lightning and a lightning bug." As an average master student from Turkey, I am used to express my ideas in speech, and according to me lots of social scientists are better in speech than in writing. I have tried to choose not lightning bugs but lightning. I am not sure if the intention of "to do best" has balanced to the labor to do best.

I wish to be able to keep coalescence with the thoughts, intensions and passion of the author and the appreciation of reader and interpreter.

INTRODUCTION

Turkey has a chaotic relation between its past and history. It does not mean that it is blurred. But if the issue is about past, history and maybe identities, while a modern Turk feels like grandchildren of an Empire, since Turkey is the continuity state of Ottoman Empire; at the same time, it is possible not sense any connection with the past. It is like walking on a greasy street. According to me the greasiness of street has arisen from last terms of Ottoman and first years of Turkish Republic. If a tight reading and maybe a hermeneutic reflection of the term could be done, the greasy streets of Turkey would be drier.

Moreover some say Turkish society has a weak collective memory. From football matches to government elections the inclination to forget in Turkish society is often underlined by media, writers, politicians, scientists and also by people of themselves. Turkish society is seen as which "does not remember and generally forgets" was seen as a characteristic of it.

This thesis aimed to build bridges between social theories and daily life. Although it is not claimed that social theories are disjointed from life, exemplifying and adapting theories to sometimes contemporary life, sometimes to a period of history and sometimes to case events, would make them distinctly stronger. Under these beliefs, the thesis looks at collective memory in Turkish society.

Memory is an uphill concept. It stands at the corner of sciences such as biology, psychology, sociology and history. And secondly memory is a very popular and successful device for political and industrial policies. Memory is examined in

this thesis from sociological view points. Other dimensions of memory are not considered.

Turkey since the revolution in 1923 has continued to experience in a large scale, different reforms. One of those reforms, Turkish Language Revolution, will be examined on its influences on Turkish collective memory. It is expected to build connections between three different issues of sociology. As being aware of studying three different titles, it is tried to be avoided deadlocks such as being lost under titles, incoherent changeovers, unlimited regions.

First collective memory concept is examined to answer, what it is, how is it constructed, why it is so popular and effective, who are its representatives. The first chapter is limited to three aspects of collective memory and discusses representatives of them.

Collective memory and the Turkish Language Revolution are connected by a language theory called "Linguistic Relativity". In the second chapter Linguistic Relativity theory, in other words the Whorf and Sapir Theory which claims that words and grammatical structure of languages transform and shape a people's imaginations, is explored.

In the last chapter, the Turkish Language Revolution is examined from the Tanzimat Era to death of Mustafa Kemal, in 1938. Debates on Language had already been on the agenda in later periods of the Ottoman Empire. Language Revolution is discussed in four areas: The Pre-Republican Period, Alphabet Revolution Period, The Purifying Period which began with the establishment of the Turkish Language Association, and lastly, The Sun Language Theory.

With the belief of conducting studies on certain limited subjects reveals more efficient results, the limits of this study are as follows;

- Language refers to both daily language and literary language and scientific language.

- The debates on language in Turkey are examined from Tanzimat Era to 1938, death of Mustafa Kemal.

- Three theories of collective memory is analyzed and tried to be applied to Turkish society's experiences.

- Criticisms and deficiencies of "Sapir and Whorf Lingiustic Relativity Theory" are ignored and tried to be used as a telescope between scientist and the subject.

CHAPTER I

COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Memory is both a brand new and an ancient concept in the social sciences. Memory is not a new concept because of its role in transferring culture, language, religion from past to future, from grandmas to new generations. Memory is a new concept because the argument which claims that there can be no individual memory added new dimensions to the memory issue. Contemporary popular subjects in the social sciences are related with collective memory and oral history studies which are attracting wide-range attention in academia, the media and state-sponsored projects.

There is an increased interest in (collective) memory studies. Collective memory studies generally deal with history as a science. It depends upon a fresh history discourse that had opened as an alternative by postmodernist historians. Positivist imaginations of science, especially the social science, could not answer necessities of humanities enough.

The social sciences were historically established and divided into specific disciplines in 18th century. Although the history of the social sciences is not an aim of this thesis, it is crucial to stress the differentiation between history and collective memory studies as a result of the differentiation in social science discourse from the 18th century to the 21st century.

One of the main aims of the enlightenment was to cretae a human nature purified from historical and cultural dimensions. This would lead to universal, objective realities (as we call it "scientific science") by using the purified human nature.[1] In this context, collective memory theories do not fit the classic modern science description. One of these science-disciplines is History. A brief and realist and reflective report of the Gulbenkian Commission about the story of social sciences defines the mission of "history" as:

> What distinguished the new discipline of history, as it developed in the 19th century was the rigorous emphasis it put on the search to find out *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* (what really happened?). As opposed to what? Most of all, as opposed to telling stories that were imagined or exaggerated…[2]

Sources of history in the general consensus do not contain oral translations and remembrances. Rather, history studies "data" such as archives which can be assembled, stored and controlled. In other words, archives became laboratories like those of the natural sciences.[3] At this point, the difference between memory studies and history let itself out. Collective memory studies emphasize events and acts in the minds of people and in the minds of communities and accepts that there can be other narrations alongside official history and official archives. This is the biggest difference between collective memory studies and history as a science.

Although generally the differentiations and conflicts between memory studies and history are stressed as a science, there are exceptions. Noa Gedi and Yigel Elam assume that, the presentation of memory studies as an alternative to the predominant

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[1] Hekman, Suzan (1999), *Bilgi ve Bilim Sosyolojisi*, (Sociology of Knowledge and Science), translated by H. Arslan and B. Balkız , İstanbul: Paradigma, p.16.
[2] Gulbenkian Comission (1996), *Open the Social Sciences*, Stanford: Stanford University Pres, p.15.

notion of History is not true. For them, collective memory replaced real (factual) history and real (personal) memory. Actually, they argue, "collective memory" has pervaded concepts which present all sorts of human cognitive products. They claim we now have history as collective memory fabricated by narrative.[4]

> Not all of have adopted "collective memory" and use it profusely necessarily embrace the theory behind the term. Many, however, while paying their respects to Halbwachs as the father of this creation, express at the same time instinctive reservations, acknowledging the function (though dubious one) of private memory. They still retain the old terms and distinctions of their profession; most of them oppose collective memory to history, where "collective memory" generally speaking, covers the areas previously designated by myth. …Even Nora who represents a radical view of "collective memory" speaks of history as "perpetually suspicious of memory.[5]

Here Gedi and Elam point out the nuance between the collective memory studies in the role of different sources to understand and read history better and collective memory studies as an alternative position in place of positivist history.

1.1. WHY COLLECTIVE MEMORY?

Interest in collective memory studies has increased across the world for different reasons. Jan Assmann sums up these reasons in two statements. First he claims electronic data are displacing human memory process and as a result human memory is becaming inert. Second he notes the loss of those generations which witnessed important events in the world such as crimes against humanity.[6] As examples, Assmann stresses crimes in World War II. Especially the Big War and its

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[3] Ibid, p.15.
[4] Gedi, Noa and Yigel, Elam (1996), "Collective Memory - What Is It?", *History&Memory,* 8 (1), Spring/Summer: 42.
[5] Ibid, p.12.
[6] Asman, Jan (2001), *Kültürel Bellek*, (Cultural Memory), translated by Ayşe Tekin, İstanbul: Ayrıntı, p.16.

thirty million dead had catastrophic effects on Western society and, of course, on "Postwar intellectuals" who tried to understand and make a sense of the war. They had tried to answer, "what caused these crimes?", " How did these begin?". One such post war intellectual is Maurice Halbwachs, who coined the term "collective memory" concept in literature.

Memory studies have an uneven history.[7] Literature about collective memory can be summed up by Halbwachs' theory which does not accept individual memory, Pierre Nora's memory concept which builds strong bridges between memory and space, Paul Connerton's theory which underlines the relation between commemorative ceremonies and collective memory and Jan Assman's cultural memory theory which assumes memory works both back-past and forward-future. It is possible to add Emile Durkheim's collective consciousness and Henri Bergson's subjectivist memory concepts as paved the way for collective memory studies. During the first chapter these theories about collective memory will be examined respectively.

1.2. M. HALBWACHS AND "COLLECTIVE MEMORY" THEORY

In 1920 French sociologist M. Halbwachs underlined the concept of "collective memory". A brief survey of Halbwachs life helps make clear his understanding of collective memory.

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[7] Schwartz, Barry (1996), "Introduction: The Expanding Past", *Qualitative Sociology*, 3, September: 275.

Halbwachs (1877-1945) was a French philosopher and sociologist known for collective memory theory. Halbwachs was student of Henri Bergson and studied philosophy. His first book is on collective psychology named *The Social Frames of Memory*, *"Les cadrex sociaux de la memorie"* was published in the early 1920s. He became a scholar of Durkheim and interested in sociology. Halbwachs was named as professor of sociology in Strasburg in 1919 and elected to the College de France in 1944 in the chair of the "collective psychology". Halbwachs worked at the War Ministery during World War I.

Halbwachs was affected deeply by Durkheim and his methods. He continued the legacy of Durkheim. Although the framework of Halbwachs sociology were established on Durkheim's basic ideas, Halbwachs sociology differs at certain points from Durkheim's. Durkheim's French school examined memory as an object of systematical inquiry.

Halbwachs is a strict student of Durkheim who impressed the analysis of thought categories' reasons. He published in 1940 *The Legendary Topography of The Gospels in the Holy Land* and in 1950 the assembled version of *Collective Memory.* M. Halbwachs was arrested by the Gestapo and he died of dysentery in 1945.

In the *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915) Durkheim changes the route of school from a social context of time classifications to seeing commemoration rituals as binders of present and past. [8] Durkheim stresses that society is more than the total of individuals. For Durkheim, to understand social

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[8] Ibid, p.275.

events it is necessary to examine society not human psychology.[9] According to Durkheim, the desires and interests of human beings can only be held under control by forces outside of the individual. Durkheim characterizes this external force as the collective conscience. Durkheim underlines the importance of collective consciousness in order to make sense of a society's continuity. Collective consciousness differs from individualistic consciousness. By playing and being located in the same activities and rituals, people share common moral values which Durkheim called collective consciousness. Collective consciousness with certain differences is the starting point of Halbwachs collective memory. In the transition from traditional to modern, society's homogeneity become less and personal options become higher. Durkheim argues that collective consciousness is thus more common in traditional societies. Halbwachs' concept of collective memory is more than collective consciousness. Halbwachs insists collective memory has importance for all types of society.[10]

> Halbwachs, moreover, expands Durkheim's idea of collective memory beyond its original connection with rituals. While Durkheim addresses memory only in his discussion of commemorative rituals, the notion of memory stands at the heart of Halbwachs approach. Halbwachs enriches Durkheim's theory even further by uncovering and classifying the elements of social life that contribute to collective memory.[11]

Social order and social solidarity were examined and investigated by Durkheim deeply because one of his most important questions is, "how are the unification and consensus of communities possible?". "It seems that Halbwachs concern with the Durkheimian conception of solidarity and moral consensus leads

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[9] Durkheim, Emile (1986), *Sosyolojik Metodun Kuralları*, (The Rules of Sociological Methods), translated by Enver Aytekin, İstanbul: Sosyal, pp.123-128.

him to argue that a group's memory is a manifestation of its identity."[12]According to Halbwachs, memory is crucial for social order and solidarity.

