# A QUANTITATIVE SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LEXICAL VARIATION IN TURKISH

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## ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| abil | : | abilitative |
| abl | : | ablative |
| acc | : | accusative |
| aor | : | aorist |
| dat | : | dative |
| DO | : | direct object |
| fut | : | future |
| gen | : | genitive |
| H | : | head (of a phrase) |
| inf | : | infinitive |
| IO | : | indirect object |
| loc | : | locative |
| M | : | modifier |
| N | : | noun |
| neg | : | negative |
| nomz | : | nominalization |
| NP | : | noun phrase |
| O | : | object (direct object) |
| pass | : | passive |
| (p) pl | : | plural |
| poss | : | possessive |
| prog | : | progressive |
| (past) pst | : | past |
| rec | : | reciprocal |
| S | : | subject (transitive and intransitive) |
| (s) sg | : | singular |
| V(P) | : | verb (phrase) |
| VN | : | verbal noun |
| 1 | : | first person |
| 2 | : | second person |
| 3 | : | third person |

## SUMMARY

This thesis studies sociolinguistic and semantic issues involved in lexical variation in Turkish, which has been the result of a linguistic policy; after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, change in the lexicon of Turkish (replacing Arabic and Persian words with Turkish ones) has been substantial, reflecting the political and cultural needs of the new state. The purification policy adopted then had, and still has, a great impact across social layers. Most neologisms suggested gained acceptance of usage as alternatives for established Arabo-Persian vocabulary, creating a lexical variation. A parallel development has been taking place in the form of borrowing from European languages following intensive political and cultural contact with the Western nations. Thus, coupled with the introduction of neologisms, a broad lexical variation base has been produced. This study investigates the impact of these developments on speakers living in Turkey in an attempt to reveal the usage patterns of the variants, prestige factors, language attitudes of speakers towards the variants as well as examining the social and stylistic usage of these lexical variants by speakers of various groups. Being a quantitative study, it makes use of socio-demographic factors such as sex, education, and age. Labovian (1966) sociolinguistic variable methods of describing linguistic variation were adopted for the analysis of the data. Furthermore, this thesis is also an attempt to discover semantic changes which may have occurred in the process of lexical variation; the Prototype theory was employed in the definitions of lexical items under investigation. As to the language attitudes, semantic differential technique, as developed by Osgood (1952), is adopted to reveal the language attitudes of speakers towards the lexical items. A survey was conducted on more than one hundred subjects, mainly through a questionnaire.

## STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other institution.

All procedures in the execution of the field research reported in this thesis were approved by the Human Ethics Committee of La Trobe University on 21.4.1994/No:7.

15.12.1995

Mehmet ÇELİK



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In memory of my father, Ömer

# INTRODUCTION

## 0.1 Background

This thesis studies sociolinguistic and semantic issues involved in lexical variation in Turkish. Serious interest in these issues appears to have been neglected in Turkish linguistics. There has been no quantitative documentation of the trend of acceptance of lexical variation caused by neologisms on the one hand and synonymic loanwords on the other, nor of the possible semantic changes resulting from interaction with the competing lexical items. Studies have been carried out to find out the percentages of native words and loanwords, but have concentrated only on the written material, primarily newspapers (İmer, 1973; Aksan, 1977). Political and cultural implications of the use of the neologism over traditional words or vice versa have been noted (Heyd, 1954; Steuerwald, 1963; Tachau, 1964; Tietze, 1967; Hazai, 1970; Tevrüz, 1975; Mirci, 1976; Lewis, 1981; Korkmaz, 1985; Brendemoen, 1990). One quantitative politico-linguistic study, Cüceloğlu & Slobin (1980), concentrated on linguistic styles associated with political tendencies. Cüceloğlu & Slobin (1980) found that speakers surveyed formed clear-cut attitudes toward the purported writers of two texts in terms of the writers' political, cultural, and religious preferences. Semantic changes, the most significant effect expected to take place following the introduction of both neologisms and synonymous loanwords, have not been studied previously.

Lexical variation in Turkish has been the result of a deliberate linguistic policy; soon after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, change in the lexicon of Turkish (replacing Arabic and Persian words with Turkish ones) has been substantial along with the replacement of Arabic script with a Roman script in 1928, reflecting the political and cultural needs of the

new state. The purification policy adopted then had, and still has, a great impact across social layers causing lengthy linguistic debates about the useability of the new terms. However, most neologisms gained acceptance of usage as alternatives for established Arabo-Persian vocabulary, creating a lexical variation. A parallel development has been taking place in the form of borrowing; beginning in the 1940s, loanwords from European languages have begun to enter Turkish *en masse* as a result of intensive political and cultural contact with the Western nations (primarily France, Germany, England, and the United States). At the time of entry, some of these loanwords were 'synonymic' loans, which functioned as variants to either established Arabo-Persian words or neologisms. Thus, coupled with the introduction of neologisms, a broad lexical variation base has been produced.

The notion of synonymy is generally mentioned in connection with cases of lexical variation; two (or more) lexical items may at times be interchangeably used either in certain contexts or all contexts. In Turkish linguistics, the kind of lexical variation described above is seen as a case of synonymy in that speakers (are believed to) 'say the same thing' by employing either of the lexical items. The main focus of the study rests with the semantic issues generated in the interaction process of the lexical variants - neologisms vs traditional, loanword vs traditional. Contrary to assumptions (Aksan, 1977; Aksoy, 1968; Cüceloğlu & Slobin, 1980) that virtually no semantic change, or even rearrangement has taken place in these competing variants, I hold the view that it is highly likely for semantic shifts to have taken place in that lexical variation is 'embedded' in the social setting and behaviour (Labov, 1972d:123): linguistic change presupposes linguistic variation. Also, as Bram (1955:27) notes, every change in beliefs, attitudes, or social institutions affects words and their meanings in numerous ways. In this vein, euphemistic and dysphemistic

tendencies surface. Obviously enough, the lexical variants receive positive or negative connotations in the interaction process. I argue that one of the factors that appears to be effective in altering the semantic (referential) range of the lexical variants is these favouring and disfavouring tendencies. Thus, semantic differentiation occurs very frequently in such cases.

**0.2 Objectives**

This thesis attempts to reveal the usage patterns of the variants, prestige factors, language attitudes of speakers towards the variants as well as examining the social and stylistic usage of these lexical variants by speakers of various groups. Being a quantitative study, it makes use of socio-demographic factors such as sex, education, and age. Furthermore, this thesis is also an attempt to map out some of the major parameters to be taken into account when studying semantic change by reviewing past and current approaches to the issue of meaning as part of the major goal of discovering semantic changes which occur in the process of lexical variation in contemporary Turkish.

The main objectives of this study - a sociolinguistic analysis of the use, comprehension, and evaluation of a selected vocabulary by a sample of Turkish speakers living in Turkey - are;

a) to ascertain the extent to which various socio-demographic factors determine the choice of lexical variants (traditional vs. neologisms - traditional vs. loanwords),

b) to discover semantic shifts in the lexical items which are assumed to be denotationally the same, thereby contributing to the knowledge of semantic change,

c) to discover how lexical variants under investigation are socio-psychologically perceived.

This study sets out to provide answers for the following specific questions:

1) Which particular groups of speakers (sex, age, education) have high frequency pattern of use of neologisms and loanwords?
2) What is the attitude of particular groups to neologisms, loans and traditional words?
3) What is the degree of recognition of lexical items under investigation as native or non-native?
4) Is there a semantic motivation for the choice of lexical variants that reflects a semantic change?
5) If there is a semantic motivation, what are the common characteristics of semantic alterations?

**0.3 Hypotheses**

1) High frequency of usage as well as approval of both neologisms and loanwords are predicted for those who have a higher education, for those who are female, and for those who are young. Therefore, neologisms and loanwords would be social differentiators.
2) Those lexical items which entered Turkish recently (neologisms and loanwords) would be regarded as more formal, elegant, urban, and complicated than their traditional counterparts.
3) Loanwords would be ranked as nonnative by the majority of the subjects, in particular by those who have a higher educational background. The traditional words, most of which are established Arabic and Persian loanwords, would be ranked as native more than non-native.

4) There is a semantic change brought about by neologisms and loanwords. And as a result, semantic motivation can be observed in the choice of lexical variants by speakers, since the variants are only partially conceptually equivalent.

5) Semantic changes are mainly that kind of change which are called semantic differentiation or semantic specialisation.

**0.4 The Thesis**

The scope of this study can be summarised as follows.

Chapter 1 is concerned with the developments which have led to the present lexical variation situation in Turkish. These developments were initiated by the decline of the Ottoman Empire, problems faced in the application of Arabic orthography, political preferences of the recently founded Turkish Republic, and the linguistic policies of authentification of the vocabulary. I first present the language situation in Turkey, then outline the morphology, syntax, and phonology of Turkish as well as the phonological treatment of loanwords in Turkish. I also present the historical development of Turkish, a dialect of greater Western Turkish. This is followed by a survey of the politico-linguistic policies and practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries so that the linguistic situation under investigation could easily be absorbed by the unfamiliar with this background; one apparent outcome of the language policies has been that speakers are provided with a lexical choice (traditional words vs. neologisms/loanwords). Last of all, the outcome of the implementation and dissemination of the neologisms has been discussed.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on semantics (meaning) and semantic change (meaning change). Various approaches to the question of meaning have been discussed; the following definition of meaning is arrived at:

'meaning' appears to be a relation between a linguistic form and its signification, a relation affected by experiences and mental processing. The causes, directions, and types of semantic change are outlined. It is further argued that the Prototype approach to semantic representation is the best approach to be employed in the definitions of lexical items under investigation. It also includes a discussion of the Labovian (1966) type of sociolinguistic variable method of describing linguistic variation and change for the analysis of data to be collected, followed by a review of studies which were carried out along Labovian methodology and had implications for the present thesis.

Chapter 3 includes the survey design: techniques and methods to collect data. The sampling technique of subjects for the survey is quasi-random; selection of subjects on the basis of specifiable principles based on hypotheses. Format of the questionnaire is discussed. Semantic differential technique is adopted to reveal the language attitudes of speakers towards the lexical items. A discussion follows how independent and dependent variables are selected. The dependent variables consist of twenty lexical pairs, randomly selected; these were also used to build a plot for a story, which is to be elicited in the survey. The independent variables (gender, age, and education) are discussed, and their use in the survey is justified. Lastly, how the sampling procedure was carried out is presented as well as the problems encountered in the survey.

Chapter 4 comprises a description and analysis of the data obtained after the tape-recorded speeches were transcribed and the questionnaires used in the survey were statistically documented and analysed. The description covers the following areas:

a) the findings concerning the subjects' use (reported and actual),

b) the reported semantic differences between the postulated synonymous pairs,

c) over-reporting and under-reporting of linguistic usage,

d) the correlations between independent variables, and

e) the correlations between the dependent and independent variables.

Chapter 5 discusses semantic changes in the pairs under investigation. The majority of the pairs investigated appeared to be semantically different; only three pairs turned out to be semantically equivalent. two types of semantic differentiation observed: 'mild differentiation' and 'strong differentiation'. Mildly differentiated lexical pairs differ significantly in one meaning only in regard to the proportion of the meanings chosen by the subjects. Strongly differentiated pairs are those which differed significantly in more than one meaning. There were five pairs for mild differentiation while there were twelve pairs for strong differentiation.

Chapter 6 describes and analyses the data elicited through the five semantic scales: simple-complicated, spoken-literary, native-nonnative, elegant-rough, and rural-urban. Ten pairs showed significant differentiation for each of the scales simple-complicated and native-nonnative. The scale elegance-rough produced four significant pairs. The scale rural-urban revealed the highest number of pairs (12) for significant differentiation whereas the scale spoken-literary yielded only one pair.

In Chapter 7, a synthesis is made of the results obtained for individual lexical items in Chapter 6. The hypotheses proposed in 0.3 are checked against the data elicited through the five semantic scales and generalisations are made for speaker characteristics. Reference is made to similar sociolinguistic studies in 2.5. Also, comparisons are carried out with the data on actual use in Chapter 4.

The findings of the thesis are summarised in terms of the objectives and hypotheses of this study in Chapter 8. Conclusions reached for language use, language attitude, and semantic change are outlined in reference to the initial theories. Some possible directions for future sociolinguistic research at lexical level are suggested.

There are six appendices. Appendix 1 provides the original Turkish questionnaire and appendix 2 is the English version of it. Appendices 3, 4, and 5 present the tables which summarise the data on actual and reported use, and reported semantic difference. Appendix 6 is the stimulus material used in the elicitation of data on actual use.