M. Halbwachs laid social environment (cadres sociaux) down as a condition of collective memory.[13] Collective memory is socially framed and is establishmed between a community and collective memory. In a sense, communities and social groups decide what can be remembered, how an act-event will be remembered. As the individual's positions, relations, beliefs change, so their memory would be changed. Collective milieu is the centre of the compass for memory. In lots of examples the same events can be remembered by people completely differently. What can be the reason for that? The answer, according to Halbwachs, is personal benefits or personal distortion; belonging to different communities shapes the remembrances of the event.

The debate in the Turkish media in January of 2008 about Turkish Republic and (enforcements through faithful Muslim citizens in social life), can be an example. Sociology professor from Turkey, Nur Vergin, gave long interview to a Turkish newspaper.[14] Nur Vergin answered a question about whether there is really pressure and enforcement on religious people after the first years of The Republic or not. Nur Vergin shared an remembrance with journalist. When she moved to a new flat, she had wanted to organize a prayer ceremony where the Quran will be read. But

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[10] Mistzal, Barbara (2003), *Theories of Social Remembering*, Berkshire: Open University Pres, p.51.
[11] Ibid, p.51.
[12] Ibid, p.52.
[13] Assmann, (2001), p.39.
[14] Şenocaklı, Mine (2007), "AKP Türkiye'nin emniyet kemeri!", (JDP is the Safety Belt of Turkey), *Vatan Newspaper.*

she abstained because of the perception over neighbors and "what they will think, what they will do" so she gave up organizing the prayer ceremony. In Turkey this interview occupied to the attention of Turkish intelligentsia very much. For example in an interesting reaction from Hurriyet newspaper, Ertuğrul Özkök responded to Nur Vergin and claimed that in Turkey during The Republic any citizen did not face such a pressure because of his/her religious beliefs.[15] This example is illustrates me "selective perception" theory of psychology. There is one historical period and from this period of history different and various life experiences. Those differences lead to different memories. However, it is normal to hear or witness different remembrances of the term, in this example it is clear how the past is moulded to suit present belongingness and dominant interests. It is no important which claim is true. But one of them has to be true or closer to the right. The extreme difference of defining the same term shows how a community of people can transform appreciations, can shape the remembrances at least.

Collective identity takes precedence over collective memory in Halbwachs system since collective memory is determined by social identity.[16] Here Halbwachs uses the concept of solidarity and social consensus when he relates memory to collective identity. Social identities establish contents, aspects and regions of memory.

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http://w9.gazetevatan.com/haberdetay.asp?detay=AKP_Turkiyenin_emniyet_kemeri_154519_1&tarih=07.07.2009&Newsid=154519&Categoryid=1 (08.01.2009).

[15] Özkök, Ertuğrul (2008), "Arkadaşım bunu söylerse", (If My Friend Says That), *Hurriyet Newspaper*.
http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=7952542&yazarid=10&tarih=2008-01-02
(08.01.2009).

[16] Barbara, (2003), p.52.

In fact I continue to be subject to the influence of a society even when I have walked away from it: it is enough that I carry within me, in my spirit all that allows me to classify myself in their milieu and their own particular time and feel myself very much a part of the group.[17]

Halbwachs emphasizes that belongingness does not change even if there are regional distances between people and society, individual and community. According to Halbwachs people carry their relations with them. I am not sure if Halbwachs experience of World War I has any affect on these ideas because Halbwachs lived through internal after The Great War as did the other post-war intellectuals of Europe. In addition Halbwachs stresses the effects of community-society in identities. Belongingness, experiences and memories about the past and today cannot and will not change easily because of distances between community and social group.

The Diaspora of the Armenian community will be a good example for Halbwachs approach. In this study about Armenians and memory, Cihan Tuğal first underlines the position of the Armenian community before the massacres. Tuğal states that Armenians had not been a single and united community; rather the Christian population of Armenians was divided among four churches at the end of 19th century. "Even though they had some sense of affiliation due to a shared language, the lives of the Armenians of capital and provinces were unrelated."[18] Tuğal argues that after the 1915 massacres, "remembering the massacres becomes

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[17] Halbwachs, Maurice (1950), *The Collective Memory*, translated by F. J. and V. Y. Diter, London: Harper Colophon Books, p.128.
[18] Tuğal, Cihan (2007), "Memories of Violence, Memoirs of Nation: The 1915", in Esra Özyürek (eds.), *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, New York: Syracuse University Pres, p.158.

the central affirmation and reproduction of individual identity as Armenian."[19] Hence being away from milieu in physical dimensions does not cause breaks in memories.

Different belongingness, such as different religious groups, ethnic identities, family relations and social classes will affect memories of individuals. A Turkish and an Armenian citizen most probably will remember the same event differently.

It will be easy to imagine memory as a house whose frames are determined by the community we are born in and whose form is belongingness. Only the cement of house which was poured to forms can depend upon the individual. But it is necessary to repeat, cement is shaped by formworks. Cement refers to remembrances such as frames of the house refer to communities and its inputs.

Criticisms Halbwachs' theory begins at the relation between the individual and social. Halbwachs was criticized because he did not clarify the position of relation and ignore power of individualist affects on memory at all points, according to Connerton. "Halbwachs was unable to explain the fact of the social persistence of images of the past."[20] "Collective identity precedes memory", one of the main points of Halbwachs theory, presupposes the stability of collective identity. Moreover stability, well established, combined, frozen qualifications of identity seem to be assumptions of Halbwachs.

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[19] Ibid, p.158.
[20] Connerton, Paul (1999), *Toplumlar Nasıl Anımsar*, (How Societies Remember), translated by Alaeddin Şenel, İstanbul: Ayrıntı, p.38.

1.2.1. Post-war Theories and "Collective Memory"

The effects of World War I was greater than supposed. Thirteen million dead had never been experienced before by Europe. The crucial question was "What lead up to the devastation and upheaval?" for long years.[21]

> The 1960s and 1970s were years of disillusionment resembling those through which Europe passed in the 1920s. It was a twilight era in which processes of disintegration were more visible than processes of growth; disagreement more visible than harmony; change is more visible than stability. It was the decade in which conflict theories of social order replaced "consensus theories" the decade in which all certified accounts of the past, as of everything else, were repudiated.[22]

According to the author in the postwar period social scientists began to search for how an alternative world is possible. Pursuit of a new world discourse, a new world order, a new world without order opened fresh perspectives to multicultural, postmodern and hegemony theories which define the terms in which we debate collective memory. [23]

1.2.2. Criticisms to Halbwachs Theory

Maurice Halbwachs is the father of collective memory studies. Although his great attempt and work in the area widely recognized, he had also been criticized deeply. One point of contention is the relation between Halbwachs and the Great War. The other is the position of individualistic memory, on where Halbwachs has much to say.

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[21] Schwartz, (1996), p.276.
[22] Ibid, p.277.
[23] Ibid, p.278.

Halbwachs studies texts written before the war. Halbwachs had experienced the Great War, maybe not as a soldier, but deeply; in his studies however he does not mention the war and effects.[24] Annette Becker, a professor of modern history with several studies on Great War, history and memory, examines Halbwachs's collective memory argument in the context of his approach to The Great War. In this part Becker's examples will used to make Halbwachs position clear. Becker uses two illnesses (amnesia and aphasia) to exemplify astonishing relation between war and Halbwachs.

War is an important word and has a crucial position for memory studies. In modern times people began to refer to won as a "trauma". Trauma indicates great suffering. History has witnessed many disasters, catastrophes, mass deaths, but the Great War, a human made catastrophe was different.

Halbwachs examined the aphasia[25] of combatants during his memory studies. In spite of using aphasia to underline on the relationship between memory and language, he does not imply any connection for war such as reasons of illness or any other psychological conditions.[26] If Halbwachs had implied to war as a reason or at least as an affect of combatants' amnesia, this implication would stress individual and indirectly individualistic effects on memory. Halbwachs tried to avoid from these, indirect connections to individualistic memory.

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[24] Becker, Annette (2005), "Memory Gaps", *Journal of European Studies,* 35 (1):106.
[25] Aphasia is inability to use or understand language (spoken or written) because of a brain lesion and a disorder that results from damage to portions of the brain that are responsible for language. Aphasia usually occurs suddenly, often as the result of a stroke or head injury, but it may also develop slowly, as in the case of a brain tumor, an infection, or dementia. The disorder impairs the expression and understanding of language as well as reading and writing.
[26] Becker, (2005), p.106.

Memory is established in time and space by society. Halbwachs reflects on this idea in his book as:

> If we remove ourselves from the society in which we live today, we do so by positioning ourselves among other human beings in another milieu, for our past is full of representations of those we have known. In this respect, we can escape form one society only by opposing another to it.[27]

People belong to social groups which determine what is memorable or not. Which events from past is recallable and which events from past have to be suppressed or stored.

"In a word, memory is impossible outside the frameworks which men living in society use to fix and locate their memories"[28] It is not difficult to understand why Halbwachs denies The Great War term and pay attention to aphasia rather than amnesia.[29] Amnesiacs can not socialize in the community. March Bloch and ties are weak for every social point. Specific case events which Halbwachs used to exemplify memory studies of him, did not consist traumatic dimensions although the term that Halbwachs experienced, was impossible to call without suffer and trauma.

Marc Bloch, a voice who criticized Halbwachs within the discipline of history, underlines the importance of individualistic memory.[29] Bloch expresses;

> For a social group to be able to remember, it is not enough for the various members who belong to it at a given moment to preserve in their minds representations of the groups' past, the older members must also transmit those representations to the younger ones. We may speak of "collective memory" but it is important not to forget that at least parts of the phenomena

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[27] Halbwachs, Maurice (1992), *On Collective Memory*, in Lewis A. Coser (eds.), Chicago: University of Chicago Pres, pp.107-109.
[28] Ibid, pp.77-78.
[29] Becker, (2005), p.105-106.
[29] Becker, (2005), p.108.

embraced within that term are simply acts of communication between individuals.[30]

Another theorist on memory is Paul Connerton, who will be examined more fully in the next chapter, emphatically rejects Halbwachs. Connerton claims that Halbwachs failed to differentiate between two questions. These are;

> How does individual preserve and rediscover memories? and how the societies preserve and rediscover memories? He demonstrated that the idea of an individual memory, absolutely separate from social memory, is an abstraction almost devoid of meaning. The particular cases of memory as it work within kinship groups within religious groups and within classes.[31]

Halbwachs's studies on memory are theories which sometimes claim, sometimes explain, sometimes reject. Halbwachs' studies and writings make impression as if they are parts of a system. But when you examine Halbwachs as if his thoughts were a system, one sees the huge gaps in his writings. For instance Halbwachs says that;

> …society tends to eliminate from its memory everything which he could separate individuals, or that at certain moments society is obliged to become attached to new values, that is to say to depend upon other traditions which are in better relation with its need and present tendencies.[32]

But Halbwachs does not explain how society eliminates. Moreover to accept Halbwachs, it will be necessary to accept the presupposition that every community has its own communication system. But Halbwachs's writings do not show any communication system peculiar to communities.

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[30] Ibid, p.109.
[31] Connerton, (1999), p.62.
[32] Halbwachs, (1950), p.392.

1.3. PAUL CONNERTON AND "COMMEMORATION CEREMONIES" AS COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Paul Connerton is another important figure in collective memory theories. His book *How Societies Remember* (1989), underlines the relation between collective memory and bodily practices. The book considers "memory" as a cultural ability beyond individual ability and explains how daily routines which do not depend upon written sources and records are inherited from generation to generation. Studies on collective memory, in the meaning of cultural ability, generally focus on narration of experiences as a record but Connerton deals with daily practices which have adapted to the human body. Connerton's theory propounds narration of past imaginations and remembrances within commemorative ceremonies. As a result of that Connerton affirms; memory is feasible with body.

Modern times have a paradoxical relation with commemorative ceremonies. Although modernity aimed to overwhelm "tradition", commemorative ceremonies mushroomed in modern times. In his book, Connerton tries to show ceremonies are not peculiar to traditional societies. From France to Persia different commemorative ceremonies are examined in the book.

According to Connerton, the organization of collective memory is not only a technical issue as a record but also a legitimization issue bears on controlling and creating information as a political matter.[33] Connerton does not talk about political and unconsciousness dimensions of memory. Rather he argues how images of past

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[33] Connerton, (1999) p.8.

and knowledge of past are conveyed and sustained by performances.[34] Connerton answers that by rituals, ceremonies and commemorations which tried to create a mystic position, not traditional but annual.

The experience of the present has deep relations with the past. We live today in a discourse which was built by knowledge of yesterday and the past. The meanings of words, the implications of objects, the imaginations of festivals and ceremonies, etc. depend on the heritage of the past. We were born into a society and are socialized and acculturated in. During the "today" we again and again build the past. Present events and factors have inclinations to effect the past. Sometimes the inclination can give way into distortions.

Connerton stands somewhere between the approach which underlines the presentation of the day (in sources, generally named, *the presentist memory approach*)" and argues that the past is moulded to suit present dominant interests".[35] The other approach which claims today's imaginations and perceptions are built on the past.

The Presentist Memory approach defines collective memories as inventions of traditions. This approach sees collective memory as a method of social control and propounds a strong relation between social control (power) and social remembrance-collective memory. How power shapes the present public through the instrumentality of mass media, education systems, and public ceremonies; it shapes the past too with

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[34] Ibid, p.12.
[35] Mistzal, (2003), p.56.

the same means. In some sources[36] this process called as "institutionalization of remembrance". Presentist memory theorists justify their approach by exemplifying nationalist movements which create master commemorative narrations sometimes out of nothing to emphasize a common and shared past.

The establishment of nation states and the increase of nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is still a hot topic for social scientists. In their first years, nation states tried to maintain the adherence of the mass with the help of new symbols such as flags, national anthems, military uniforms and new celebrations and rituals.[37] It is easy to give example from Turkey. At beginning of 20th century, the language reform of new Turkish Republic aimed to enforce the belongingness and obedience of people to state too.

Italian politician d'Azeglio's famous saying, "We have made Italy and now we must make Italians.", can sum up the discourse of new nation states. And one of the most popular anthems in Turkey is in the similar imagination with d'Azeglio, "We have created fifteen million youth in ten years". "The implementation of new traditions was ensured through three different methods and institutions: the development of education, the invention of public ceremonies and the mass production of public monuments."[38] Nationalism created national belongingness. Eric Hobsbawm examined schools and universities as the most conscious backers of nationalism. Hobsbawm underlines that the development of schools and universities are a measure of the development of new nationalism. Between 1923 and 1938,

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[36] Ibid, pp. 56-58.
[37] Ibid, p.57.

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Turkey witnessed state supported mass production of new traditions, ceremonies, monuments, and identities to serve the Republic of Turkey's constituent power groups. Two important sparks of the past, history and language which have deep effects on the present day, were examined and operated and processed in Turkey. To understand this process an examination will be useful, Turkish Language Reform. First The Turkish Republic changed the alphabet from Arabic to Latin and then the daily language of citizens of Ottoman Empire has changed word by word. One of the aspects of this reform was to constitute the perception of being a Turk not merely a member of a crowded Empire and to organize of total forgetting of the imperial past.

Memory studies have strong relations with the concepts of the nation and nationalism movements. Memory studies began after World War I and increased with World War II. And these social facts are not only reasons but also results of Nationalism movements. In the early parts of 21st century nationalism and nation have still hold important and critical positions in the agenda of the social sciences. B. Anderson asks "Although nationalism does not have intellectuals such as Marx, Nietzsche and Weber and although nationalism is beggarly in the meaning of philosophical base, it has an extreme politic power in the world?[39] Nation states produced a useful past to justify and strengthen their roles in the world policy system. According to Anderson, all nations have been created as imagined

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[38] Ibid, p.58.
[39] Anderson, Benedict (1993), *Hayali Cemaatler*, (Imagined Communities), translated by İskender Savaşır, İstanbul: Metis, p.19.

communities.[40] So the circle of imaginations would be continuing by creating new ones.

1.3.1. Rituals and Ceremonies

Concepts and words and terms are related deeply with another one. Moreover it is possible to say that they can only exist with this relation. If one tries to examine a concept or maybe only a word by itself, the study would be most likely fail. Rites and ceremonies are concepts which can not be meaningful without relating religion, World War, nationalism, nation states, the 19th century, etc. Connerton focuses on studying rites relating religion and nation, the same way Anderson did where he extremely stressed this relation in his book, *Imagined Communities*.

Rites hold symbolic characters and a way of expressing the importance of the day, act, or what they represent. Rites attribute value to a represented thing by extremely differentiating it form the daily one. According to Connerton, rites are not only expressive. "They are expressive acts only by virtue of their conspicuous regularity. They are formalized and tend to be repetitive."[41] Rites occur in fixed times and generally in fixed places with predetermined performances. Though this totally determined and limited position, rites have effects on society not only during the rites but afterwards.[42] It is hard to know the limits of effects of rites on people and society too. Rites also affect non-ritual actions and maybe the whole of life.

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[40] Ibid, p.20.
[41] Connerton, (1999), p.70.
[42] Ibid, p.71.

Connerton exemplifies his claims from German history. The National Socialist Party of Germany tied the 8th November 1923 bloody revolt to a sacred party of ritual which deserves remembrance. An attempted putsch was called a "blood baptism" to be commemorated every year through sacrifice, struggle and the victory of old fighters.[43] Hitler's Germany turned this bloody putsch to a remembrance of sixteen martyrs of the National Socialist Movement. With corteges, peals, artillery shootings, the rite of the 8th November had a strong cultic force.

> Every year the historical March of 1923 was repeated; every year the sixteen shots rang out, repeating the sixteen deadly shots of 1923; every year the flags were flaunted, not as signs referring back to a finished event but as relics consubstantial with that event. Above all, it was through acts performed at a sacred site that the illusion of mundane time was suspended.[44]

Similar to 8th November remembrance of Germany, the Turkish Republic has a ritual called Menemen Case or Şehit (Martyr) Kubilay Case. Based on the official sources, the case broke out in Izmir only 3 years after the declaration of the Republic. A group who were against the Republic but for the religious law and then developed once this group killed a young officer named Kubilay and two guards. Subsequently, martial law was announced and the case resulted with the execution of 28 people who were judged as the supporters of religious law. Şehit Kubilay Case absolutely appears on media every year and mentioned by municipalities in Izmir. Especially at certain times, this case has been regularly commemorated not by all parts of the society but by the state. Turkish Republic uses the commemoration to build "a new state with a unitary nation and history and language". The Turkish Republic built up its own rituals, commemorative ceremonies, heroes and martyrs.

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[43] Ibid, p.68.

In the rite of 8th November religional components are conspicuous. Religions have ontological relations with rituals. The important may be sacred days, worships, prayers with their own rituals. In Islam, Ramadan is accepted as a sacred period and a special worship called sawm is done. Ramadan is full of rituals from beginning to end. In Judaism, the Exodus from Egypt is crucial in the Jewish understanding of their history. Although Abrahamic religions contain rituals and rites, not all of them are concerned with remembering or not forgetting as much as Judaism. In Judaism festivals and rituals are in order to remember. "What is remembered is the historical narrative of the community. In both the Old Testament and the prayer book, "remembrance" becomes a technical term through which expression is given to process by which practicing Jews recall and recuperate in their present life the major formative events in the history of their community".[45] Connerton claims even if rituals lacks of religional connections, they have been displayed in a divine stage or accepted as if ritual has a sacred vision.

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[44] Ibid, p.69.
[45] Ibid, pp.71-73.

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE AND WORLD VİEW

2.1. LANGUAGE IS ONLY LANGUAGE?

> "A change in language can transform
> our appreciation of the cosmos."
>
> Benjamin Whorf
> Language Thought and Reality

Defining boundaries is sometimes difficult, in the social sciences. Every concept, every act, every nuance to sum up everything is related to the human in the social sciences. Conditions like aliveness, chaos, alteration and emotions like confusion and astonishment which are peculiar to humanity flow into social science thinking. One of the more difficult topics to pin down of social sciences is language. At the beginning of this thesis, it is mentioned that some issues are as ancient as human beings. Language is among these ancient issues. There is a huge literature on language in both Western and Eastern traditions which is impossible to master. Thus this chapter of the thesis aims to examine the relation between today's Turkish collective memory and the Turkish Language Reform using *a language theory* which itself has limitations. *The language* theory used here is the Sapir and Whorf Linguistic Relativity Theory.

Nearly every intellectual who opened a door in the social sciences or walked through an opened door before in his/her own style, wrote or dwelt on the issue is language. From ancient Greece to nowadays, in the 21st century, language is

examined not only as a literature issue but as social phenomenon. For example, in Greek Philosophy, internal communication (içsel konuşma) referred to thinking. This basic view accepted both language and thought as forms of logos, referred to as the external and the internal characterized the thought of Plato and the Sophists.[46]

The orthodox view about language between the 17th century and the 20th century examined language as device, an instrument of culture that constitutes communication and translates ideas to others. The Orthodox view ignores other dimensions of language and put aside questions of "meaning" and "context". Especially in the 19th century, the mechanistic view was also reflected in approaches to language. Learning, dominating and being competent over nature were the main aims of 19th century efforts. Examining nature as a mechanism which needs to be solved permeated almost every view from physics to sociology. Language was one of the tools to dominate nature. The mechanistic language view claims that the benefits of language are organizing abstract mental facilities of people through concrete expressions.[47] Our general simplification view of language was inherited from the 19th century.

There is only one world, however, the descriptions and definitions of the world are various. The world defined by religion is not the same world as that defined by science or myths.[48] Both physics and philosophy need words to be able to make descriptions. Language precedes thought and people. When we were born into

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[46] Demir, Gökhan Yavuz (2007), *Sosyal bir Fenomen Olarak Dilin Belirsizliği, ,*(The Ambiguity of Language as a Social Phenomena), İstanbul: Paradigma, p.10.
[47] Alston, William P. (1964), *Philosophy of Language,* New Jersey: Prentice Hall, pp.22-25.
[48] Arslan, Hüsamettin (1992) *Epistemik Cemaat*, (Epistemic Community), İstanbul: Paradigma, p.26.

a society, the language we will speak, the culture we will socialize in and the rules we will obey have already been there. We are born into a language which is already been before and for us.