# Chapter 1

# LANGUAGE POLICY IN TURKEY

## 1.0 Introduction

The Turkish language has undergone two fundamental developments parallel to other developments in social and political life in the 19th and 20th centuries. First, it has eliminated many of the Arabic and Persian terms and secondly, it has improved in authentification (nativization) of the lexicon as well as embracing French and English influence, particularly in loanwords. After touching on the language situation in Turkey, a short history of Turkish is sketched. Then, the development of Turkish as a national or official language is studied, considering the language policy, planning, and implementation activities. Language policy has usually been in a state of indeterminacy due to problems arising in planning and ever-changing attitudes of various governments. Therefore, language policy has been altered several times and planning has been revised following several periods of evaluation. One major outcome of these linguistic practices has been the emergence of 'lexical variation'. The lexical variation involves the introduction of neologisms (newly coined words) as substitutes for existing traditional lexical items. The main concern of this chapter is to reveal how this variation emerged in contemporary Turkish; I argue that preference for one lexical item over another is not only influenced and determined by socio-psychological factors but also determined by semantic alterations in the meanings of both alternative expressions in the interaction process.

## 1.1 Language Situation in Turkey

Turkish, being the official and national language, is the language of administration, communication and education. The status of Turkish as the

official language is secured in the third article of the Constitution. One major exception is the use of English in some upper class high schools, and in a few universities as the medium of instruction. Although it is difficult to give realistic figures about the number of speakers of indigenous (or otherwise) languages due to the exclusion of mother tongue questions in the last two censuses, ethnic composition figures may offer a near-realistic picture. The population of Turkey was reported to be more than 58 million for 1992 (Britannica 1993 Book of the Year). According to the same source, the proportion of (ethnic) Turkish people is 85.7 per cent. The ethnic composition for 1992, given by Britannica 1993, is as follows:

| Ethnicity | % | Number of People |
|---|---|---|
| Turkish | 85.7 | 50,135,000 |
| Kurdish | 10.6 | 6,200,000 |
| Arabic | 1.6 | 936,000 |
| Circassian | 0.3 | 175,000 |
| Türkmen | 0.3 | 175,000 |
| Georgian | 0.2 | 116,000 |
| Other | 1.3 | 701,000 |
| *Total* | *100* | *58,438,000* |

The latest figures are for 1994 (Britannica 1995 Book of the Year).

| Ethnicity | % | Number of People |
|---|---|---|
| Turkish | 92,0 | 56,288,300 |
| Kurdish | 6.2 | 3,793,400 |
| Arabic | 1.4 | 856,600 |
| Other | 0.4 | 244,700 |
| *Total* | *100* | *61,183,000* |

In addition to the languages above, the following languages are also spoken in Turkey: Greek, Laz, Armenian, Russian, Hebrew, Hungarian, Romanian, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Russian, Albanian, Assyrian,Avar, Andi, Dido, Lak, Dargwa, Lezghian, Turoyo, Surit, Chechen, Azerbaijani, Balkar, Karaçay, Noğay, Tatar, Kumuk, Kazak, Özbek, Karapapah, and Uygur (Boulanger, 1960:xxiii; Andrews, 1989). The largest group, after Turkish speakers, is formed by the speakers of Kurdish, an Indo-Iranian language,

who are densely concentrated near the Iraqi and Iranian borders. Two out of the three Kurdish dialects (Kermanji, Zaza and Gurani) are spoken in Turkey, namely Kermanji and Zaza. The figures for 1994 appear to underenumerate Kurdish and other minority groups.

Although the use of other-than-Turkish-languages has not been officially prohibited (except in official status), it has never been received favourably by either the authorities or zealot republicans, let alone being taught in schools as a second language. Instead French, German and English have been offered as second/foreign languages in secondary and tertiary education. Exception is granted to three language communities (through international treaties), that is Greeks, Jews and Armenians, who have a great deal of autonomy in educational and religious affairs. Under the Ministry of Education these minorities can devise their own curriculum and teach the community language in self-established primary and secondary schools. Each have also had their works freely published in their languages. Apart from these three, it had been unthinkable to publish a work in indigenous languages other than Turkish until the 1990's. The prohibition was broken by the emergence of two newspapers in the Kermanji dialect of Kurdish since 1992.

### 1.2 Dialects of Turkish

There are several dialects of Turkish inside and outside of Turkey. Sizeable groups speak varieties of Turkish in the Balkans (Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Kosovo) and in Mediterranean islands (Cyprus and Crete) including small groups in Syria and Lebanon, where Turkish is used by Armenian populations (Underhill, 1986:8) One significant characteristic of dialects spoken in Turkey is that they show a continuum from the western border to the eastern. While eastern dialects are seen as the nearest to the

main dialect of Azerbaijanii, western dialects carry the flavour of dialects spoken in the Balkans. The dialects spoken in the middle areas bridge the two. The following dialects can easily be identified following Doerfer (1990:14): İstanbul, Middle Anatolian, Urfa-Erzurum-Diyarbakır (U-E-D), Muş-Siirt-Van (M-S-V), and Kars (see Table 1).

Table 1: Some dialect differences within Turkish

| (Gloss) | İstanbul | M. Anatolian | U-E-D | M-S-V. | Kars |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *'door'* | kapı | gapı | gapı | gapı | gapı |
| *'We've come'* | gelmiş-iz | -ik | -ik | -ik | -ik |
| *'You've come'* | gelmiş-sin | -sin/siñ | -sen | -sen | -sen |
| *'I'* | ben | ben | ben | men | men |
| *'the ship'* | gemi-yi | -yi | -yi | -yi | -ni |

The sociolect of Istanbul was developed as the standard national language, and now this is the dialect spoken in major cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir. Literary Turkish is the same throughout the country. Speakers of dialects tend to conform more and more to the features of the standard dialect since it is more prestigious than the other dialects and the preferred dialect in national education.

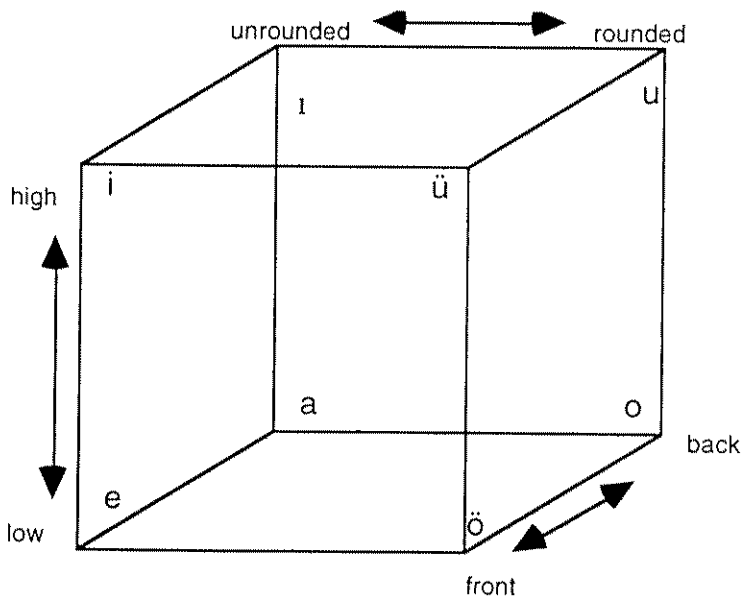
### 1.3 Typological Features

Turkic languages, of which Turkish (of Turkey) is a part, are claimed to belong to the Altaic language group (Menges, 1968). They are spoken in an area ranging from the Balkan peninsula in the west to China in the east and from Northern Afghanistan in the south to the Siberian steppes in the north by many more than one hundred million people; among them are Uighur, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Azeri peoples. Turkish, the subject matter of this study, is the modern form of the Old Anatolian and Old Ottoman from the *Oğuz* branch of Western Turkish (Menges, 1968:60). Turkish is also spoken by small groups in the Balkans (Greece, Bulgaria,

Bosnia, Macedonia) and in some Mediterranean islands (Cyprus and Crete) as well as Syria and Lebanon. Its basic word order is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). As for the relationship with languages spoken in neighbouring areas, Menges (1968: 61) claims that one Turkic language, *Yakut*, from the East Siberian branch, is closer to Mongolian than Manchu-Tungus languages.

### 1.3.1 Phonology

Turkish has eight vowels that are differentiated by three oppositions; front/back, rounded/unrounded, high/low. This can be illustrated by a cube.




Turkish has a distinctive system of vowel harmony, that is, vowels basically agree with preceding vowels in either fronting and rounding in suffixes and normally within stems. Vowel harmony in Turkish is a process of progressive morphophonemic assimilation from one syllable to the next; a left-to right process. The rules are the same for the stems and suffixes:

a) A vowel assimilates to the preceding vowel in fronting. The vowels of the suffixes that are added to a stem having a final front vowel can only alternate among the four front vowels. The same process works for back

vowels. Examples: *okul-un-da mı?* 'Is it at your school?'; *ön-ü-müz-de-ki* 'the one in front of us'

b) Every non-initial high vowel must be identical to the preceding vowel. Examples: *üz-üntü* 'worry', *uzun-luk*, 'length', *iliş-ki* 'relation', *kıs-ıntı* 'restriction'

c) If the initial vowel is rounded, the following vowels are either rounded and high /u, ü/ or unrounded and low /a, e/; that is /o/ and /ö/ occur only in initial syllables of stems (Lewis, 1967:15; Underhill, 1986:10, Kornfilt, 1987:231)

There are a few exceptions to these rules. One of them is the use of progresive morpheme -Iyor (on verb stems), which contains an invariant /o/. Compare *bak-ıyor-um* 'I am looking' and *gel-iyor-um* 'I am coming'. For native stems that do not have vowel harmony, the status of vowels in suffixes is determined by the immediately preceding vowel. Example: *anne-ler* 'mothers' (Underhill, 1986:13). Vowel clusters (long vowels) are not allowed in Turkish. The only exception occurs in colloquial speech when the middle consonant is the voiced velar fricative /ğ/: *oğlan* 'boy' > [o:lan]; *ağaç* 'tree' > [a:tʃ]. Turkish does not have diphthongs. Another feature of the Turkish vowel system is the deletion of middle vowel: when a double syllable word gets a possessive, dative or accusative marker, the second vowel of the stem drops out; *oğul-u* > *oğlu* 'his/her son', *beyin-i* > *beyni* 'his/her brain'. Also in locative expressions with locative markers; *bura-da* > *burda* 'in here', *ora-da* > *orda* 'in there', particularly in spontanous speech.

There is disagreement on the number of consonants. Underhill (1986) and Kornfilt (1987) claim that there are 23 consonants in Turkish whereas Ergin (1990) holds that the number is 25. The following includes the 23 consonants as put forward by Underhill and Kornfilt.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | t | ç [tʃ] | k | q |
| b | d | c [ʤ] | g | G |
| f | s | ş [ʃ] | | h |
| v | z | j [ʒ] | | |
| m | n | r | | |
| | | y | | |
| | l | | ɬ | |

[q] and [k], [ɬ] and [l] and [g] and [G] are allophones. The distribution is determined by the backness and frontness of vowels. To this list, Ergin (1990:42) adds three more consonants: /ğ/, /H/, and /ñ/ and drops velar /ɬ/. The status of the grapheme 'ğ' as a phoneme is the most problematic since this voiced velar fricative is not pronounced in the majority of environments; it lengthens the vowel it follows.

Phonologically, consonant clusters occur word-finally (double) and word-medially (triple) in native words (Ergin, 1990:65-6). A triple consonant cluster occurs only when a suffix with a consonant is added to a stem ending in double consonant cluster: Consider *sevinç-li* 'joy-ful'. /ğ/ is never found at the beginning of words. Turkish words do not end in /b/, /d/, /c/, /g/, /ğ/. A devoicing rules operates on the consonants /b/, /d/, /c/, /ğ/ ([b], [d], [ʤ], [ɣ] when they are word-final; the voiced forms remain /b/, /d/, /c/, /ğ/ ([b], [d], [ʤ], [ɣ] when a vowel-initial suffix follows. Note the following examples below: */kitab/* > [*kitap*], [*kitab-ı*]; */ağac/* > [*ağaç*], [*ağac-ı*]. When a morpheme starting with /c/, /d/, and /g/ is suffixed to a stem ending in either voiceless fricatives or voiceless stops, the initial consonant of the suffix is devoiced to /ç/, /t/, and /k/ respectively (Lewis, 1967:12). This phonological process is referred to as either 'consonant assimilation' or 'consonant harmony'. Compare the following examples: *atıl-gan* 'reckless' vs. *unut-kan* 'forgetful'; *oyun-cu* 'player' vs. *iş-çi* 'worker'; *Melburn'da* 'in Melbourne' vs. *Hobart'ta* 'in Hobart'.

Accented syllables generally appear word-finally. There is disagreement about the terminology to be used to refer to the degree of force used in Turkish in producing a syllable. The phenomenon Kornfilt (1987:236) calls 'stress' is referred to as 'pitch' by Underhill (1986) although they both agree that, generally, the stress or pitch pattern in Turkish is in word-final position (Kornfilt, 1987:236; Underhill 1986:11). Underhill (1986) observes the following for stress: 'Stress in Turkish, which is actually pitch accent rather than dynamic stress, is usually on the last syllable...' The assignment of pitch in proper nouns is highly complex (Ediskun, 1988:94). Although placing the pitch on the appropriate syllable is significant in both reflecting pragmatic intentions and processing utterances, the only meaning-changing pitch alternation occurs on gerunds. Since a gerundival suffix is made up from the same string of phonemes as the negative imperative suffix, the assignment of meaning is determined by the pitch. If the pitch is on the final syllable, the status of the lexical item is gerund, otherwise it is a negative imperative. In the following pair, the underlined syllables carry the stress: *sürme* 'driving' vs. *sürme* 'don't drive'

#### 1.3.1.1 Phonology of Loanwords

The rules of vowel harmony do not operate in loanwords. However, effects of vowel harmony can be seen in loan elements in varying degrees. For instance, the Arabic *mümkin* 'possible' > *mümkün* by means of one of the features of the vowel harmony which involves rounding of unrounded high vowels. In these examples, front unrounded vowel /i/ assimilates to rounded /ü/ (Lewis, 1967:17). Also, when the Persian noun complementiser *ki* cuts off a string of back vowels, vowels that follow *ki* have to be front/unrounded: /e/, /i/. Consider the example: *kol-lar-ı-mız-da-ki-ler-i* 'the ones at our arms'

Turkish has imported some phonemic features along with the words. These are mainly from Arabic, French, and Persian. Note the following long vowels: /a:/, /e:/, /i:/, /u:/ (Underhill, 1986:10). Persian loanwords such as *sade* [sa:de], Arabic *memur* [me:mur], *hakikat* [haki:kat], *sükunet* [süku:net] are examples of these long vowels. A circumflex accent (^) is sometimes used to indicate such long vowels (e.g. *sâde*) in modern Turkish orthography. As Lewis (1967:14) observes, some long vowels may in time get shortened, as in *kebâb* [keba:b] which became *kebap* [kebap]. Further examples are *şahe:d* > *şahid* > *şahit*, *hika:ye* > *hikaye*. The circumflex accent is also used for those short vowels of loans which either follow or precede the velar /k/, liquid /y/, and the alveolar liquid [ɬ] (Underhill, 1986:11). Consider the examples. *kâr* [kar] 'gain', *yâr* [yar] 'sweetheart', *hâl* [hal] 'condition'. One main function of the circumflex accent is to prevent the confusion of meaning with those lexical items lacking long vowels. Note the following: *kâr* 'gain' vs *kar* 'snow', *yâr* 'sweetheart' vs *yar* 'divide'.

Certain loanwords retain their diphthongs in both literary and colloquial Turkish, especially the Arabic ones; *muayenehane*, and *teferruat* are a few of them. With others, however, a liquid /y/ is inserted in between the Arabic diphthong (ai), and labiodental voiced fricative /v/ is pronounced in between the (au) diphthong. Respective examples are: *khair* > (*hayir* >) *hayır*; *hauz* > *havuz* (Lewis, 1967:10).

Although Turkish does not allow consonant clusters in initial position, speakers living in big cities with a strong western influence do pronounce some of the loanwords in clusters as they are pronounced in the source language (Kornfilt, 1987:233); for instance, *klüp* 'club', *kral* 'king'. In colloquial speech, however, they appear as *kulüp* (without vowel harmony), *kıral* with vowels inserted between the initial consonants according to vowel harmony. In written form, however, the original consonant cluster is

maintained. Further examples are: *stil* < Fr. *style*; *start* < Eng. *start*; *dram* < Fr. *drame*; *kriz* < Fr. *crise* (McCarthy, 1969:96).

The loan phonemes /b/, /d/, /c/ become /p/, /t/, /ç/ word finally (Lewis, 1967:11). Here, a devoicing takes place. For instance, Arabic *kitab* 'book' > *kitap*, Persian *damad* 'son-in-law' > *damat*. French. *méthode*, > *metot* 'method', French *stade* > *stat* 'stadium'. In writing, however, *metod* and *stad* may be preferred. European alveolar liquid [l] may become velar [ɬ]with back vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/: for instance, Italian *ballo* 'ball, dance' > Turkish *balo*; Fr. *salon* 'hall' > Turkish *salon* (McCarthy, 1969:74). An [l] final word triggers the employment of front vowels despite the presence of a back vowel preceding it, as in *gol-e* 'to goal', and *interpol-ün* 'of interpol'.

The Arabic voiced uvular fricative (gh) [h-] is adopted as either velar voiced fricative /ğ/ [ɣ] in word-final position or velar voiced stop /g/ [g] in other positions (Lewis, 1967:5). For instance, *ghazi* 'warrior of faith' becomes *gazi*, and *tabligh* 'presentation, paper' becomes *tebliğ*. The Persian (g) in word-final positions becomes /k/. *rang* 'colour' > *renk*; *ahang* 'harmony' > *ahenk* (Lewis , 1967:10).

Due to French influence, the phoneme [ʒ] (palatalalveolar voiced fricative) has a place not only in phonology but also in orthography as the letter /j/. For example, Turkish *jest* 'gesture'< French *geste*; Turkish *röportaj yapmak* < French *reportage*, Turkish *pijama* < French *pyjama*, also in the names of sciences: *sosyoloji*, *psikoloji*, *farmakoloji* and so on (McCarthy, 1969: 65). Interestingly, this phoneme did not take root in Turkish previously in spite of the fact that some Persian loanwords had it. For instance, Persian *taj* 'crown' > Turkish *taç*: a devoicing took place instead. A final remark about this phoneme is that it is generally pronounced in colloquial speech as [ʧ]

/c/ in initial and middle syllables: *candarma* < *jandarma* < French *gendarme*, *picama* < *pijama* < French *pyjama*.

Borrowed words beginning with /l/ and /r/ have a prothetic vowel, determined by rules of vowel harmony; *ilimon* < *limon* < English *lemon*, *urum* < *rum* < Rome 'descendant of Rome'. Loanwords with initial consonant clusters get a vowel inserted either before or after the cluster; *istasyon* < French *station*, *sıpor* < French *sport*. In writing, though, initial clusters are usually maintained; *spor*, *tren* 'train', *prensip* 'principle' < French *principe*. As has been seen, it would be fair to say that it is through the colloquial speech rather than any other variety of speech that most Turkish morphophonemic rules are applied to loan elements.

### 1.3.2 Morphosyntax

Turkish employs post-positionals to express functions of lexical items such as noun case and number, and tense and agreement for verbs; more specifically, case marking for direct and indirect objects and derivational and inflectional suffixes for verbs, noun phrases (NP), etc. An NP is marked to indicate number and case (goal and/or benefactive, location, source, instrument and possessor). The following table, based on *adam* 'man', shows this case system.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'man' | adam | singular (nominative) |
| '(the) man' | adam-ı | accusative |
| 'for/to man' | adam-a | dative |
| 'on (the) man' | adam-da | locative |
| 'from (the) man' | adam-dan | ablative |
| 'with (the) man' | adam-la | instrumental |
| 'of (the) man' | adam-ın | genitive |
| 'men' | adam-lar | plural (nominative) |
| '(the) men' | adam-lar-ı | plural accusative |
| 'for/to men' | adam-lar-a | plural dative |
| 'on (the) men' | adam-lar-da | plural locative |
| 'from (the) men' | adam-lar-dan | plural ablative |
| 'with (the) men' | adam-lar-la | plural instrumental |
| 'of (the) men' | adam-lar-ın | plural genitive |

Where an NP is marked for both number and any of the other cases, number marking always precedes case marking. The object noun, as opposed to subject noun, appears in either nominal or accusative or dative forms when it is used as a dependent of the verb. It is the case marking which differentiates patiency (object or direct object) from agency (subject), as in the following example:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ali | Ahmet-i | gör-dü. |
| | -acc | see-past-3s |

'Ali saw Ahmet'

However this does not mean that a (non-referential) direct object cannot appear in nominative form. When it appears thus, the assignment of agency and patiency roles is determined by the word order, which is Subject-Object-Verb. As expected, a nominative object makes the word order rigid while a case-marked object allows any combination of the lexical elements reflecting various pragmatic preferences.

Turkish always marks person agreement (cross-referencing) for subject on the verb, following the tense marking, by means of pronominal suffixes, especially when the subject is (optionally) omitted. In the example mentioned above, which is a simplex sentence, cross-referencing for the third person singular is realized by zero-marking. Furthermore, in complex sentences, in relative clauses of existential nature the verb exhibits cross-referencing for both the main subject and the subject of the relative clause. Consider the following relative-clause, in which both subjects optionally do not appear.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (Siz) | (bizim) | Avustralyalı-laş-tır-dık-lar-ımız-dan-sınız. |
| (You) | (our) | Australian-become-make-VN-1p-3p-1p-abl-2s |

'You are one of those whom we made Australian'

The main subject is indicated by the suffix -sınız while the subject of the relative clause is referred to by -mız-. In other words, Turkish may have extensive zero-anaphora for NPs, that is, it exhibits features of a 'pro-drop' language: subjectless sentences are possible.

As for the phrases, adjectives precede both adverbs and nouns. No suffixation is required for adverb and adjective phrases, as in *pek yavas* 'very slowly'; *al bayrak* 'crimson flag', respectively. In NPs, nominal modifiers and genitives always precede the noun (Underhill, 1988:19). A possessive suffix -I[1] is (nearly) always added to the modified noun[2].

a) bahçe kapı-(s)ı
garden gate-3s POSS
'garden gate'

The treatment of genitive is complicated as to when it should be applied. However, note the following: The genitive suffix -In[3] is supplied to the modifier noun only when the modifier is, pragmatically speaking, referential (*belirtili*) (Ergin, 1990:361). Had this been the case in the NP above, it would appear as *bahçe-(n)in kapı-sı,* the English translation of which would be 'the garden gate' or 'the gate of the garden'[4]. In the following chain NP, the referential information is stored in the modifier *okul* 'school' of the shorter phrase *bahçe kapı-sı.*

b) okul-un bahçe kapı-(s)ı
school-gen garden gate-3s POSS
'the garden gate of the school'

---

[1] The archiphoneme (-I) indicates the alternative uses of front and back high vowels -ı, -i, -u, -ü according to the rules of vowel harmony. (See 1.3.1 for more detail.)

[2] Exceptions are those noun phrases that are formed under the influence of Indo-European languages (primarily French) such as *Ömer han* 'Ömer's inn', *Cafe Hasan* 'Hasan's cafe' (Ergin. 1990:362-3). The old Arabic way of NP formation in which modifier follows the head is well out of use; for instance, *mekteb-i nefise* 'school of fine arts' (see 1.4 for more).

[3] (-I) of (-In) is the same archiphoneme as in footnote 1.

[4] A dummy consonant (n) is inserted in between two vowels.

It is also possible to have the chain as *okul-un bahçe-si-nin kapı-sı*, 'the gate of the garden of the school' in which all of the three nouns carry referential information. In this respect, Turkish NPs can both be head marking, as in (a) above, and dependent marking, (Comrie, 1981:53) as in (b) above.

In the same way, at clausal level, relative clauses come before the noun they modify (Underhill, 1986: 19). The verb of the relative clause appears suffixed with either of the two participle forms -yAn[5] and -dIk.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mektub-u | oku-yan | çocuk |
| letter-acc | read-participle | boy |

'The boy who read(s) the letter'

Subordinate clauses can occur before or after the main clause although they usually appear in preceding position.

Since spoken Turkish tends to have a phonetic correspondence with written Turkish, syllables are easily identifiable. Verb stems are mostly mono- or di-syllabic. This character of verb stems, however, does not prevent the addition of derivational and inflectional suffixes up to a dozen. The number of word formation suffixes is identified as 151 (Ülkü, 1980:136-190, cited in König, 1987:262).