According to the Austrian philosopher, Stephen Toulmin, whose works were applied to the field of rhetoric, every concept is an intellectual micro-institution.[49] Social institutions, for instance religion, education, economy, are like organs of a human body and permeate society for life to exist Moreover, Toulmin argues, "consisting of the people who accept concept, and the practices by which they use and transmit it; and conversely; institutions are macro-concepts."[50] Language is one of the most crucial institutions in society and for a society. Although the vital position of language, in social sciences language generally studied in the titles of language which is spoken by people, language which is spoken by a country or a nation. Language, itself could not be a pure title for social science studies. As though Toulmin expresses language and outcomes of it; words, concepts are micro institutions of the society. Not only in a determinist discourse but also a naive approach to language without ignoring interrelations of language with other institutions of society required to be examined. Whorf and Sapir Hypothesis is one of that.

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[49] Toulmin, Stephen (1972), *Human Understanding: The Collective Use and Evolution of Concepts* Princeton: Princeton University Pres, p.166
[50] Ibid, p.353.

2.2. WHORF AND SAPIR HYPOTHESIS: LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY

> "Language is not simply a reporting device
> for experience but a framework for it."
>
> Benjamin Lee Whorf
> *Language Thought and Reality*

The orthodox view about language stresses that language is a device for culture, and, that culture determines the language of the society. In lots of sociology textbooks, it is possible to see the language issue as a subtitle of culture. Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir opened alternative ways as thinking from the familiar views about language.

Before examining Whorf and Sapir Hypothesis, I want to give some brief information about Whorf and his life. As a social scientist, to pervade topic of anything it is necessary to know the conditions of person, the context of time, etc.

Benjamin Whorf had studied Native American languages. This most well known study is on the Hopi language. He compared Hopi and Standard Average European (SAE) Languages on the dimension of grammar.

Benjamin Whorf was an amateur linguistic. Although his job was being a chemical engineer, he was a free time observer and researcher. He was graduated from MIT in 1918, receiving a bachelor's degree in engineering. After Whorf began to work as a fire prevention engineer in a company, he then spent a short perşod of

time pursuing field work in language. Here I want to stress Whorf did not make his living by his studies on language. This is an important nuance in the name of providing relative freedom. An independent income allowed Whorf to study more freely. In addition his interest and searches occurred as an advocacy. Whorf was supported in his work by Edward Sapir, an anthropologist at Yale University. Whorf began to study linguistics at Yale in 1931 and in 1937 he became a lecturer in the anthropology department and published several essays in both scholar's linguistic and popular magazines. His essays have a wide range subjects, from "being", color theory, translation of Genesis, etc.[51]

It is clear that for an engineer to become a lecturer in the social sciences at Yale requires a huge labor and desire. In his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn stresses that paradigm changes are not begun by "normal" scientists. According Kuhn, "revolutionary" scientists generally come from outside the discipline, and they are persons who examine but also to reexamine the world from their free-unlimited positions.[52]

Although I will take the Whorf and Sapir hypothesis as a reference and as a frame for my study, this hypothesis is still controversial. In lots of resources, Whorf's study is called as "hypothesis". On the other hand some studies appraise Whorf's theories as an academic and "scientific" theory. Like For example,

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[51] Lavery, David (1995), "The Mind of Benjamin Whorf", paper given *South Atlantic Modern Language Association*, Atlanta, p.5.
[52] Kuhn, Thomas (1982), *Bilimsel Devrimlerin Yapısı*, (The structure of Scientific Revolutions), İstanbul: Alan, pp.110-117.

> Linguistic relativity as proposed by Sapir and Whorf is not a hypothesis in the traditional sense, but an axiom, a part of the initial epistemology and methodology of the linguistic anthropologist.[53]

The core of Whorf and Sapir hypothesis is linguistic relativity. In 1960s linguistic relativity was not seriously accepted and was dismissed by academics. The Whorf and Sapir Hypothesis is attacked in articles and studies of anthropologists and linguists.[54] "But the Whorf and Sapir Hypothesis were not dead."[55] It is important when evaluating a theory, a novel or maybe an historical event to be aware of the conditions of time and space and their settings. Linguistic relativity should be examined and evaluated in a context of time and space. The Universalist understanding at the beginning of the 20th century became an ideology in the name of science, as well as in linguistics. "In their time a naïve and racist universalism in grammar and equally vulgar evolutionism in anthropology and history, were lively intellectual forces."[56] It is necessary to examine "linguistic relativity" in a historical view and in light of the conditions of the time.

Whorf studied American Indian languages, Aztec, Hopi and Mayan, in actual field work and established different approaches to "language". We can categorize into two main titles his hypothesizes about language, in other words, the results of his fieldwork. First Whorf studied the Hopi Language which is spoken in the Southwest of the United States. He realized some deep differences between this "primitive" language and English. His comparison on English and Hopi helped established the Linguistic Relativity. Second, Whorf developed his linguistic

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[53] Hill, Jane H. and Mannheim Bruce(1992), "Language and World View", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21: 383.
[54] Lavery, (1995), p.2.

relativity theory and tried to emphasize the relation between words and viewpoints, grammar structure and ways of perceptions. The relation between language and perspectives shows that there is no pure freedom to give meaning to life, world, events and even colors of nature.

In the foreword to Whorf's book, *Language Thought and Reality,* by Stuart Chase sums up Whorf studies:

> First, that all higher levels of thinking are dependent on language. Second, that the structure of the language one habitually uses influences the manner in which one understands his environment. The picture of the universe shifts from tongue to tongue.[57]

It is clear and a general acceptance that culture, religion, conditions of a region effect language. But Whorf, in a sense, deconstructs this acceptance and asks, " 'does the type of language in which the individual speaks and thinks exert a paramount influence on his behavior, outlook and culture?' His reply is an emphatic 'Yes'."[58]

> The background of linguistic system (in other words grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in the old sense, but is part of particular grammar and differs from slightly to greatly, between different grammars. We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages.[59]

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[55] Ibid, p.2**.**
[56] Hill and Mannheim, (1992), p.384.
[57] Whorf, Benjamin Lee (1956), *Language Thought and Reality,* in John B. Carrol (eds.), with foreword by Stuart Chase, Cambridge: The MIT Pres.
[58] Pei, Mario A. (1957), "Reviewed Work: Language Thought and Reality", *The Modern Language Journal*, 2, February: 107.
[59] Whorf, (1956), pp.212-213.

According to Whorf, language is not only a device of thought and experience but also the basin in which thoughts were kneaded as dough. The core points which shape thought is not the structure of society but the structure of language.[60] Whorf's argument says, " the language of people affects directly thoughts and perceptions and at last the world view's of a people" is in the centre of Whorf's hypothesis. "We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages... We cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the [speech community] decrees,"[61] says Whorf.

> It is a quite illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication and reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.[62]

As Sapir stresses above, each society lives in its own "real world" and each world is established on the frames of unconscious language habits. There is only one world but there are lots of imaginations and perceptions of the world which depends on the language.

The Turkish Language Revolution aimed to change the religion centered and ethnics diverse world of the Ottoman Empire to the nation centered world of a new Turkish Republic. But as Sapir claims, a conscious change of alphabet is not enough to change frames and labels of language and therefore to change the world. A world

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[60] Arslan, (1992), pp.27-28.
[61] Whorf, (2007), p.213.
[62] Sapir, Edward (1929), "The Status of Linguistics as a Science", *Language*, 4, December: 209.

shaped and moulded by different patterns from the West cannot change easily by replacing another alphabet and simplifying words.

A study in the name of "Whorfian Effects: English Gendered Pronouns"[63] can exemplify the Whorfian approach. The study aims to make the position of the third person pronouns by comparing the tacit structure of grammatical categories and cognitive prototypes. The study claims that "… 'he' can be used generally in an indefinite sense when the sex of the referent is unknown or irrelevant." For example a sentence "Everyone in New York State is entitled to an abortion if he wants it." In this sentence 'he' refers to both male and female at least human being. In contrast that to establish these any similar implies 'he' used to be used. The researcher states that these structures of pronouns depend upon late 18[th and] 19th century.[64]

The late 18th century remains a Victorian era. The 19th century, the Anglo Saxon region witnessed one of the most interesting and prominent periods of history. The border line between being male and female was redefined and reshaped by the structure of daily life. Marshall Sahlins, an important American anthropologist and ethnologist, constructs an analogy between a clothing system and the structure of a language. According to him, clothing systems imply semantic contrasts in life. Forms work as group of rules which defines and determines clothing categories and structures of culture. The clothes of 19th century show the worlds of people who wore them and shows the roles which society expects to see them in.[65] In Victorian

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[63] Whorf, (1956), pp.387-390.
[64] L. R. Waugh 1982 "Marked and Unmarked: a Choice Between Equals in Semiotic Structure", *Semiotica,* 38, pp. 299-318.
[65] Connerton, (1999), pp.54-55.

Era women's clothes should be adorned with laces, flippant ribbons, should be disincentive for behaviour because women should not be in an active life, should be slender waisted in the name of being fragile, etc. For instance strait laced corsets were used by almost all European women although they were uncomfortable conditions and had unhealthy effects on the human body, such as crooked ribs and pressed organs. Straitlaced corset means discipline, being succumbed and unpowered. In addition, in English "strait laced" as a phrase, currently refers to being conservative in morals and behaviors.

Sahlins argues that the Victorian term women's clothes not only concerns messages for daily life but also to mold women's behavior and mind into expected roles. The clothing system of The Victorian Era both is indicators for categories of behaviors and also creates the existence and possibility of these categories of behaviors. In addition, the categorizations maintained expected behavior as habits. Here habits or the accustomed things become the real ones. As discussed before by Sapir in a linguistic view, the real world is built up on language habits of the group. Habits and being accustomed to is crucial here. Because all habits have key points on the pass lines of being conscious on language, on words and being unconscious on language, words and at last world views.

These examples show "how a system of obligatory grammatical categories has cultural implications."[66] Language forms are basic for thought process   and in

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[66] Hill and Mannheim, (1992), p.389.

the last analysis to all human sciences.[67] Thought depends on language. One of the most known quotation of Whorf is "A change in language can transform our appreciation of the cosmos."

Whorf shows that while some languages have only one or two words to mention snow, in Eskimo languages for every form, shape and condition of snow there are lots of words. Again there is the intensity of words for camels and deserts in tribes who live in deserts. Whorf has been criticized very much by some linguists who calls the famous approach of Whorf such as an urban legend which states that a tribe lives in desert would has words for camel on desert more than a community than a Alaska tribe.[68] But the strong dimension of Whorfian approach is on the abstract concepts, words of languages. And from his field work he justifies his approach by comparing Hopi and Standard Average European languages on time and color appreciations.

For example the Navaho people have only three color categories. They separate "black" into two different colors and aggregated blue and green together and no other named color. Although the Navaho have only three named colors, they can differentiate all levels of colors. This situation is named as the "segmentation of nature" by Whorf. He refers to the process between human and nature as dissection and unification. Another example from Whorf studies is on time perception. Whorf says the Hopi language has a different linguistic situation. The expression of "ten

[67] Opler, Martin K. (1957), "Reviewed Work: Language, Thought, and Reality", *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 3, March: 414.
[68] Lavery, (1995), p.2.

days" or etc. is not used by Hopi's.[69] In Hopi, days cannot be pluralized.[70] "They stayed ten days," expression will be transformed in meaning such as "They stayed until eleventh days" or "They left after ninth day."[71] The length of time and expressing it differs from language to language. With all these examples, Whorf figures the relativity at languages. From time perception to names and categories of the colors perceptions of the cosmos depends on the languages structure.