For the construction of passive verbs, Turkish makes use of two suffixes: -Il and -(I)n or -n if a stem ends in a vowel. The former is added to the verb stems that do not end in dental/alveolar liquid /l/. Otherwise, the latter is always applicable (Lewis, 1967:149).

| | |
|---|---|
| Kitap | sat-ıl-dı. |
| book | sell-PASS-past-3s |

'The book was sold.'

---

[5] (-A) alternates between front vowel -e and back vowel -a according to vowel harmony.

Namaz kıl-ın-dı.
prayer execute-PASS-past-3s
'The prayer was done.'

Formed from suffixes like passives, causative verbs acquire as many arguments as they have causative suffixes, which is normally not more than three (Çelik, 1990:32).

Ahmet rakib-i-ni Hasan-a Ali
Ahmet rival-3s poss-acc Hasan-dat Ali

vasıta-(s)ı-yla öl-dür-t-tür-dü.
agency-3s poss-instr die-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-past-3s
'Ahmet got Hasan to kill his rival through the agency of Ali.'

One significant feature of the Turkish tense system is the division of past tense into two based on the speakers' relation with the event that took place. In what may be called 'evidential' or 'witnessed' past, speakers either witness the event, or the event is factual beyond reasonable doubt, and this is reflected by the tense suffix -DI[6] which immediately follows the verb stem, as in *gel-di* 'S/he came/has come'. On the other side, what we may call 'inferential' past (Lewis, 1967:122) refers to those events speakers do not witness. It is either reported to or inferred by the speakers or there is a grain of doubt so that the speakers do not commit themselves to its truth value. This type of past event is expressed on the verb by the suffix -mIş, as in *öl-müs* 'I hear that he died'.

### 1.4 Historical Background

The first written Turkish texts are the inscriptions erected in the 780s along the banks of the Yenisey and Orkhun rivers east of the Caspian Sea

[6] (-D) of (-DI) indicates the alternation between voiced dental stop -d and voiceless dental stop -t.

in Central Asia. The inscriptions were in the Runic alphabet which consisted of 38 letters; 4 vowels and 31 consonants, of which three appear to be glides. The sentences ran from left to right (Ediskun, 1988:25). It appears that the Runic orthography, which is also known as *Göktürk* 'Blue Turk' orthography, was gradually replaced by the 14-letter Uigur script.

The Turkic people who spoke the language of the inscriptions had a history dating back to the third century B.C. (Menges, 1968:17). Because of extensive migration in search of food and land across the Central Asian steppes and thus mixing with other ethnic groups, Turkic people were not linguistically homogeneous (Menges, 1968:19). Therefore, geography played an important role in the emergence of dialects. Menges (1968:59-61) identifies the following dialects:

1) The Central Asiatic Group: Chagatay, Özbek, Orxon, Kyrgyz.
2) Southwest or Oğuz Group:
    a) Seljuk (Old Anatolian), Old Osman (ancient)
    b) Osman (Rumelian, Anatolian) Gagauz, Azebaijanian (modern)
    c) Türkmenian.
3) Northwest Group: Qypcaq, Qumanian, Qaracay, Qazaq.
4) Eastern Group: Karagas, Sojon.
5) Northeast Group: Yakut, Dolgans.

In the southwest group, Modern Turkish, or Osman in Menges' terminology, is the contiuation of Old Osman (Ottoman Turkish), which in turn descended from Old Anatolian (Seljuk). Seljuk was spoken by Oğuz Turks, who migrated to areas such as northern Persia and Asia Minor in the 12th and 13th centuries. This Turkish group founded the Great Seljukian Empire, whose official language was Seljuk.

After conversion to Islam *en masse* beginning in the 11th century as well as coming into contact with Persians and Arabs, religious and cultural terms from Persian and Arabic began to enter the language. Further, lexical as well as phrasal interference from these languages emerged following the adoption of their poetic meters and style of prose in literature. Also, Arabic exerted a great influence in religious and scientific texts (Ergin, 1990:16; Lewis, 1981:156).

*Osmanlıca* or Ottoman Turkish (Old Osman) is the name given to that Turkish which was used from the 15th century to the first quarter of the 20th century in the Ottoman Empire (Ergin, 1990:16-7). What makes *Osmanlica* radically modified and different from its predecessor and successor (Modern Turkish) is that it became a combination of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian lexicon and noun phrase structure within a Turkish syntax. The influence of these languages on Turkish was wide-ranging because they functioned as the *Kultursprachen* for Turkish (like Latin and Greek for European languages)[7].

In the decades preceding 1900, the need to rectify and simplify Turkish was felt by interested people from various professions and persuasions. With a rather disinterested government, novelists, poets, newspaper columnists and so on started taking effective action in designing strategies to revive Turkish; this meant simplification, and eradication of non-native grammatical rules, synonymic loans[8] and loanwords incomprehensible for common people (Ediskun, 1988:38).

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[7] Tietze (1967: 267-8) describes a Kultursprache as 'the lexical reserve arsenal of a language from which anybody at any time could borrow the tools for expressing a new idea.'

[8] Those loanwords whose semantic content were already designated by a native word. For instance, Arabic *yevm* 'day' was adopted despite the presence of Turkish *gün*.

One of the first problems to be tackled with was the removal of the gender, number, etc. markings on loanwords; Turkish does not have gender marking, and Arabic number marking was incomprehensible; secondly, NP formation through non-native rules. For instance, it was suggested that in the NP *amal-i hayriyye* 'good deeds' (*amal* 'deeds' and *hayriyye* 'good'), the singular form *amel* of *amal* and the popularly used form *hayırlı* of *hayriyye* could be kept in use while the NP rule is discarded (Ahmet Mithat, 1871, cited in Ediskun, 1988: 27). The resulting phrase is, then, *hayırlı ameller*, in which the adjective precedes the noun according to Turkish phrase formation, and plural form *-ler* is added to the noun, diagrammatically $N_H$-i-$N_{MOD}$ > $N_{MOD}$ - $N_H$, in which N stands for Noun, H stands for Head, and MOD stands for Modifier.

Another problem area was the use of the Persian *ki* 'that' as a complementiser or relative pronoun. Before the adoption of the Persian *ki*, the function of it was (and still is) provided by participial forms (for relative clauses) and nominal forms of verbs (for noun clauses) (Underhill, 1986:19). Consider the examples (i-b) for the former and (ii-b) for the latter.

Turkish with Persian relativiser *ki*

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i) | a- | Bir | çocuk | ki | kapı-yı | kapa-ma-z |
| | | one | child | that | door-acc | shut-neg-aor3s |

Traditional Turkish relative clause

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| b- | Kapı-yı | kapa-mı-yan | bir | çocuk |
| | door-acc | shut-neg-part | one | child |

'A child who does not shut the door' (Lewis, 1967: 214)

Turkish with Persian complementiser *ki*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ii) | a- | Şüphesiz | ki | gel-di. |
| | | doubtless | that | come-past-3s |

Traditional Turkish noun clause

b- Gel-diğ-i şüphesiz.
come-nom-3s poss doubtless

'It is doubtless that s/he came.'

While the efforts to eliminate the complicated Arabo-Persian elements from Turkish were continuing, loanwords from Indo-European languages began to make their way into Turkish after the Ottoman Empire was defeated by European armies in the 18th century. So, the Ottomans were compelled to take an interest in the civilisation (especially military and industry) they had long looked down upon; they adopted many loanwords dealing with this civilisation. Centres were established to translate scientific and technical works as well as literary masterpieces from European literature (Berkes, 1964: 128). Thus came the influx of French words in the 18th and 19th centuries when the Ottoman Empire and France started to have close contact. The French not only established engineering and medical schools in the Ottoman Empire but also helped train Ottoman soldiers. Consequently, works on medicine, science, sports and industry made use of many French words (Esenkova, 1959:25). The French loanwords brought new ideas and notions into Turkish with them; in some cases, however, they replaced existing Arabic terms. The borrowing was not confined to technical vocabulary; in the dictionaries published prior to 1945, the number of non-technical French loanwords was close to 2,500 (Esenkova, 1959: 7-8). In recent decades, however, the role of French is being assumed by English due to the dominance of the United States in technology and industry. Similar criticisms are being levelled against English loanwords, especially on the grounds that some are 'unnecessary'; the notions that these loanwords designate already have Turkish names.[9] Some examples are:

[9] For a detailed description of this phenomenon, see 4.2.4.

Turkish *yük* 'cargo' > (Eng) kargo; Turkish *dönemeç* 'bend' > (Fr) viraj;

Turkish *borç* 'credit' > (Fr) kredi; Turkish *bölüm* 'department' > (Fr) departman;

Turkish *düzen* 'system' > (Eng) sistem; Turkish *yokuş* 'uphill' > (It) rampa

Turkish *güle güle demek* 'to bid bye bye' > (Eng) bay bay demek

In some cases, it was the established Arabo-Persian loanwords that were being replaced by western loanwords;

Arabic *şirket* 'firm, company' > (Ger) *firma*;

Arabic *iktisat* 'economy' > (Eng) *ekonomi*;

Arabo-Persian *muayenehane* 'clinic' > (Ger) *klinik*;

Arabic *mülakat yapmak* 'to interview' > (Fr) *röportaj yapmak*

Arabic *siyasetçi* 'politician' > (Italo-Turkish) *politikacı*

Arabic *araba* 'car' > (Fr) *otomobil*

In others, one established western loan is targeted by a new western loan;

Italian *lokanta* 'restaurant' > (Fr) *restoran*.

French *velesbit* 'push-bike' > (Ger) *bisiklet*

From a purely linguistic point of view, I hold that both kinds of loan word transfer were at the time of entry 'unnecessary', just like some of the Arabo-Persian loanwords (as we have seen above) which replaced existing Turkish words, in that they did not carry any semantic value which could be useful in the language they are entering other than socio-psychological value:[10] such loans are generally called 'synonymic loans' (Bookless, 1982). Therefore, it appeared a more appropriate course of consideration to regard both

[10] As in cases where a speaker wishes to imply his knowledge of foreign languages, his contact with foreign countries, or the prestigious class s/he belongs to.

phenomena as fundamentally the same.[11] I discuss these phenomena in greater detail in 2.2.1. This was the state of affairs in Turkish in the last phase of the Ottoman Empire, which was carried over to the new Turkish Republic.

## 1.5 Language Policy in Modern Turkey

*Modern Turkish*, which is the continuation of Ottoman Turkish, is the term used to refer to the Turkish developed as a 'national language' after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. It is also called *Turkish of Turkey*.

In a study of history of language policy in Mexico, Heath (1972, cited in Paulston, 1983: 55) concludes that language decisions are '...primarily made on political and economic grounds and reflect the values of those in political power'. Other studies (Rubin, 1983:4; Fishman, 1983:44) express similar opinions. As this was no different in the case of modern Turkish, politics and linguistic issues have always been related to each other. Therefore, the linguistic history of Turkish language policy is an account of language reforms in social and political life. Language policies and planning activities thus need to be considered as part of the so-called Turkish Revolution as well as the prevailing tendencies after the death of the founder of Modern Turkey, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (see also 1.5.8 below). An outline of Turkish linguistic planning in the 20th century is as follows.

Mustafa Kemal (known more popularly later as Kemal Atatürk) was the person who saved his country from the Allied Forces (the French, British

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[11] However, for neologisms, purists have an argument similar to the one stated by Corson, who claim that a speaker is more likely to derive meaning from a native word in isolation than from a loanword, as will also be seen below in 1.6.4.

and Greek) in World War I and established a new state, the Republic of Turkey, in 1923. He aimed at creating a new country and transforming Turkish society, a largely Islamic system, into one based on modern Western civilisation (Kinross 1965:430), by launching extensive and wide-ranging political and social reforms. Language issues, and particularly the orthography, were considered to be a symbolic feature of the new nation and also crucial for the completion of the reformation process. Atatürk pointed out the goal for language policy: "The Turkish Nation who defended and protected its own country and independence must save its language from the yoke of foreign languages", referring to the widespread diffusion of Arabo-Persian elements in Turkish.[12] The Arabic script, in which the Turkish language had been written for over seven hundred years, was held responsible for the enormous number of borrowed lexical items and other linguistic elements in Turkish. The choice for the new script was clear: Latin-based orthography. Such a choice was justified along these lines. Firstly, it is easier to learn reading and writing, thereby large masses of illiterate people will become literate readily. Secondly, it was claimed that Arabic letters were unable to code some of the Turkish vowels /ü/, /ö/, /ı/ and that the consonant /p/ was causing misreadings. Thirdly, it will be easier to communicate with Turco-Tartar republics in the USSR which adopted the Latin alphabet in 1926 (though they changed to Cyrillic in the 1930s). Lastly, perhaps most importantly, the Latin-based script is the script used in European countries whose civilisation Turkey was to conform to. Regarding the adoption of the Latin alphabet, Levend (1960:399) reflects the mood of the time well '...the Turkish Revolution is a whole. If the aim is to adopt the Western civilisation, it is necessary to adjust the means of writing, reading and thinking in line with this civilisation as was the case with the means of living'.

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12 The ambitious personal involvements of Atatürk, as head of the state until he died in 1938, in linguistic matters from language policy to the fine details of the word formations should be noted. See, for example, Aksoy (1968:45), Dilaçar, (1969:12), and Kinross (1965:428).

### 1.5.1 Language Planning

In June 1928, an Alphabet Commission was formed to prepare a script based on Latin characters upon the recommendation of the Ministry of Education (Levend, 1960:401). The Commission included people from primary school teachers to lexicographers and other interested people (Kinross, 1965:502). After working strenuously and continuously, the Commission (some of whose meetings Atatürk attended) managed to prepare the new alphabet within six weeks.

Atatürk believed that the alphabet change should take place in three month's time or it would not happen at all. For the dissemination of the alphabet, he himself toured across the country campaigning in favour of the new alphabet and introducing it in congregations, public seminars and, when available, on chalkboards. The activities of Atatürk and of the Alphabet Commission took place prior to any legislation. Later in the year, however, the change of script was discussed in parliament and legislated, despite strong opposition from the conservatives. This Alphabet Reform constituted the beginning of Turkish Language Reform (TLR), which dealt with all linguistic aspects of Turkish.

### 1.5.2 Implementation

To secure a swift passage from the old script to the new one, it was decreed that the new alphabet would be inserted in the newspapers from the time of alphabet amendment and that within three months it should supersede the old one. At all levels of schooling, too, teaching should be done with the new alphabet. Given that newspapers had no Latin characters in the presses and that even the school principals themselves did not know it,

there was much confusion and apprehension. However, the state's resources were fully provided to disseminate the new alphabet as quickly as possible. The objectives were successfully realized to a great extent, with remote rural areas lagging behind.

Soon several publications began to appear in the new alphabet, also intended to disseminate the new letters. Some of them which appeared in 1928 are *Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer* (Concise Turkish Grammar), *Yeni Türk Alfabesi* (The New Turkish Alphabet), *İmla Lügati* (Dictionary of Spelling) and *Yeni Türk Yazısı ile Kıraat* (Reading with the New Turkish Writing) (Levend, 1960:404).

### 1.5.3 Language Policy on Vocabulary and Grammar

The change affected only the written form of language, leaving the grammar and vocabulary of Ottoman Turkish intact. The reformists regarded the written Ottoman Turkish as unsuitable to be the language of a populist republic, for it was too difficult for an ordinary citizen to comprehend and use (Giritli, 1969:35), in reference to loanwords and complicated phrases (see section 1.4.5 above). Secondly, the desired language should reflect the national characteristics of Turks, not those of Arabs or Persians. In view of these demands, the subject of the understandability of loanwords was raised. Naturally enough, what was proposed was the discontinuation of the use of non-native morphemes. The idea behind this proposition is that for those speakers without training in either of these two languages it would be difficult to recover the meaning of a loanwords, and infeasible in the case of loans with 'loan' affixes. To illustrate the point more clearly, note the following quote from Corson, 1985:

> "...I choose 'foreword' here ahead of the others (preface, prologue) as a simple example: It is likely that adult native speakers of English, without exception, would derive some appropriate meaning from the word 'foreword' encountered for the first time in isolation from contextual clues; it is less likely that all native speakers would derive motivated meaning from the words 'preface' or prologue' met out of context; it is almost certain that young users of English would derive some suitable meaning from the first encounter with 'foreword' which they might not from preface' or prologue'. (Corson, 1985:vii)

By *foreword* Corson was referring to an introductory note in the beginning of a book by its author. As I read it, there are two points in this quote: One is that the lexical item *word* was the most commonly encountered by English speakers among the three of them. Secondly the prefix *fore* has more easily identifiable meanings such as 'front', 'before', and 'preceding' than either *pre* and *pro*, especially when it is coupled with the lexical item *word*. Further, the Latin *pre* has a lower occurence rate; in everyday words *fore* is more frequent in words such as *forehead, forecast, foreman, forefinger*. The prefix *pro* is perhaps the least frequent of all three associated with senses 'front', 'before', and 'preceding'.

Now consider the Arabic loan *yevmiye* 'for the day', 'daily'. It has two contexts in which it appears: *yevmiye defteri* 'daily recording book' (by accountants) and *yevmiye* 'daily earned money'. There is no motivation whatsoever for speakers of Turkish to use this loan to refer to the meanings 'daily', 'temporary', 'memoirs', 'daily work', and 'daily paper' whereas the native *günlük*, derived from *gün* 'day', 'sun' and *-lük* 'for', can cover all these meanings including the ones the loan word denotes.

Such aspirations called for the elimination of all foreign words and replacing them with the Turkish ones. To carry out this task, Atatürk founded the Turkish Language (Investigation) Society in July 1932. This

was linked with the Ministry of Education, and it became an autonomous but government-funded body.

Under the auspices of Atatürk, the First Turkish Language Congress was convened in September 1932. The papers presented at the conference covered extensive linguistic issues such as archaicness of Turkish, relationship of Turkish with Indo-European languages and Asian languages, language of literature and current language planning movements. The last topic precipitated fierce arguments about the extent of foreign words to be kept in the language. There appeared two schools of thought within the Congress; on the one hand, there were those who favoured the elimination of those foreign words for which a Turkish equivalent could easily be found and at the same time favoured the retention of foreign words that had taken root in everyday colloquial speech (one of them was the novelist Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın), and on the other hand, there were those who wanted the eradication of all foreign terms - that is, full purification - replacing them with the new terms to be coined through the resources of Turkish itself (among them were Fuat Köprülü, a philosopher and politician, and Hasan Ali Yücel, who later became a minister for education). The latter movement is known as 'öztürkçecilik' (pure-Turkishism) and has had long lasting effects throughout the decades (This kind of approach is paralleled in France by the Académie Française, which endeavours to protect French from Anglicisms) while the former is called 'sadeleşme' (simplification). Since Atatürk was in favour of the puristic approach, the Society took on the task of purging all foreign terms at any cost.

### 1.5.4 Elaboration

In the wake of the congress, a central committee within the Society was formed to shoulder work in the following areas (Levend, 1960:415).

- dictionary and technical terms,
- grammar and syntax,
- collection of words in the vernacular and dialects,
- linguistics and philology,
- etymology,
- publication.

Collection of vernacular and dialectal words, one of the most significant objectives of the Society, aimed at creating a vocabulary to be taken the basis for all later linguistic studies (Levend, 1960:416), also, of course, with a view of replacing Arabic and Persian items. The collection work began in 1933 and took two years to complete with the help of provincial and local government authorities together with school teachers through a ministerial decree. The number of collected words despatched to the Society exceeded 130 thousand!

The same year, with the initiative of Atatürk, a programme was devised for creating native equivalents for *Osmanlıca* words (the adopted loanwords) in cases where the dialects and vernacular failed to supply these (Levend, 1960:417). The enterprise was to use exclusively pure Turkish forms in creating new words (neologizing), although the aim was not always realised, as will be seen below. The Society came up with twelve different ways of neologizing (Heyd, 1954:88). To sum up, however, four categories of neological practice (in the broadest sense) appear: **(1)** semantic extension of native words, **(2)** reviving obsolete Turkish words, **(3)** borrowing-lexical adaptation of loanwords, and **(4)** coinage of new terms (neologizing).

**(1)** The verb *çevirmek* 'to turn around', for instance, replaced the Arabic *tercüme etmek* 'to translate' and was used in the sense of 'to translate', thereby *çeviri* denoted 'translation'. To the native word *kaynak* 'spring of water' was added an abstract meaning when it was used to mean 'origin' in replacing the Arabic loan *menşe*.

**(2)** Obsolete words such *sonuç* 'result', *tanık* 'wittnes', *yanıt* 'answer', *aklanmak* 'to get acquitted', *konuk* 'guest', *töre* 'custom' are revived to replace words of Arabic origin *netice, şahit, cevap, beraat etmek, misafir, âdet,* respectively (Aksoy, 1968:43). Further examples are: *öykü* > *hikaye, düş* > *hayal*. In some cases, an old loan which is also used in other Turkisc languages is preferred to a more recent loanword. For instance, Persian *kent* 'city' is favoured over Persian *şehir*.

Popular synonymous Turkish words are preferred to learned loanwords. Words like *ölüm* 'death', *yıl* 'year' are brought into literary writing from colloquial speech, balancing the equivalent Arabic loans *vefat* and *sene*. Lewis (1967:221;226) believes that words such as *egemen* 'sovereign', *kurultay* 'assembly' are borrowed from other languages, which however are claimed by the Turkish Language Society to be of Turkic sources. The first one is extracted from Greek via French *hégémonie,* and the second from Mongolian *quriltai.*

**(3)** When no suitable word was found or created immediately, the path of adaptation, which involved integration into Turkish phonological system, including vowel harmony, is temporarily taken until a neologism is coined. In the following pairs, the former is the original while the latter is the adapted form: Arabic *mumkin - mümkün* 'possible', *hukûmet - hükümet* 'government', *irade - irde* 'will'.

**(4)** Neologising - coinage of new terms)[13]: As studies on languages like Italian, French, and Persian indicated (Risk, 1982; Flaitz, 1988; Jahangir & Hudson, 1982), in Turkish too neologising has worked as an elaborate and productive tool of language planning. It involves an effort to bring together two morphemes, either free and bound or two free morphemes from internal resources. In this respect, this type of neology is slightly different from other types (above) in that it provides an original input into the native vocabulary while the others are more of a revitalization practice, as will become evident.

Another feature that differentiates this type of neologism is that it is very productive, in the light of the limited number of obsolete words, the ambiguous character of semantically extended words and the unfamiliar phonetic features of loanwords. Heyd (1954:92) cites statistics for various sources of neologism. Of the 8,752 Turkish neologisms suggested in *Cep Kılavuzu* (Pocket Dictionary) published in 1935, roughly 35 per cent were word formations while 55 per cent were obsolete, archaic or colloquial items introduced into the speech community. However, the Society stopped

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[13] Disagreement prevails among linguists on the labelling of the phenomenon which involves the coinage of new terms using internal resources. Those who work in Turkish linguistics such as Lewis (1967:224), Heyd (1954:92), Tietze (1967:270), and more generally Goddard (1980:11) and Hope (1971:) do not hesitate to call this phenomenon neologism.

On the other hand, Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) regard the phenomenon as part of the practice of 'loan creation'. According to Weinreich, for instance, if the coinages are stimulated 'by the need to match designations available in a language in contact', as opposed to cultural innovations, they are a case of 'loan creations'. Some Turkish coinages fit neatly into this description. More specifically, such coinages constitute 'loan translations' or 'calques'. According to Haugen (1950:214), a coined lexical item is a calque if it has traces of the translation of the original lexical item (from the lending language).

However, there are coinages which do not exhibit 'translations' such as *ekin* 'culture' for the loan *hars*, *amaç* 'aim' for *hedef*, *doga* or 'nature' for *tabiat*. Further, in sharp contrast, Goddard (1980:11) describes 'calquing' as a form of semantic extension which involves addition of new senses to the existing sense(s) of a loan word. In this study, neology or neologism, as more general terms, will be used to refer to any kind of word formations from internal resources as well as the previously discussed three ways of producing alternative lexical forms.

introducing obselete and archaic forms because many of them were rejected by the public. Instead, other word formations became more popular.

### 1.5.4.1 Compounding

In the formation of new words stimulated by the need to replace loanwords, **compounding, derivation** and, to some extent, **inflection** processes have been employed. **Compounding** consists of bringing together two free morphemes. Compounding of *dil* 'language' and *bilim* 'science', *dilbilim* 'linguistics' is used in lieu of Arabic *lisaniyat*.