> We cut up nature, organize it into concepts and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way, an agreement holds through out our speech community. And it is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is of course an implicit and unstated one, BUT İTS TERMS ARE OBSOLUTELY OBLİGATORY. (Original emphasis)[72]

The Whorf and Sapir Hypothesis has opened a way to avoid deep determinisms at every social points. Although the hypothesis has criticized much term by term, in the 21st century it still holds a prominent position in the social sciences.

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[69] Whorf, (1956), p.140.
[70] Pei, (1957),p.107.
[71] Whorf, (1956), p.140.
[72] Whorf, (1956), pp.213-214.

CHAPTER III

TURKISH LANGUAGE REVOLUTION

> "A change in language can transform
> our appreciation of the cosmos"
>
> Benjamin Lee Whorf
> *Language Thought and Reality*

The Turkish Language Reform under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal in 1928, entered into force with law no 1353. The law, adopted in October 1928, includes that The Turkish Republic's alphabet be changed from an Arabic based alphabet to one based on the [Latin alphabet](). Some sources call this change the Alphabet Reform but in this study, the process beginning with alphabet change is called The Language Revolution. In the Turkish language a special word stands in the meaning between revolution and reform: This word is "Inkılap".

Inkılap concept covers the meaning in the Alphabet change and the process after it better than reform and revolution. The reform and revolution concepts are inadequate in representation of the change process (not only in alphabet) in the first years of Turkish Republic because "reform" concept which means a revision on the inherited process, does not imply a radical, deep change and revolution implies a process which demanded and supported by people instead of the state. Şerif Mardin emphasizes in his "Turkish Exceptionalism" that several terms from foreign languages and disciplines are altering while terms enter into borders of Turkey and

terms were included in an other context and Ş. Mardin calls that as "Turkish Exceptionalism".[73]

In order to understand Turkey and Turkish society or at least to read Turkey better, understanding the first years of the Republic and especially Ataturk's revolutions are crucial. A standard average Turkish student reviews Ataturk's reforms in school books every training year, beginning with pre school education. In high school students train as well a lesson in the name of *Ataturk's Principles and Reforms (Inkılap-s)*. All university students meet with the same lesson again as service lesson in their first university classes in Turkey. Even in primary school math books one finds short stories about Ataturks reforms. To understand both of Turkish society and The Turkish State the first years of the Republic should be read well.

In this chapter of the thesis the Alphabet Reform which went into effect after five years of declaration of Republic, will be examined from the Tanzimat Period untill Mustafa Kemal's death in 1938.

3.1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKISH LANGUAGE

When we look at the history of the Turkish language, a very long and complicated picture occurs. Although Turkish people have used many alphabets, the longest alphabet in use in their history was the Arabic alphabet. Most Turks adopted the religion of Islam in middle of the 9th century. By the time Turkish had begun to

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[73] Mardin, Şerif (2005), "Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes", *Turkish Studies*, 6 (2): 145-160.

leave using the Uygur alphabet and to use Arabic alphabet at the beginning of the 10th century. Turkish language was affected considerably from Arabic and Persian languages during the natural process of language of common ground between Turkish and Islam.

French Turcologist Jean Deny mentions that there can not be any similar influences which Arabic and Persian languages have had on Turkish in his book named *Ottoman Dialect Turkish Language Grammer*.

By the 14th century it is clear that tendency of simplification in language began to stand out in the Divan Literature which is a written and lexiphanic type of literature occurred after the adoption of Islam by Turkish people. Divan Literature is a good example to the relation between Turkish Language and effects on it from Persian and Arabic. [74]

During the mediaeval age in The Ottoman Empire, palace language, public language, scientific language and daily language were differentiated from each others such as in other empires. It is hard to witness a standard language approach in Imperial Rules. For instance, Austria Hungary Emperor Joseph II. in 1780s when he brought the German language forward as the official language of the Empire, he accused of favors Germans, when he privileged Hungarian Language, he positioned from Germans.[75] According to B. Anderson, a similar experience of Austria Hungary Empire is possible to witness at non-Turkish people of The Ottoman Empire. Non-Turkish people of The Ottoman Empire were defined as minority groups as traitor on

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[74]Sevük, İsmail Habib (1949), *Dil Davası*, (Language Matter), İstanbul: Inkilap Kitabevi, pp.8-10.

the contrary the others who reject to speak Turkish hated from Empire in the reason of their "Turfication" process.[76]

The main reasons of that are multinational structuralizations of Empires, the huge gaps between the administrators and the people of of Empires. We can sort reasons empires had multi-national systems, administrators of Empires didn't need to direct contact with the public.[77]

In The Ottoman Empire, elites composed a language based on Arabic and Persian Languages instead of Turkish Language. Although there has been a language differentiation between palace, elites and public; it did not create serious problems for Ottoman Empire until the Tanzimat period. The reason of that is the constant relation between Ottoman Empire and its people until Tanzimat period.[78]

The main criticisms about Arabic alphabet can be intensified into two titles. The first one is Arabic script's incapability in order to can not cover all vowels of Turkish language and secondly Arabic script failed to express the spoken language in writing in the phonetic. The foreign vowels which included into Turkish were supposed to come from Arabic vowels. It will be helpful to have a look to the differences between two scripts. Arabic language has an alphabet which shows consonants. Only three signs used as vowels which are a, i, u. In contrast with that

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[75] Anderson, (1993), p.101.
[76] Ibid, p.101.
[77] Anderson, (1995), pp.102-109.
[78] Belge, Murat (1985), "Türk Dilinde Gelişmeler", (The developments in Turkish Language), *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 10: 2589-2590.

Turkish has nine vowels.[79] Even though there are two Z letters, three S letters in Arabic alphabet, there is one Z letter and one S letter in Turkish.

Another reason in order to object Arabic scripts is low literacy rates. Intelligentsia of the term accused Arabic script hardness to learn and teach.

In the first years of Republic, comparison about Arabic alphabet which was perceived like the burden of Turkish Language can be named as one of the intense comments of term. The general discourse of Republic which passed the buck of established problems neither to people nor special conditions of the term but always to the Ottoman Empire, had worked on this language occasion too.[80] The differentiation on phonetic of Turkish Language and the differentiation of the term's language between palace and science and people which were the same in the other empires such as Britain Kingdom to Austrian Empire, were attributed to Arabic Alphabet in the same discourse of Republic.

The years of 1960s can be named as years of inventions and discoveries because the efforts of adaption Arabic Alphabet through Turkish Languages phonetic and the inventions in order to make easier the works of publishers. The movement called *"Hurufu Munfasıla"* (Word separators) can be a good example for these efforts. The *"Hurufu Munfasıla"* movement was aimed to write the adjacent words in separated style. And the words *huruf* and *munfasıl* is not used in the daily and academic life (except Turkish Language and Literature studies). And no people of

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[79] Dilaçar, Agop (ed.) (1972), *Türk Dil Kurumunun 40 Yılı*, (The forth year of Turkish Language Association), Ankara: TDK Yay. p.40.
[80] Belge, (1985), p.2589.

Turkey from high school students to housewife's could understand what "huruf" means or at least implies. This is one of the ordinary examples of Turkish Language Revolution's results.

3.2. PRE-REPUBLICAN TURKISH LANGUAGE DEBATES

Alphabet has been one of the issues discussed ambitiously before beginning of revolution movement in Turkey. Criticisms about language and alphabet and offers about these issues in Ottoman Empire were raised especially in the period of Tanzimat and right after the period of (Constituonal Era).

1839 Tanzimat declaration has an important position on the way of the language revolution. Legal side of westernization was completed with Tanzimat declaration on the Ottoman Empire's westernization and modernization way. The content of Tanzimat declaration can be perceived as a labor to change or at least aimed to change relations between state and public. Tanzimat declaration had been announced to public in Gülhane Park which witnessed to important events in the history of Turkey. It is aimed by the declaration of Tanzimat, to formalize the Empire in the idea of "nation", instead of "religional belongingness".

It is clear that declaration doesn't have any title about language but however this situation; the targeted new structure of the Empire "… the social order which does not discriminate society on the national and religional points", means a new

discourse and a new social order. National language and national education would help Ottoman society to reach this aim.[81]

Examining closely the Tanzimat Period will help to breathe better atmosphere of the term. Ottoman Empire had lots of different problems and difficulties in this term. These problems can be summed as, the effects of nationalism movement on Ottoman Empire which began to come out after French Revolution, rise of the instruments external indebtedness, the stability and decline stage at science. During long years, Ottoman Empire has power on the context of culture, geography and economy and etc. But when the same Empire began to lose the command almost in every area, embarrassment, confusion, probing and quest began at the intelligentsias of Empire. And this gave birth some thought movements. While in 1840s declaration of Tanzimat was spoken, in 1860s *"New Ottoman" (Yeni Osmanlı)* movement and then another thought and action group called *"Jön Türkler"* began to be effective in the intellectual life. Although these two movement differentiated, there was one common ground which we can say disapprobation from the condition of Empire and producing improvement recipes to solve problems. Language always had been a central focus in the improvement recipes of the terms' intelligentsia.

Ottoman intelligentsia had tried to create a new progress either with Islam in a religion centralized system or with Turkism in a nation centralized system. As a result of this discourse language is an important part of the planned progress.

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[81] Karal, Enver Ziya (1985), "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Türk Dili Sorunu", (The problem of Turkish Language after Tanzimat Period), *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 10: 314.

Ottoman intelligentsia had planned that they could reach their aims which is saving the state-empire[82], by positioning language as an instrument as social, politic utopia instead of a language as a communication instrument.[83]

With the increase of relations between West and Ottoman Empire, dealings in scientific and technical aspects rose too. As a result of that a new problem occurred on how to use the terms of scientific language. In Ottoman Empire, scientific language was Arabic and in practice there were so many different viewpoints and uses. For instance some intellectuals as Ali Suavi claimed that concepts neither French nor Arabic should be translated into Turkish and the Turkish versions of the terms should be used. Another approach is "Serveti Funun" which was a literature movement, maintained translating foreign terms in to Turkish by finding some meanings from dictionaries which anybody knows and understands and applied this into their writings. In addition to that some voices underline the importance of a common science language which would occur under Latin alphabet.

On the other hand, followers of a literary movement called "New Literature" (Servet-i Funun) tended to name the terms by using the words which were not known by anybody and which existed only in the dictionaries. A chamber of translation

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[82] By rise of nationalism, declaration of Tanzimat and the general atmosphere of the world discourse, İt is clear to observe the slight but continual pass from Empire concept to State concept in the words of intelligensia.
[83] Belge, (1985), pp.25-92.

(Tercüme Odası) was founded in order to overcome this problem. The chamber of translation contributed to the improvement of written language.[84]

The process associated with foreign was shaped this way. Another point on which the objections to the language were focused was the relationship between public and the language in use. Ziya Pasha commented on government correspondences as below:

> A correspondence issued by the Finance Department can be read by its author. However, the author cannot tell the subject of the correspondence if s/he does not have the correspondence in her/his hand. Investigating judge asks her/his questions to and gets response from the defendant in colloquial language. However, s/he takes the statement down in formal language. If s/he reads this statement to the defendant in formal language, the defendant does not understand anything and thinks that her/his words have been translated into Arabic language and puts her/his thumbprint on this document just as a matter of courtesy.[85]

Namık Kemal made following statement on this issue: "Perhaps, even ten percent of the literate people living in Istanbul can not utilize a correspondence written in old Turkish language and even laws introduced to protect their rights.[86]

Majority of the intelligentsia of this period gave such examples from daily life. And, they drew the attention towards the question why a national language can not be created. They thought that all these problems could be solved by developing a national language, national education, national literature, etc. Within the atmosphere of this period, the differentiation between "the community and existing literature" and "the community and existing formal language" was considered a "sui generis"

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[84] Ertop, Konur (1985), "Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Dil Sadeleşmesi", (Language Reform From Tanzimat Period to Republican Era), *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 10: 334.
[85] Karal, (1985), p.315.

situation under imperial conditions. However, it was dominantly believed that development of the concept of "nation" –as the case in the Western world- would fill the gap between the Western world and the Empire which was gradually loosing power against the West.