Compound neologisms like *dilbilim* violate the rule of NP formation (known as *izafet* in Turkish) that requires the addition of a possessive suffix to a head noun, which is modified by another noun. (Lewis (1967:41) calls this annexation.) According to this rule, the Turkish equivalent of 'linguistics' should be *dil-bilim-i* (language-science-3s+poss [izafet suffix])[14]. The following neologism, however, goes by the rule. *uluslararası* 'international': *uluslar* 'nations' *-ara* 'in between' *-(s)i* .

### 1.5.4.2 Derivation

Addition of derivational suffixes to free morphemes has appeared to be the most productive way in neologisms. Neologisms have used a wide range of such affixes. Some of them are in common or restricted use in popular speech, while others are either archaic or borrowings from other Turkic languages (as well as Mongolian).

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[14] This rule stems from the simple noun juxtaposition as in the English examples *Chisholm College* and *La Trobe University*. To use such noun phrases in Turkish, the *izafet* suffix is added to the modified noun, that is, to *College* and *University*. This suffix is nothing other than the third person possessive marker.

The popular suffix -cI, which signifies 'engagement, tendency, interest,' was applied to nouns and verbs: *iş* 'work' + *çi* > *işçi* 'worker' to replace Arabic *amele*; *öğren* 'learn' + *çi* > *öğrenci* 'student' to replace Arabic *talebe*. The adjective making suffix *-sel* or *-sal*, which was originally (prior to 20th century) restricted only to three nouns, can now nearly always be applied to all nouns. *yapı-sal* (structure-suffix; meaning 'structural') is coined to eradicate Arabic *bünyevi*.

The non-productive nominalizing suffix *-(I)t* became a productive tool in the hands of neologizers (Lewis, 1967:224). It was earlier found in words like *geçit* 'passage' or 'ford' in which *geç* means 'to pass'. It is extended to verbs such as *taşı* 'to carry', *yak* 'to burn' making them nouns *taşıt* 'vehicle', *yakıt* 'fuel'. Also, *kan* 'to believe' > *kanıt* 'evidence' for Arabic *delil*. Another unproductive suffix *-(I)m* has been stretched to its limits. In lieu of Arabic *müeyyide* 'sanction', Turkish stem *yaptır* 'get it done' or 'get someone to do' is coupled with *-ım*, thus *yaptırım* is produced (Lewis, 1967:225) meaning 'sanction'.

I will mention three more derivational suffixes that are borrowed. In the formation of *danıştay* 'state council', Mongolian suffix *-tAy* meaning ' assembly' is added to the verb stem *danış* 'consult'.[15] *-Ay* is borrowed from Chaghatai (Lewis, 1967: 226) as in *yap -ay* ( do + suffix ) 'artificial' which replaced Arabic *suni,* while the suffix *-Av* from the Tatar language is used with words like *gör* 'see, perform' producing *görev* 'duty' to replace Arabic *vazife*; *sına* 'try' > *sınav* 'exam' to replace Arabic *imtihan*.

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[15] (-A-) in this suffix and the following sufixes indicates the alternation between front vowel -e and back vowel -a according to vowel harmony.

### 1.5.4.3 Inflection

Inflection has only contributed a few, although significant, lexical items. Past tense marker *-dI* or *-tI* is added to verb stems before being compounded, as in *oldubitti: ol* 'happen' and *-bit* 'finish' are compounded to mean 'fait accompli' as a diplomatic term. Another example is *gir* 'go in ' - *di* ; *girdi* meaning 'input'.

### 1.5.5 Neologisms as Substitutes

Neologisms, as described earlier, are considered as substitutes whose semantic content is intended to be like that of the word it is to replace, before its introduction. Note below how the first substitution practice was carried out for neologisms: Considering the lexicographic problems of modern Turkish, Tietze (1967:263) notes that they are 'essentially of an extra linguistic origin: they have to do with historical, cultural and social phenomena...' In the first period of the substitution of loanwords with neologisms in the 1930's, the way in which the substitution was carried out in journalism was well captured by Tietze (1967:264).

> "The commentator would write his article in 'conventional' language, then a clerk would process it, replacing all Arabic (and Persian) by their 'Turkish' equivalents proposed in the official lists. However, he would add most of the eliminated words in parentheses after the new word, or in footnotes. As many of the new words were completely incomprehensible without annotation, the reader of the article had to rely strongly on the notes, or on a copy of the official word list (this time the one from Turkish to Ottoman)".

This kind of substitution practice can readily be said to be free of any semantic concerns. As Tietze implied, the concern was about the form of the lexical item and not the content, and the forms were to reflect the political preferences of the language planners of the time. More importantly,

however, as the practice continued, the variation in use between groups of neologisms and their traditional counterparts was so extensive that the forms gathered social and cultural connotations. The most significant feature of the substitution practice was produced when neologisms do not express the meanings of traditional words they are meant to replace, instigating wide-ranging semantic changes, which is the subject-matter of this study (see Chapter 2).

### 1.5.6 The Success of Implementation

The Second Turkish Language Congress was held in August 1934, with the participation of foreign linguists and Turcologists. The outcome of the Congress in relation to neologisms was to continue with the prevailing philosophy. However, if need be, scientific and technical terms used in the West were to be phonetically adapted. In 1935, *Cep Kılavuzu* 'Pocket Guide from Ottoman to Turkish' and 'Pocket Guide from Turkish to Ottoman', which were a large colection of neologisms, were compiled and published by the Society as planned by the Second Congress (Lewis, 1981:159). And a journal *Tarama Dergisi* (Searching Magazine) was set up to publish collected vernacular words (Levend, 1960:422).

After the swift and successful passage to the Latin characters as the new alphabet (1.5.3), attention was turned to the implementation of the neologisms. Newspapers, official records, and textbooks were the main areas where neologisms appeared. In 1930, native Turkish words formed 35 per cent of the total lexicon in daily newspapers. The figure rose to 44 per cent by 1933 and 48 per cent by 1936 (Lewis, 1985:108-9). Atatürk himself used neologisms in his official correspondence as well as in the speeches he gave in honour of foreign state visitors. For instance, the speech to the Swedish

Prince Altes Ruvayel in early 1935 consisted of neologisms which even today's speakers do not use (Levend, 1960:424-5).

The community, nonetheless, was much slower in adopting the neologisms than the Society intended, which led to the realisation that public participation was crucial. In 1933, a nation-wide campaign was launched for public participation; the Society requested every citizen to cooperate in the suggestion of new words for the lists of foreign words published daily in the newspapers and broadcast in radios across the country with a view to actively involve the citizenry in the use of the neologisms (Kinross, 1965:529)

**1.5.7 Evaluation**

After a while, however, the purified form of Turkish began to give signs of becoming the language of the élite, a form unintelligible to the general public. The obvious possibility of a diglossic situation was quickly noticed by Atatürk himself towards the end of 1935, when he admitted that the fabricated language sounded more like a foreign language, and consequently advised moderation by saying 'We have driven the language into an impasse. We have become unable to express our messages' ... '...we have to make use of Ottoman and Western languages.' (cited in Atay, 1961:452-453). Levend (1960:426) writes that Atatürk initiated an inquiry as to the etymology of some of the traditional words that were awaiting the language planners' axe in the daily *Ulus* (The Nation), the semi-official paper of the *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (The Republican People's Party, the ruling party since foundation of the state in 1923 until 1950). He even suggested the restoration of Arabic and Persian words such as *devir* 'age', *vakit* 'time', *millet* 'nation', *hadise* 'incident' to replace the neologisms *çağ*, *zaman*, *ulus*, and *olay*. However, the worries of the head of nation did not

appear to be heeded by the Turkish Language Society or linguists as there is no record in the literature of any follow up of the suggestions. Despite this, the policy of purification appeared to be abandoned in favour of simplification in late 1935, paving the way for retention of the established Arabic and Persian words. The policy was also altered to make use of Indo-European languages, mainly French and English.

Attempts were made to find an ideological reason for the need to keep the unpurgable Arabic and Persian words in the language. In 1935-36, a clumsily articulated theory, the Sun Language Theory, which originated from Indo-European philology, became popular among some Turkish linguists.[16] It was thought that the theory could not only enhance and reinforce the dream that Turkish was the language from which other languages were derived (or at least it was one of the source languages) but at the same time could accommodate loanwords as archaic forms, originally from Turkish (Lewis, 1981:165). At the Third Turkish Language Congress in 1936, the papers presented mainly focused on the Sun Language Theory, the origin of Turkish, and the neological work. While the Congress decided to stop the work on neologising, it was decided to carry on with work on the origin and archaicness of Turkish in line with this theory (Levend, 1960:441). The same year, teaching of grammar came to an end with no reason given until it was resumed in 1940, with Professor Tahsin Banguoğlu's *Ana Hatlarıyla Türk Grameri* (An Outline of Turkish Grammar) taken as a source in all levels of schooling.

Ediskun (1988:13) notes that the Sun Language Theory had four tenets; a) The original meaning of words are associated with initial phonemes of these

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[16] According to this theory, developed by a Viennese philologist, Hermann F. Kvergic, and a French Sumerologist, Hilaire de Barenton, the first sounds uttered by primitive people became words in response to the awe induced in them by the sun. They tried to link the first sounds to the Aryan and Semitic languages (Ediskun, 1988:13).

words, b) The meaning bearing phonemes are the consonants, c) The first phoneme of the earliest word is derived from the word *sun* which human beings first worshipped, and d) Affixes are derived from vowel-consonant alternations. This theory had come out as the result of efforts by Western anthropologists working on Sumerian culture to find a root language for Indo-European languages, and was rejected by those who put forward the theory long before it was taken up by language purists in Turkey. This is curious. Putting aside the zealot purists, it may very well be that some academics were under pressure from authorities to find a quick solution to the claim that Turkish was a source language. Nonetheless, the theory was later on dismissed by Turkish linguists as well.

The theory, as Mango (1968:60) discovered, had a two-way function in the final analysis: to stress the importance of Turkish as an ancient language to promote a Turkish identity, and to justify the use of unpurgable Arabic and Persian words. Language policy and planning in the new state were primarily designed to highlight Turkish characteristics and identity, as Mardin (1981:211) observes.

Upon the death of Atatürk in 1938, the Turkish Language Society resumed the work of neologizing under the aegis of the next head of the nation, İsmet İnönü, signalling a return to pre-1935 policy, to produce more and more words to be used instead of Arabic and Persian words (Brendemoen, 1990:456). As to the new loanwords, the attitude directed to terms coming from Arabic and Persian is not directed to words of European origin (Underhill, 1986; 9). Rather, they were favoured to replace either Arabic words like *meclis* 'parliament' or native words like *yük* 'cargo'.

Following the Fourth Language Congress in 1942, two dictionaries were published in 1944; *Türkçe Sözlük* (Turkish Dictionary) in revised form with 668 pages, and *Tanıklarıyla Tarama Sözlüğü* (Dictionary of Collected Words).

As part of the on-going process of disseminating neologisms, in 1945 it was proposed that the language of law and state required revision, which consisted of inserting neologisms in lieu of traditional words. A bill in parliament changed the language of the constitution, even the title of it from *Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu* 'The Fundamental Law of Constitution' to *Anayasa* 'The Basic Law'.

Following the first multi-party elections in 1950, government changed hands. The *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (The Republican People's Party) which ruled the country since the foundation of the state was replaced by the conservative *Demokrat Parti* (Democrat Party). In the meantime, some of the influential supporters of the neological transplants such as Fuat Köprülü, Hamdullah Suphi, and Halide Edip defected to the conservative side, claiming reforms had created a *diglossia*: language of the state and language of commoners. In 1952, with the leadership of these figures, the language of the Constitution was reversed to its original form as it existed prior to 1945. An atmosphere of animosity appeared between the Society and the Ministry of Education. This situation continued until the Democrat Party administration was toppled by a military coup in 1960. This was welcomed by the Society, for the generals were of the same opinion in regard to linguistic issues, that is discarding the Arabic and Persian loanwords.

The peace between the Society and governments was continuously broken and restored due to administration changes untill 1980 when another military coup carried out by the Turkish Armed Forces abolished virtually every institution and society including the Constitution. In the

Constitution of 1982, which was commissioned by *Milli Güvenlik Konseyi* (The Council of National Security), the Turkish Language Society was not mentioned. Instead, linguistic studies were entrusted to *Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu* (The Atatürk Culture, Language and History Institution). This institution, which has been run by moderate linguists, has so far steered well away from issues which might cause political controversies. The members of the executive committee of the abolished Turkish Language Society and like-minded linguists formed a self-regulated association: *Dil Derneği* (The Language Association) in 1985. *Dil Derneği* continues to work in its own right and tries to influence language planning activities, mainly through newspapers and books.

The most controversial side of the language reform has always been the dismantling of popular loanwords. The policy of purification in the lexicon caused disturbances among the élite, and even created opposition (Korkmaz, 1985; Timurtaş, 1963) while the ordinary citizen watched the developments without interest. For instance, according to Timurtaş, a professor of Turkish linguistics, if the practice of purification aimed at nativisation, the nativisation was achieved long ago in the 1940's; continuation of the policy could then create another diglossic situation based on vocabulary, which it was originally devised to remove. Tietze noted the following in 1967. '...the vocabulary used by Atatürk in his speeches is largely incomprehensible for the younger generation today' (p.267). The gap between Atatürk's language and that of today has further widened since then. On nativisation, Timurtaş (1963, cited in Ediskun, 1988:48-9) further argued that the work should in no way lead to the impoverishment and stripping of expressive capacity (of nuances) of the language.

In agreement with Timurtaş and Tietze, I believe that the Turkish lexicon has been unnecessarily manipulated by those overinterested, to use Lewis'

expression, 'linguistic engineers'. Lewis (1981:155) notes that language planning in Modern Turkey has become a '...deliberate tinkering with language in order to change people's speech-habits and the way they write. This has been tried with not a few languages, but nowhere so radically as in Turkey.' With the moderate *Atatürk Kültür, Tarih ve Dil Yüksek Kurumu* taking charge of the linguistic matters, the sources of further tampering with the language, that is proponents of 'purification', appear to be some journalists in the media, some sectors of artists, and a few politicians, most if not all ideologically-oriented: on the left. Korkmaz (1985:29-31) discovers that the insistence on purification has a non-linguistic dimension; proponents are indeed seeking a 'cultural revolution' through change of the lexicon. This view is justified when Dilaçar (1969:27) openly stated that 'Linguistic reform is a cultural movement...'

The essence of the linguistic policy was indeed to remove a linguistic situation which divided the educated and the uneducated. This was realized by discrediting the Ottoman literary language with which few Turks, mainly intellectuals and officials, were involved. The core of the linguistic success lay in discarding the foreign grammatical elements and most Arabic and Persian loanwords that were used according the lending language's grammatical rules. The nativisation of vocabulary and grammar has been accomplished by means of the planning carried out by the Turkish Linguistic Society, which enjoyed the full support of the governments until the early 1950s.

### 1.5.8 A Recent Development

A recent significant development was instigated by the Congress of Cooperation and Friendship of the Turkic States and Communities which was held in Antalya, Turkey, on 21-23 March 1993. The following Turkic-

speaking states and communities were represented by 118 delegates to the Congress: Kazakhistan, Turkey, North Cyprus, East Turkistan (China), Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Crimean Turks (Russia), West Turkestan, Turkmenistan, and Gagavuz Turks (Ukraine). The Language-Alphabet Commission passed important resolutions about which the delegates would inform their respective governments:

i- a common alphabet should be used among Turkish-speaking countries,
ii- the most appropriate alphabet would be Latin,
iii- a dictionary of all Turkic dialects would be compiled, and
iv- a 34-letter alphabet (as shown below) should be accepted for all Turkic dialects.

These are: a, b, c, ç, d, e, æ, f, g, ğ, h, X, ı, i, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, ö, p, q, r, s, ş, t, u, ü, v, w, y, z. It is too early to comment on the feasibility of this task since the Comission have not so far detailed how this is to be achieved, let alone if respective governments have recognised it as a language policy.

**1.5.9 Codification**

Dictionaries - technical and non-technical - have been published, besides the collection of vernacular and dialectal words as source material for the lexicon. Several grammar books have appeared, written by individual grammarians, which are prescribed for all levels of formal education.

While Arabic and Persian are being abandoned as *Kultursprachen*, European languages such as French, German and English stepped in filling in the vacuum after the reorientation of the Turkish political and cultural life. Loanwords began to enter Turkish in large numbers first from French, then German (in the period 1890-1920), and lastly English. In view of the recent loanwords as well as the established loanwords, both Lewis (1985:111) and Underhill (1986:9) observe that the purification efforts directed to reduce

Arabo-Persian loans have not been equally directed to European loans. Rather, they are tolerated. Recently, however, voices have been raised to pointing to the increasing number of such loans.

As Aksoy observed in 1968, an observation which is still valid today, a great many of the suggested neologisms have been adopted although some of them are still struggling to get into common use. There are neologisms that are still in competition with the traditional words, that is, both of them are equally frequently being used while some of the neologisms have not been able to hold any ground among speakers (Aksoy, 1968:38). However, since then, some of the neologisms in the competing list of Aksoy are being used more often today.

Aksan (1977:346) believes that Turkish language reform has been highly successful, especially in relation to the adoption of a large proportion of neologisms. He refers to studies made on the language of daily newspapers: the language of the newspapers at the start of reforms in 1928 included nearly 60 per cent non-native words while in 1977 this percentage had dropped to 25 per cent to 35 per cent depending on the attitude of papers towards neology. Arabic and Persian loans constitute 15 per cent to 20 per cent of this sum while the remainder are European loanwords. As far as known, this is the most recent counting of lexical items used in newspapers.

The variety of Turkish spoken in İstanbul has been developed as the standard language, and non-standard dialects have been discouraged and not used in the national educational curriculum. Since the adoption of language reform policies in the 1930s, substantial progress has been made in every aspect of Turkish, largely thanks to the central administration of educational policies. From the orthographic point of view, given the phonetic nature of the script, there are very few spelling problems, and

these are usually restricted to loanwords. Syntax and morphology have been codified, and the vocabulary has largely been nativized. In syntax, however, the Persian *ki* 'that' as a complementiser and relative pronoun is still being used despite efforts of the language planners, partly due to the fact that it has acquired other functions, one of them being the equivalent of English 'so that', a contribution to Turkish.

**1.6 Conclusion**

Following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, political developments which aimed to make the country part of western civilisation required a linguistic policy which foresaw the elimination of Arabo-Persian linguistic elements in addition to the replacement of Arabic orthography with Latin orthography. Purging of Arabo-Persian elements in the language and the practice of neologising to fill the gap created thus as well as the influence of western European languages have not only caused widespread linguistic controversies but also produced extensive lexical variation. Lexical variation resulting from these phenomena have had social as well as linguistic consequences. With a considerable number of Arabo-Persian elements either eliminated or planned to be eliminated, proposed neologisms are taking their place. In some cases, it is the western loanwords which are taking over from Arabic and Persian loanwords. With the current position of the media and school-teachers, perhaps the most influential transmitters of linguistic elements in recent times, more and more of neologisms as well as western loan elements are likely to be brought into Turkish while the presence of Arabic and Persian will continue to diminish.

# Chapter 2

## SEMANTIC CHANGE and SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

### 2.0 Introduction

In what follows a brief history of semantics is given, later explicating the nature of meaning. Also, a three-way classification of the approaches to meaning is discussed (2.1). Three theories of semantic representation are discussed with the aim of selecting the best workable strategy for the semantic representation of lexical items as dictionary entries (2.2). Semantic changes and their causes are introduced, followed by a typology of semantic changes (2.3). The Labovian type of sociolinguistic variable method of describing linguistic variation and change is discussed, particularly as it concerns lexical variation (2.4). A review of sociolinguistic studies on lexical issues (loanwords and neologisms) is given (2.5).

### 2.1 Semantics

'Semantics' can simply be defined as the study of meaning in language. Defined as the study of meaning of linguistic signs, semantics is a branch of 'semiotics', which is the study of the meaning of signs and symbols in the widest sense. The term semantics may be employed to indicate the study of meaning both in language and philosophy. When the search for meaning in language is drawn to the realm of philosophy, it may designate both, which is sometimes the case in the present study. However, 'linguistic semantics' is the phrase which is used to refer uniquely to the discussions of meaning in language (Allan, 1986; Frawley, 1992). As far as this study is concerned, the main thrust is on the linguistic sense of 'semantics'.

The history of linguistic semantics in the 19th century is usually traced back to Karl Reisig, a German philologist (Gordon, 1982:1-2). Reisig worked on what he called 'semasiological' issues such as metaphor, metonymy, synonymy, and meaning differences between transitive and intransitive verbs.[1] The term semantics is the transferred form of the French term *sémantique,* which was coined by the French linguist Michel Bréal in 1883 from the Greek word *sema* 'sign'. Initially semantics, at least as understood by Bréal, not only indicated the study of meaning but also, perhaps with emphasis, change of meanings focusing on the developmental stages of words. Following de Saussure in the early 20th century, however, the study of change of meaning became the subject of 'diachronic' linguistics or more generally historical linguistics while the study of meaning alone became part of 'synchronic' or 'descriptive' linguistics.

### 2.1.1 Meaning

Meaning, the subject matter of semantics, constitutes a major part of linguistic science since the fundamental aim of linguistic communication is one of conveying meaning. To delimit the scope of the present study, note the following; 'meaning', as a lexical item in nominal form, derives its meaning from the verb 'mean' as depicted in the following statements: a) *Bachelor* means 'unmarried man'. b) The meaning of *bachelor* is 'unmarried man'. There are, of course, other uses of the verb *mean* such as 'believe', 'intend', 'result in', 'imply', 'indicate'. These senses might form points of discussion about the nature of *meaning*. However, they have no relevance for this study. What is of interest to us is the type of lexical meaning expressed in the two sentences above.

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[1] The term 'semasiology' had been used for a considerable amount of time before the term 'semantics' came into usage. However, semanticists like Stern (1931:1) regarded semasilogy as a boundary science between linguistics and psychology, probably because of the then prevalent psychological domination of the field.

Note the following about the *bachelor* sentences above: what is being defined is the notion of bachelor, not the real world object 'bachelor': a non-ostensive approach. Definitions, therefore meanings, are relatively independent of the objective world (Ullmann, 1957; Katz & Fodor, 1963). This means that there is not a one hundred per cent correspondence between the notion being defined and the real world, or a true representation of the reality, although recourse is generally, and has to be, made to the real world for purposes of clarifying and establishing certain characteristics within the definition.

Given that the world, or experience of the world, consists of physical and non-physical objects or entities, language is equally supposed to offer definitions for the meaning of non-physical objects (ideas), however imprecise they may be. An object, in the physical sense, or non-object (idea, concept, image, abstraction, feeling etc.) a word stands for, refers to or denotes is generally called its 'referent'[2]. The name the referent is referred to is called a 'word', 'lexical item' or 'lexeme'[3]. Going back to the example, the lexical item, whose meaning is given is *bachelor*, and the referent of bachelor is *any person* who fits into the definition. It is also important to note that while any lexical item belongs to the sphere of language, its referent belongs to the world of experience. It appears that it is *meaning* through which they are connected. Many linguists (among them Ogden & Richards, 1923; Stern, 1933, Ullmann, 1962; Palmer, 1976) consider meaning a relation between the sign (name, lexical item) and the referent.

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[2] The enumerated (non-object) referents have more or less a definable identity, as most people would agree, and they are generally assumed to be existent. However, there are referents whose existence is only on imaginary grounds and fiction such as Unicorn, Superman, Santa Claus.

[3] There are parts of speech such as prepositions which do not have a referent, and yet they are usually referred to as lexical items.

According to Bronislaw Malinowski (1930) and J. R. Firth (1935) and Wittgenstein (1953), the meaning of a linguistic form is the function it serves in a particular context or situation: 'the meaning of a word is its use in the language' (Wittgenstein, 1953:20). Allan (1986) refines their position by saying that 'meaning ascribed to a word by its use in particular contexts will take precedence over any formal definition of meaning which fails to be confirmed by usage' (p.77). Allan (1986:78) rightly states that the meaning of a word is determined by its use. He emphasises that this standpoint is different from that one which equates the meaning of a word with its use, as earlier (2.1) proposed by Wittgenstein (1953). In this connection, the meaning of a word can be given by definition before the word is actually used. However, it is usage which will determine whether that definition stands or falls. Therefore, the definition of an expression can only truly be obtained under the conditions the expression is used.