With the promulgation of Ottoman Constitution in 1876, known as the first constitution of Ottoman Empire, the issue of language started to gain a nationalist meaning. First Constitutional Monarchy was promulgated and National Assembly was opened. The effect of nationalism movement became more apparent with the promulgation of Constitutional Monarchy. Turkish unions and Turkish associations were started to be established and Turkish periodicals were started to be published. Pure Turkish Language became widespread. With the establishment of the National Assembly, the issue of language to be used by the members of the parliament from different ethnic origins was brought into the agenda. As per Article 18 of the Constitution, Turkish language was accepted as the official language of the state and adoption of Turkish language was stipulated as a prerequisite to take a public office.[87] With the enactment of the Constitution, Turkish entered into the official agenda. At this point, thoughts of the philosophers of the period on Turkish Language and the course of its development will be discussed;

Namık Kemal: A member of Young Ottomans movement and a noted nationalist author who produced significant works in new literary fields such as theatre and played an influential role in the intellectual life of the period.

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[86] Ertop, (1985), p.335.
[87] Ibid, p.337.

He supported that the Turkish language purified from Arabic and Persian words should be used in many areas including newspapers, journals and laws; that the words not used in colloquial language should be discarded from dictionaries to eliminate the artificial language and that the language is one of the prerequisites for being a nation. He made the following expression on this issue;

> We are so deprived of the contributions of our literature to the national relationships that the Turkish language has not even succeeded in making the public forget the Albanian Language and the Laz Language that do not have even an alphabet. [88]

Nevertheless, Namık Kemal used many Arabic and Persian words in his works.

Ziya Gökalp: A member of Committee of Union and Progress and an intellectual who played an influential role in the field of literature and in political life and who worked on nationalism.

He thought that Arabic and Persian words used by the public should be retained in language and that language unity should be ensured between the state and the public. He asserted that the basis of this common language should be founded on the colloquial language used in Istanbul.

Şemsettin Sami: An author and a lexicographer to have taken charge in several tasks in the Ottoman Empire.

Born into an Albanian family, Şemsettin Sami designed an Albanian Alphabet consisting of Latin letters. He conducted studies for the purification of

Turkish Language. He also prepared the first Turkish dictionary on this issue in his work called "*Kamus-i Türki*".

Below given verses by Kemal Paşazade Said explain the style of Namık Kemal and other authors of the period.

> "Let those who want Arabic, go to Urban.
> Let those who want Farsi, go to Iran.
> Let the Europeans go to Europe.
> We are Turks, we need Turkish."

As it can be observed on the term's intelligentsia's thoughts, there was not a compromise on language issue. Although term's intelligentsia has different intellectual standings, the nationalist emphasis is one of the rare common grounds. At the poem above the extreme wishes on the way of creating pure, cleaned foreign effects, national region is sharply expressed.

One of the primary objectives of 1860s was to publish journals in colloquial language. For this purpose, the Review of Sciences (*Mecmua-i Fünun*) Journal and *Muhbir* Journal were issued in 1862.

3.3. THE ALPHABET REFORM

The State of the Republic of Turkey, having an 85-year history, was founded on the basis of a paradigm resting upon a new state and a unified nation. The new nation state established on the basis of the survived heritages of a large and exhausted empire carried on its activities sometimes by breaking and sometimes by ignoring all its connections with the past, especially in the first years of its

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[88] Sevük , (1949), pp.13-14.

foundation. Imagine a state that held off all intruders from its territories after the First World War, but that only had Anatolia as the remaining piece of land from a large empire. Turkish War of Independence conducted under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal granted Turkish people the pride of founding an independent state without bowing to any nation. However, post-war situation was not so promising. Severity of the economic problems of the people who had experienced the state of war for long years as their daily lives reached a serious level. Furthermore, Turkey also rapidly entered into the process of establishing a nation state identified as "imagined communities" by B. Anderson. The Republic of Turkey that adopted the slogan of "raising Turkey to the level of contemporary civilization" initiated activities for a new nation and a new history. Face of the targeted contemporary civilization was directed solely towards the West. Therefore, upon the establishment of Republic, a series of revolutions were realized under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. The Alphabet Reform was also a part of these revolutions.

Language has never been handled as only a language issue in Turkey. The language has never been evaluated regardless of political processes neither in the period when the alphabet reform called language reform was realized nor in today's Turkey where the revolutions are still discussed. In fact, this is not valid only for "language".

In many resources, the language reform is described as a transition from Arabic Alphabet to Latin Alphabet. However, in this article, the language reform will be handled in three stages: discussions on alphabet in pre-Republican period, the

alphabet reform, purifying language (Öztürkçe) reform movements and the Sun Language Theory.

The issue of alphabet reform was brought into agenda in different periods. However, the number of proposals regarding this issue increased considerably after the promulgation of the Republic. Prior to the promulgation of the Republic, Münif Pasha put forward some suggestions. One of these suggestions was the advent of five new phonetics required for Turkish phonetics and the use of full punctuation. In 1863, Feth Ali Ahundzade, an Azerbaijani script writer, offered a series of proposals on alphabet to the Ottoman Empire. However, these proposals were rejected by the Ottoman Association of Science guided by the Grand Vizier. [89]

One of these proposals was submitted by two worker representatives in Izmir Economic Congress of 1923 to Kazım Karabekir Pasha, a commander of the Turkish War of Independence, a member of parliament and the chairman of the Congress. Kazım Karabekir rejected this proposal on the grounds that it may hamper the unity in Islam.[90] Şükrü Saraçoğlu was the first member of the parliament who touched upon the issue of Latin Alphabet in Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM). Saraçoğlu got negative reactions for this action and abstained from a vote on this issue. However, based on the proposal offered by Necati Bey -Minister of National Education- in the 78th session of TBMM in May 1923, it was agreed to establish a Language Commission (Dil Encümenliği) to investigate the possibility of integrating

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[89] Lewis, Geoffrey (2007), *Trajik Başarı*, (Tragic Success), translated by Mehmet Fatih Uslu, İstanbul: Paradigma, p.37.
[90] Ibid, p.42.

Latin Alphabet into Turkish language.[91] Language Commission carried out its activities on two bases: alphabet and grammar. In this process, Mustafa Kemal frequently visited the commission and supported its activities. After the members of the Language Commission completed their studies, they offered an alphabet proposal. Once the extent of these alphabet studies reached a satisfactory level, Law No 1353 on "Adoption and Implementation of Turkish Alphabet" was introduced. When the law was approved in the TBMM, Mustafa Kemal was the President, İsmet İnönü was the Prime Minister, and Mustafa Necati was the Minister of National Education.

Gülhane Park is a classic house holder for important events in Turkish history. For instance reforms of Tanzimat period and reorganizations were launched in Gülhane Park and some Janissary revolts in Ottoman Empire were taken start in this Park too. In addition to that Mustafa Kemal declared Alphabet Reform in Gülhane Park on The Republican People's Party's festival. The reminiscence from friends of Ataturk about the first declaration of Alphabet Reform as below:

> Mustafa Kemal wrote something to a notebook of a woman in on 8th August and after he stood up, said;
>
> ….. I am happy and affected. I wrote my feelings on this notebook such as short notes. I want one of you to read this notes.
> A citizen was requested to read notes, when citizen tried to read, Ataturk began to speak again and added;
>
> Citizens, my notes were written in Turkish letters. Your brother tried to read that

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[91] Ibid, p.43.

now and he can do that of course. I wish all of you can learn that in fifteen days.

My friends our harmonious and rich language can show itself with new Turkish

letters.   You have to bring of your head from iron borders of unintelligible letters

and signs which had been covered our language since ages. Regard it as a national duty … When you perform the duty the literacy rate will increase from 10- 20 percent to 80- 90 percent.   …And you must understand this reality. All of the world will witness that Turks, you understand the necessity of Turkish letters. Now I will give my notes that written in new Turkish Letters to my friend.

Then Ataturk gave the notes to deputy of Bolu, Falih Rıfkı Atay, and Atay read notes

slowly. At notes:

…. My observations on Turks are this music, this simple music can't satisfy

Turk's sophisticated spirit and feelings.[92]

One of the drastic reasons of the objections to Arabic Alphabet is the low

literacy range in country as it mentioned in the speech of Mustafa Kemal. As the

general discourse in the world at the beginnings of 20th century modernization

connotes secularization and scientification in a positive sense which is thought begin

with literacy rates. But be literate is limited only to ability of writing and reading in

the founder discourse of new Republic.

After three months the declaration in Gülhane Park, new alphabet become a

law at TBMM. Although Mustafa Kemal did not accept any delay about Language

Revolution, why did he wait three months after the declaration? Geoffrey Lewis

points out Enver Alphabet.[93] Enver Pasha is an Ottoman general who had tried to

establish a new alphabet n 1913 at Ottoman military during World War I. But the

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[92] Lewis, Bernard (1961), *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, NewYork: Oxford University Pres, p.278.
[93] Lewis, (2007), p.39.

result was far and far away from success. In the first step this new writing system aimed to create an easier telegraphic communication. But then it was enlarged till ministerial correspondences. Before I. World War finished, Enver Pasha writing system was abandoned. Mustafa Kemal was against to alphabet chancing works while war was continuing. He claims Atatürk did not want to experience the same destiny with Enver Pasha Alphabet for Latin alphabet. [94]

It is possible to understand at reminiscence of Falih Rıfkı Atay; how Mustafa Kemal is adamant on and impatient for delays of Alphabet Reform.

> I had told pasha:
>
>> There are two plans, first one is fifteen-year long term and second one is five-year
>> short term proposals. Depending on proposers, in the first years of the plan two
>> alphabets will be thought together. Newspapers will day by day enlarge new written
>> parts in their columns.
>
> Pasha stared at me and then said:
>
>> This reform either succeeded in three months or ever not.
>
> Although I am a radical reformist, I gaped to Pasha. Then he continued:
>
>> My child, ever if there is a half column written in old alphabet at newspapers, people would read it. Sure. And if by the time a war, a crisis, a misfortune occurs; our alphabet will share the same end with Enver's alphabet.[95]

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[94] Ibid, p.50.

[95] Atay, Falih Rıfkı (1969), *Çankaya V*, İstanbul: Doğan Kardeş, p.440.

Erik Zürcher describes the period which had take place after the declaration of Latin Alphabet, such as an "alphabet mobilization"[96]. Mustafa Kemal traveled around all Turkey in order to display new scripts and to urge people learn new Alphabet as soon as possible. "On 1 November a law was passed which made the use of the new alphabet in public communications compulsory from 1 January 1929."[97]

3.4. THE PURIFYING MOVEMENT ON LANGUAGE

The Alphabet Reform is only one of the revolutions introduced by Mustafa Kemal. As previously stated, it is not an issue merely concerning language. It is considered as a further step taken towards westernization and modernization.

Ottoman Empire turned its face towards the West as of the reign of II. Mahmut and this process gained speed with the promulgation of Tanzimat. However, the process of westernization turned into a state ideology upon the foundation of the Republic. It is possible to observe this situation in the reforms undertaken. West was taken as basis or as reference in many reforms accomplished in areas such as the units of measure, calendar, clothing, and music.

Erik Zürcher who is a historian examined Turkish Modernity process closely, states that as the other reforms in the first years of new Republic, by the transformation of Alphabet, it is expected a decline in the relations with East and to gain even closer relations West.

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[96] Zürcher, Erik J. (1998), *Turkey: A Modern History*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., p.197.
[97] Ibid, p.197.

> While there was good rational arguments fort the change, the reason it was pushed through so energetically by Mustafa Kemal and his followers was undoubtedly ideological: it was yet another way to cut off Turkish society from its Ottoman and Middle Eastern Islamic traditions and to reorientate it to west.[98]

It is a fact that language revolution should be examined in the context of its term and other reforms. The public sphere which determined such as the shrene's of the modern society by Jurgen Habermas, was an important actor in the establishment process of new Republic because at the end of the reform process to it is aimed to gain "the contemporary civilization level" which refered to an altered outward of existing society to Western one. It would be clearer if a reform is imagined respectively. After two years of establishment of Republic in 1925 wearing fez was banned and wearing hat became compulsory for men in public sphere by the government. Wearing shorts and doing gymnastics displays were obliged for female students. In 1926 calendar and clock system were changed from Islamic to Gregorian in other words "from Oriental into Occidental"[99] one. In 1926 the education and in 1934 singing and broadcasting of Turkish Music were banned. Because it was one of the aims of new Republic to rebuilt music discourse by the way Turkish Music's monadic structure through polyphonic Western Music structure.

Bernard Lewis comments in his book *The Emergence of Modern Turkey,* reforms of new Republic such as steps to create a new structure which is modern and secular and apart from Islamic influences.

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[98] Ibid, p.197.
[99] Özyürek, Esra (ed.) (2007), *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, New York: Syracuse University Pres, p.5.

> The disestablishment of Islam was completed and Turkey was now, legally constitutionally, a lay state, secular and modern. But there remained one symbol, potent and universal, that bound her to the Orient and set her apart from the Western community of nations- Arabic script. It was the final badge of Muslim identity.[100]

To achieve the goal of new Republic; "raising level of modern civilization" which shown by Mustafa Kemal; reforms accomplished step by step. In a dialogue between Mustafa Kemal and a Bulgarian Turcologist named Manalof, Mustafa Kemal stated that "We should abolish the existing alphabet that constitutes an obstacle before our admission to the Western Civilization and should harmonize with the West in every aspect of daily life including clothing".[101] He ended his statement with the sentence "Be sure that we will accomplish these one day". In this dialog, it is clearly seen that Mustafa Kemal considers the alphabet reform as a necessity for the construction of a westernized community. Many obstacles on the way to being a westernized society may be associated with the Ottoman Empire and its institutions. For example; when Hüseyin Cahit, an author who took place in the press of his time with his literary works and who was a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, asked in 1922 to Mustafa Kemal the reason why the Latin Alphabet was not introduced and Mustafa Kemal answered "not yet".[102] As stated by G. Lewis, Mustafa Kemal planned Alphabet Reform for quite a long time. However, some more time was required for the realization of this reform on the grounds that there existed about 50 Muslim preachers, 8 sheikhs and 5 clan leaders among the members of the First Period Assembly. [103]

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[100] Lewis, (1961), p.271.
[101] Sevük, (1949), p.11.
[102] Lewis, (2007), p.42.
[103] Lewis, (2007), p.42.

After the alphabet reform was accomplished, the Society for Research on Turkish History (*Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti*) was founded on April 12, 1931 and the Society for Research on Turkish Language (*Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti*) on July 12, 1932. Society for Research on Turkish Language was renamed as the Institute for Research of Turkish Language in the Congress held in 1934, and renamed as Turkish Language Association (TDK) in the Congress held in 1936. Main reason of these name changes was associated with the contradiction between the name and the function of the institution: the fundamental task of the institution was to develop Turkish-origin words, however, and the terms "*Tetkik*" and "*Cemiyet*" were of Arabic origin. Society for Research on Turkish Language also underwent the same process and was renamed as Turkish Historical Society.

These institutions, which conducted researches on Turkish history and language, worked as a "thesis" production center in their first years. These theses include previously researched subjects related to existing territories and culture. The study called Turkish History Thesis conducted by Turkish Historical Society was started to be developed in 1930s with the support of Mustafa Kemal. In this article, only the general information will be given on Turkish History Thesis which is regarded an important example of intellectual trends of the period and the Thesis will not be described in detail. In "Turkish History Thesis", "Turkish" concept is used on race rather than nation basis. Main theme of the thesis is the idea that many civilizations in the world have been established by Turks. The book named *Outlines of Turkish History* and prepared at the end of Turkish History Thesis studies is of

importance due to the fact that it demonstrates the history perception of the concerned period. The book was printed only in 100 copies. Although the book has 650 pages, only 50 pages are devoted to the Ottoman Empire. The remaining pages include information on such states as Sumerians and Hittites, which are reported to be "Turkish states".[104] As understood herein, multinational Ottoman Empire is skipped and the New Republic of Turkey tries to establish a new historical past.

It is seen that a majority of the communiqués proposed in the First Historical Congress were based on the approach described above. Proposed Turkish history theses have tried to be supported by such sciences as anthropology, biology, and archeology as well. It is not surprising to see that the same route has also been followed for "language". A few years after the introduction of Turkish History Thesis, "Sun Language Theory" would emerge. However, prior to touching on the issue of "Sun Language Theory", the studies regarding the language reform and the Pure Turkish Language will be handled in detail.

Turkish Language Association initiated the process of purification after its foundation. The association aimed to find Turkish equivalents particularly for Ottoman and French words. Due to the studies carried out in the association on this issue, the members of the institution were called as the supporters of Pure Turkish Language (Öztürkçeci) or the proponents of purification process (Tasfiyeci). Then, these studies were not limited to the terms and were expanded to include the studies made to find equivalents for all words used in daily life, invent or devise new words to this end. Until 1935, attempts were made to find Turkish equivalents for Arabic or

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[104] Belge, (1985), p.2600.

Persian origin words in Ottoman Turkish Language in the field of science and in colloquial language used by citizens (public).

Turkish Language Association rested its studies upon two fundamental tasks. These are stated in the Association Regulation as "to demonstrate the pure beauty and richness of Turkish Language and to raise it to the level it deserves". İsmail Sevük who is a colder friend of Mustafa Kemal, a literary historian, defines the functions of the Turkish Language Association as follows:

> Turkish Language Association conducts its activities in two ways. The first one is to purify the language. Therefore, we call those attempting to purify the language as the proponents of purification process. The second one is to revitalize a-thousand-year obsolete words as they are considered as "Pure Turkish Words" or to create new words to fill the gap created by purification. Therefore, those attempting to revitalize obsolete words may also be called as "the supporters of compulsory purification of Turkish Language.[105]

The first three Congresses held by Turkish Language Association are of high importance in terms of the consequences of the above-mentioned approaches. The First Turkish Linguistic Congress was held in Dolmabahçe Palace in September 1932. The fact that the Congress was held in presence of Mustafa Kemal and attracted considerable interest from press enabled the meeting to be perceived as a national event.[106] The decisions taken at the end of the Congress are given below:

- To compile and publish existing Turkish words in old or new texts in colloquial language;

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[105] Sevük, (1949), pp.63-64.
[106] Heyd, Uriel (2001), *Türkiye'de Dil Devrimi*, (Language Revolution in Turkey), translated by Nejlet Öztürk, İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat, p.25.

- To determine the principles of neologism in Turkish language and to derive corresponding words from Turkish roots;

- To propose and popularize pure Turkish words that will replace foreign-origin words frequently used in literary language." [107]

The authorities took immediate action within this context. They decided to establish a language committee in each province and to appoint the governor as the head of the committee. Furthermore, they aimed to compile words in colloquial language by establishing "Word Compiling Centers", (Derleme Merkezleri) in each district and assigned senior public officials to these centers. With a Cabinet Decree, word compiling process realized all across the country was called "statement compiling mobilization". [108] Around a year later, approximately 125.988 forms were collected as a result of the mentioned mobilization and 35.357 words from the evaluated forms were regarded as applicable.

Another study conducted in the statement compiling process was based on the activity of asking people to propose equivalents for existing Arabic and Persian words by means of questionnaires published in newspapers. "However, this implementation was not so productive. Total number of words published in daily lists was only 1382. Only 640 of the new words proposed as a substitute for old ones were accepted." [109] In addition to these activities, the works written in different dialects of Turkish language were reviewed in order to detect the words that might be

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[107] Ibid, p.25.
[108] Lewis, (2007), p.66.
[109] Ibid, p.67.

revitalized. All compiled words were published in *Tarama* Journal. The number of words compiled through this method was about 90.000. In 1934, equivalents in Tatar language and some words used in a certain district were published in Tarama Journal for the existing Arabic and Persian-origin words used in colloquial or science language. To clarify the point reached, a memory depicted in the book by Geoffrey Lewis has been quoted:

Agop Dilaçar recounts his visit to Necmettin Sadak, the chief editor of Akşam Newspaper, in 1934.

> He wrote his editorial for *Sadak* Newspaper. It was in Ottoman Language. He rang the bell, gave his article to the janitor and told him to take it to substitutor. The substitutor in the opposite room opened the first page of *Tarama* Journal and substituted Turkish equivalents for the Ottoman words without even considering the syntax. Another substitutor in the Office of another newspaper may have chosen different Turkish equivalents for the same Ottoman words. [110]

When the archives and the proceedings of the board of directors of Turkish Language Association are examined, it may be stated that the Association strove for finding equivalents for each word. Agop Dilaçar, a member of Turkish Language Association, stated that 26 pure Turkish equivalents can be found just for the term "intelligence". [111]

Attempts for finding equivalents in Pure Turkish Language for each Arabic or Persian word in Ottoman Language were reflected in the proceedings as well. Word compiling studies were continued on one hand and the same method was started to be applied for many words and terms in parallel with the Turkish History

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[110]Ibid, p.68.

Thesis asserting that many civilizations are of Turkish origin on the other hand. Some examples for these confusions are as follows: In the First Linguistic Congress, Samih Rıfat claimed in his article titled "Relationships between Turkish Language and Other Languages" that the origin of the western word "academy" is derived from the Turkish words 'ak' (white) and 'adam' (man); Yusuf Ziya Özer, MP of Eskişehir Province, argued that the word "Aphrodite" is derived from the Turkish word 'avrat' (wife),[112] and he also asserted that the word "Pharaoh" is not of Arabic origin but it is derived from the Turkish word 'burun' (nose). [113] Yusuf Ziya Ömer stated that the root of the word "Pharaoh" is based on the Turkish word 'burun' (nose) on the grounds that the nose is a leading organ and the Pharaoh is also a leading emperor.

The speech by Mustafa Kemal in the dinner given for the honor of the crown prince of Sweden clearly reveals the extent of the activities for the purification of Turkish Language.

Altes Ruvayal,

Bu gece, konuklarımıza, Türkiye'ye uğur getirdiklerini söylerken, duygum, özgü bir kıvançtır. Burada kaldığınız uzca sizi sarmaktan hiç durmıyacak ılık sevgi içinde, bu yurtta, yurdunuz için beslenmiş duyguların bir yankusunu bulacaksınız. İsveç, Türk uluslarının kazanmış oldukları utkuların silinmez damgalarını tarih taşımaktadır. Süerdemliği, onu, bu iki ulus, ünlü, sanlı özlerinin derinliğinde sonsuz tutmaktadır. Ancak, daha başka bir alanda da onlar erdemlerini o denlü yaltırıklı yöndemle göstermişlerdir. Bu yolda kazandıkları utkular, gerçekten daha az özence değer değildir. Avrupa'nın iki bitim ucunda yerlerini berkiten uluslarımız, ataç özlüklerinin tüm ıssıları olarak baysak, önürme, uygunluk kıldacıları olmuş bulunuyorlar; onlar, bugün, en güzel utkuyu kazanmıya anıklanıyorlar: baysal utkusu.

[111] Korkmaz, Zeynep, (1992), *Atatürk ve Türk Dili Belgeler,* Ankara: TDK Yayınları, p.363.

[112] Lewis, (2007), p.64.

[113] Ibid, pp.64-65.

Altes Ruvayâl;

> Yetmiş beşinci doğum yılında babanız bütün acunda saygılı bir sevginin söyüncü ile çevrelendi. Genlik, baysal, içinde erksürmenin gücü işte bundadır. Ünlü babanız yüksek kralınız Beşinci Gustav'in gönenci için en ısı dileklerimi sunarken, Altes Ruvayâl sizin, Altes Ruvayâl Prenses Luiz'in, sevimli kızınız **Altes** Ruvayâl Prenses İngrid'in esenliğine; tüzün İsveç ulusunun gönencine, genliğine içiyorum.[114]

The underlined words in this text are among new words created as a result of the studies for the purification of Turkish Language. It is clearly seen that the speech by Mustafa Kemal could be understood neither by the author of this article nor by today's young generation unless the meanings of the pure Turkish words are given in modern Turkish language. The author of the book from which this article was quoted gave the modern Turkish equivalents of Pure Turkish words in an enclosed small dictionary. [115]

3.5. SUN LANGUAGE THEORY

The Öztürkçe movement began to pose problems and confusion in social life after a while time. One of the reasons of that is only a few Öztürkçe words were adopted by society into daily language. In addition to that the communication function of language and words were marginalized and creating words worked as if it was a way of "ingratiating themselves with statesmen."[116] Geoffrey Lewis summed up this situation obviously such as "In Turkey for a while time Babel Tower[117] was built."[118] Babil Tower because Öztürkçe movement created a new language. Could not purify Turkish from Arabic and Persian roots and moreover could not replace

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[114] Levend, A. Sırrı (1960), *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri*, Ankara: TDK, pp.424-435.
[115] Ibid, pp.424 -426.
[116] Belge, (1985), p.2600.
[117] Tower of Babel is a narrative which is belived the genesis of origins of nations and languages.

logical and practical foreign technical terms with Turkish ones. It was a failure. And still in the beginnings of 21ˢᵗ century, it is not possible to read and understand the books which was written in and translated from foreign to Turkish with Öztürkçe words.

Mustafa Kemal was aware of the general situation in 1935. At the reminiscences of Falih Rıfkı Atay, Mustafa Kemal interprets the circumstances as;

> "We brought language to a deadlock. Is it possible to give up? No. We will rescue language." And Falif Rıfkı Atay adds "Mustafa Kemal aimed to leave much more words in Turkish and also wanted to explain that the words are already Turkish."[119]

According to Turcologist Brent Brendemoen "There are strong indications that Atatürk was not entirely happy with about the lists of proposed replacements for the Arabic and Persian words published by the TDK."[120] In 1935 Mustafa Kemal read the text draft of Dr Hermann F. Kvergić who is the deviser of Sun Language Theory which includes an analogy between sun and the creation of language.

> "The theme was that man first realized his own identity when he conceived the idea of establishing what the external objections surrounding him were. Language first consisted of gestures, to which some significant sounds were then added. Kvergić saw evidence for his view in the Turkish pronouns. [The theory] saw the beginning of language as the moment when primitive man looked up at the sun and "Aaa!(ağ). That vocable, ağ, was the "first-degree radical of the Turkish language". It originally meant sun, then sunlight, warmth, fire, height, bigness, power, god, master, motion, time, distance, life, colour, water, earth, voice." [121]

Mustafa Kemal was affected and invited Dr. Kvergiç to Turkey. And third Linguistic Congress of TDK in 1936 accepted the theory officially and examined it

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[118] Lewis, (2007), p.67.
[119] Korkmaz, Zeynep (1992), *Ataturk ve Türk Dili*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, p.
[120] Brendemoen, Brent (1998), *The Turkic Languages,* in Lars Johanson and Eva A. Csato (eds.), Routledge, p.244

in detail in the order of Mustafa Kemal.[122] The general and crucial imply of the theory is that Turkish is the mother of all languages. As a result of that searching and creating and sometimes fabricating pure Turkish words would be unnecessary because according to theory all word's roots depend upon Turkish. So Sun Language Theory was such a knight in shining armor which saved the language from deadlock.

One of the most criticized subjects of new Turkish Republic's reforms is the Sun Language Theory. Turcologist Uriel Heyd calls the theory as "amazing"[123] and Brendemoen as "ridicule"[124]. There is two different views on Mustafa Kemal's approach to Sun Language Theory. First one is Mustafa Kemal had realized the affairs on Öztürkçe movement and to abate and put in order the works on; he raised the theory as if he really do not accept it. Hereby he would justify both the greatness of Turkish language and unnecessarity of fabricating pure Turkish words. Second one view is that Mustafa Kemal never and ever gave up trying to accomplish aim of the Öztürkçe movement.[125] Regardless of what the real intention of Mustafa Kemal is, Öztükçe movement suddenly decreased after third Linguistic Congress of TDK.[126]

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[121] Lewis, (2007), pp.77-78.
[122] Zürcher, (2003), p.198.
[123] Lewis, (2007), p.79.
[124] Brendemoen, (1998), p.244.
[125] Lewis, (2007), pp.80-86
[126] Heyd, (1954), pp.42-45

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this study it is supposed to find a Turkish collective memory which is weak, which does "not remember", moreover which aims to "forget". The Turkish Republic was established both on wreckages of an old, tired and collapsed Empire but also established on a heritage of an Empire which governed expanded regions on three continents for ages and prevailed as a cultural system both in ordinary daily practices and in special parts of its citizen's lifes. Therefore the new Republic chose to ignore the past totally. A blueprint for the aimed target which can be summarized best in the Mustafa Kemal's saying, "Raise to the level of contemporary civilizations". The contemporary civilization level implies s Occidental in every meaning. It is granted when have a look on reforms resting upon secular, national and defined within not Oriental but also Occidental labels. Reforms which can be named revolutionary because of their strict structure which is administered by state are intensified on outwards in social life.

In the first decades of the 20th century, modernity was ascendant in every aspect. Hence the new Republic of Turkey began to change its vision, first in secularization of the state (abolition of sultanate and caliphate) and then immediately secularization of the public sphere and components of it, in other words, to make the citizens of a new Turkey. A new dress which contains a huge part of life from dressing, calendar, and education to clocks was sewed up. And Alphabet Reform and its big brother, Language Revolution, was the most effective and severe parts of the modernization process.

The main reason for alphabet change is indicated under the literacy rates. And the main reason for Language revolution which took place within purifying and fabricating different words is indicated on a national language target and a language which is purged from Arabic and Persian effects in other words purged from Islamic implies and Islamic signs.

About forty years after Language Revolution, in 1960s, *Nutuk*[127] had to be simplified into contemporary Turkish. What can be results of the change in a language in such a short period or the difficulties for new generations to understand a text written only forty years ago?

For instance the Arabic rooted word *Mektep* (school), transformed to *okul* within the purification process. If it is aimed to transform me**ktep**, you have to transform; **kita**p (book), **kati**p **(**writer, amanuensis), **kütü**p**hane (library), me**ktup.** The reasons of that, words are produced by consonants in Arabic grammar. Not only for grammatical reasons, but also for the historical position of words, interferences to language destroy meanings, implications, and historicity. Another example from TDK archives, ***Alim*** refers to both scholar and intellectual in Turkish, was transformed to *Bilgin*, and ***ilmi*** to *biliklik*, ***ilim*** to *bilgi.[128]* Some words are lights of culture, signs of daily practices and substantive for belongingness's. *Alim* was used for ages. *Alim* was no more Arabic or word, *Alim* covers the history and connotes mu**all**im (teacher), ta**lim** (study), ila**m** (estimation) and more.

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[127] Mustafa Kemal gave a 36-hour speech in TBMM which is about the events which took place in Turkey from 1919 to 1927. Then speech was published in the name of "Nutuk".
[128] *TDK Minute Books,* (1933), list of 39: 475th word, in electronic archives
 http://www.tdkkitaplik.org.tr/kararlar.asp?yl=1933, (4.01.2009)

According to Benjamin Whorf the structure of language in the aspects of both grammar and words defines the imagination of people and shapes the world view of people. Whorf insistently underlines that a change in language can transform the appreciation of Cosmos because words always implies. Words con not cover one to one the real world, but they can connote and imply. If *a word* is annihilated by external forces, this will cause not only *the thing* 's annihilation which covered by the word but also the other words which implied by *the word.*

The meaning of words is constructed collectively by society, and all of them are used, experienced collectively too. On the contrary words of Turkish language, after Language Revolution did not constructed by society, they were produced, fabricated. And the process of producing did not take place by whole of the citizens. New words of Turkish were deprived of time and space appreciation.

At this point it is necessary to remember Halbwachs concepts how the collective milieu is used to explain how collective memory is constituted. Halbwachs, Connerton and Assmann underline that collective milieu upon social frames through a determined space and a determined time. In Turkey, social frames which are crucial for collective memory were changed, transformed and split.

The relation of new generation of Republic with past was cut off because of alphabet change, books written in the Arabic alphabet, because of transformed words, they can not understand easily their grandparents and all written sources without simplified. The existed people of new Republic's face was through future, they had already known past which was full of failures the closer periods to them, they did not need to remember past and also New Republic did not allow to remember. Turkish Republic was established on secular and national components

and tried to achieve that by erasing the existed, established history, language, laws, dress and also free days of week as a result of that social frames were altered. Therefore new generations were memorized, languaged and historied, imagined differently. This brought breaks, gaps between generations. The gaps do not mean weakness. The gaps in language, history imaginations cause continuity problem on collective memory.

It is clear to observe the conflict of continuity on collective memory, in the social life of 21st century Turkey. The once ignored and denied Ottoman Empire gives inspiratic to contemporary and *modern* designers, Ottoman Foods bring privilege to restaurants, oral history studies were occurs through closer historical periods, remembrance books become best sellers. And further more the first Turkish author took the Nobel prize by a remembrance book called *İstanbul: Memories and the City*.

It is clear to say there is a problem between Turkish society and collective memory, but it is not as simple as calling it weakness, it would be so cursory. Turkish collective memory is not weak but broken. The main issue is that in collective memory of Turkey.

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