It has been customary amongst semanticists to view words as having two basic types of meaning: one is the core, original meaning and the other is socially gained meaning. The former is known as 'denotative' meaning, (cognitive, conceptual) while the latter is called 'emotive' or 'associative' meaning (connotative, stylistic); denotative meaning constitutes 'referential' information while associative meaning carries 'pragmatic' information. Associative meaning is the meaning that a word may acquire beside denotative meaning and is obtained through mental associations (connections) with the social and psychological characteristics of its referent. Through frequent usage of words, they are attributed properties that point out the social status and the geographical origin of the speaker as well as the formality and the context of the speech including the speaker's attitude and emotions. For instance, the synonymous pair *residence-house* can be said to differ in stylistic meaning while *gentleman-chap* differ in the degree of formality, again indicating stylistic meaning.

*Politician-statesman* point out the attitude of the speaker in that by the former disapproval is implied and by the latter approval (Palmer, 1976:43).

Given that associative meaning is socially gained, and gained later, and does not exist in every lexical item, denotative meaning is seen as the essential meaning, while the associative meaning is generally thought of as secondary, or less significant. From a sociolinguistic point of view, however, no type of meaning, whether it be original or associative, can be assigned a superior or otherwise status within a lexical item; in so far as semantic change is concerned, associative meaning may play a more crucial role in the life of a lexical item in certain situations. Furthermore, associative meaning may not only be the meaning with which a lexical item is more often employed but also may supersede the so-called core meaning in usage. For instance, in Old Thai the word *tiin* designated 'foot', and with the passage of time it became devalued and now is a vulgar term for 'foot'. The word *$t^haao$* which meant 'support' took its place as a polite term (Wilkins, 1981:9). (see also 2.8.1.1).

In order for the linguistic meaning to be successfully conveyed, certain conditions and expectations apply for speaker, hearer, utterance, context and so on. Speaker and hearer are expected to have the qualities of reasonable people with an intention to co-operate in their language interchanges. In this connection, a reasonable speaker does not resort to unnecessary prolixity, self-contradiction, uttering anomalies, tautologies, and statements of the obvious. Linguistic meaning is generally sought at the literal level, that is literal meanings of expressions form the face value of the communication (Grice, 1957). However, if the hearer fails to make sense of the literal meaning of the utterance, s/he is expected to attend to the non-literal, figurative meaning in the context of the interchange (Allan, 1986:2-5). For instance, an utterance like *You are a champion!* may

very well mean *I greatly appreciate what you did!*, or *You have been extremely helpful to me!* in a context where hearer is not a winner of a competition or leader of a social cause. So far, various aspects of the concept of meaning have been discussed. Below, three theories of meaning which attempt to answer the question of what meaning really is are sketched and discussed.

## 2.2 Theories of Semantic Representation

Contemporary semantics is primarily interested in 'semantic representation' with the aim of mapping it in a clear formula. An outline and discussion of three contemporary semantic theories which attempt to provide a semantic representation of lexical items in natural languages is given: 'componential analysis', 'semantic metalanguage', and 'prototype theory.' They are examined with a view to select a workable semantic theory for a quantitative study of lexical changes in modern Turkish.

### 2.2.1 Componential Analysis

Fundamentally, the componential analysis approach to the explication of the meaning of lexical items holds the view that the sense of a lexical item can formally be decomposed into components - atomic concepts that are shared by a considerable number of lexical items in the vocabulary. Components are composed of binary features or oppositions which assign (+) plus, or (-) minus values. The components assigned to a sense of a lexical item not only make up the structure of that sense but also help establish relations with those lexical items sharing one or more of the same components. For instance, one sense of the lexical item *man* involves the components *human*, *male*, and *adult*, which constitute the structure of that sense while the lexical item *man* establishes relations with items *woman* and *boy* on the basis of the shared components *human*, *adult* and *human*, *male*

respectively. The different components *non-male* (of woman) and *non-adult* (of boy) explain the different meanings of each of these words.

In their characterisation of the componential analysis approach within the framework of transformational generative grammar, Katz & Fodor (1963) claimed that a semantic theory which relies on speaker's ability to interpret the sentences of his/her language, should consist of 'projection rules' which 'take account of semantic relations between morphemes and of the interaction between meaning and syntactic structure in determining the correct semantic interpretation' of any lexical item or sentence (p.183). The projection rules work like this: every lexical item has two main components: syntactic and semantic. The syntactic component consists of 'grammatical markers' which assign syntactic relations to lexical items (noun, verb, etc.) while the semantic component includes 'semantic markers' and 'distinguishers', which decompose the meaning of a lexical item in a dictionary entry. Semantic markers express general properties that are common to many lexical items. Distinguishers state what is idiosyncratic about a lexical item; they differentiate a lexical item from related ones. Let us exemplify this by taking one sense of the lexical item *bachelor*: the grammatical marker is [noun], semantic markers are [human] and [male], and the distinguisher is [never married].

Katz & Fodor introduced a further notion called 'selection restriction': this is a necessary and sufficient condition for a semantically acceptable combination of markers (components). For instance, a lexical item like *honest* should have the information [human] as a selection restriction before the grammatical marker [adjective], semantic markers [evaluative] and [moral], and the distinguisher [straightforward]. Last of all, they excluded from their theory the contribution that the context of an utterance might make

to the meaning of a lexical item or sentence, holding that systemisation of all knowledge about the world speakers share is not completely possible.

The notions 'semantic marker' and 'distinguishers' have been challenged (Bolinger, 1965; Bierwisch, 1969). Bolinger (1965:559), for instance, demonstrated that a distinguisher, which is the ultimate idiosyncratic information, can be broken into semantic markers: disambiguating the 'unmarried sense' of bachelor, he extracted three semantic markers from the distinguisher [never married]: [adult], [non-becoming], and [unmarried]. Further, Bolinger (1965:561) points out that marker-distinguisher distinction does not 'correspond to a any clear division in natural language', to which the theory claims to apply. Instead of semantic distinguishers, Bolinger suggests the employment of the non-linguistic component of discourse universe, that is a speaker's knowledge of the world, which can function in a similar way to distinguishers - the argument discarded from the theory by Katz & Fodor on the grounds that systematisation of this kind of knowledge is impossible.

According to this approach, the semantic markers and distinguishers assigned to a word constitute the 'necessary and sufficient' conditions A definition of a word cannot afford to have all components but one. Otherwise, the meaning would be defective. It has been said earlier that definitions of words are given in terms of a formal semantic representation. Definitions consist of a set of features (several semantic markers and a distinguisher). These features become a set of necessary and sufficient conditions 'which a thing must satisfy in order to be an instance of the category labelled by the word' (Coleman and Kay, 1981: 26). This view of meaning is clearly defective for we know that there are cases where an object (referent) can be referred to by more than one lexical item, or one lexical item can refer to objects with differing characteristics or descriptions.

Moreover, the binary oppositions (male/female; young/adult; child of/parent of) are restricted to certain domains of lexicon and they are irrelevant in most other domains. The symmetry found in some lexical fields does not exist in all lexical fields. The describing elements (binary oppositions) are more abstract and learned than the words which they attempt to define. It also does not allow one meaning to be more basic or prototypical than another; for instance, the 'unmarried male human' sense of *bachelor*.

In conclusion, the componential analysis method of the explication of words in the form of dictionary entries is both theoretically and practically deficient because of the following considerations.

(1) It fails to indicate the idiosyncratic aspect of the different lexical items through distinguishers,

(2) It cannot explain the relevance of contextual information (speaker's knowledge of the world),

(3) Some words like colour do not have any elements to be defined by,

(4) Binary oppositions do not exist in all fields of lexicon, and the components may be more complicated, as has been the case in the definition of kinship terms, than the ones to be defined, and

(5) The strategies it offers for the definition of lexical items are not viable for a study of semantic change since the method is too complex.

### 2.2.2 Natural Semantic Metalanguage

The mapping or modelling of meanings of the lexical items naturally requires a 'notation' or 'metalanguage'. Wierzbicka (1972) believes that the most fruitful approach in notational strategy is the one that makes the

representation of meaning self-explanatory. In other words, notation should require neither further explanation nor expertise; it should be clear and comprehensible to ordinary speakers. Therefore, she proposes 'natural language' as a notation, or more precisely 'semantic metalanguage' (p.2). If natural language is to serve as a metalanguage, then metalanguage will have to be smaller than the language it is to define. Furthermore, metalanguage should be reduced to the smallest part of the natural language which will be sufficient to explicate meanings and relationships between all lexical items. The question of which items constitute the metalanguage is resolved by the notion of 'indefinable' or 'basic' lexical items; those items of natural language which do not need definition or description, and which represent 'universal' concepts.

Wierzbicka (1990a:366) calls such basic human concepts 'universal semantic primitives'. The reason why these concepts are described as 'basic' is because they are the simplest and/or the least complex concepts. Complex thoughts and concepts, she argues, are constructed out of these basic concepts, with the implication that definition of complex or fuzzy concepts can be readily handled by using basic concepts. Basic concepts do not need definition nor description, or in some sense, they are self-definitive because they are easily accessible to all speakers.

She proposes the following basic concepts or semantic primitives: *I, you, this, say, imagine, feel, think of, want, don't want, become, someone, something, part of, world*. (Wierzbicka, 1972:15-6) The above elements, she claims, are 'generally understood and firmly rooted in the inner conscience of everyone.' Using these elements, a large portion of the lexicon can successfully be explicated and semantic similarities and differences between lexical items can be shown. She can even define what has long been considered impossible to

define, that is words for feelings and emotions. Consider the lexical item *terrified*, taken from Wierzbicka (1990b:367).

Terrified

a) X feels something
b) sometimes a person thinks something like this
c) something very bad is happening
d) because of this, something very bad can happen to me now
e) I don't know this
f) because of this, I would want to do something
g) I can't do anything
h) because of this, this person feels something very bad
i) X feels like this

One point that makes this theory one like a check-list theory or 'a theory of necessary and sufficient conditions' is its layout consisting of conditions. A change of one or two conditions in the definition of a lexical item assigns that definition to another lexical item. When the definition of *terrified* is compared with the definition of *petrified*, which was given in the same study, the difference of meaning amounts to two features: In *petrified*, the feature (d) is stated as: something very bad will happen to me now. Further, one feature is added to the definition of *petrified* which is: because of this, this person can't move.

Faced with terms (denoting natural objects like *tree* as well as artefacts such as *cup*, *mug*) which need to be specified (defined) as a 'fuzzy set of meaning components', she claimed that such terms can be adequately defined by employing semantic primitives[4]. However, as she herself pointed out, the most controversial feature of this type approach is the 'gargantuan' length of definitions. For instance, the definition of *tree* took about 700 words. This was not an exception; *car* was defined in about the same number of words

[4] For instance, Putnam (1975:133) argued that 'there are things of which the description "tree" is clearly true and things of which the description "tree" is clearly false,...there are a host of boderline cases.'

while *mug* and *bird* took around 600 and 500 words respectively. To conclude, the semantic metalanguage approach does not serve as a practical tool in a quantitative study of semantic change in a large number of lexical items.

### 2.2.3 The Prototype Theory

Prototype theory is essentially a theory of categorisation developed on empirical grounds with a cognitive model approach. The prototype conception of categories was first hinted at by Ludwig Wittgenstein in the 1930's, and developed by Eleanor Rosch in the 1970's. Psychological and linguistic as well as anthropological studies carried out on the nature of concepts have instigated a great deal of stimulus not only for cognitive psychology but also for semantic analyses in linguistics (among them are Austin, 1961; Berlin & Kay, 1969; Rosch, 1973; Labov, 1963; McDaniel and Kay, 1967, Lakoff, 1972; Coleman and Kay, 1981).

The aforementioned studies demonstrated one very important fact: that categorisation is not totally independent of human reasoning and thinking; the essence of the human conceptual system is directly established in experience and perception of the 'physical, social and psychological world. For instance, take the category of 'maternal uncle' in Fox, an Amerindian language: it includes all the males from maternal origin regardless of the degree of proximity. This category is real for the Fox speakers and it would be strange to claim that such a category could easily exist independent of human experience, particularly given that not all languages have such a category.

For those concepts that are not easily grounded in human experience, that is not salient for cognition, human imagination utilises metaphor, metonymy, and mental imagery (Lakoff, 1972; Lakoff, 1987:xiv). For this

reason, not only in the description of categories but also for the categories to make sense, the cognitive and imaginative aspect of human activity have to be taken into consideration. Thus, categories cannot be defined only by the properties inherent in the members; metaphoric and metonymic types of cognition should be also allowed. Wittgenstein (1953 [1968]:31-32) pointed out that there is no property which is common to all the games referred to by the lexical item *game*. Some of the properties like winning, losing, competition, skill, luck, amusement may be present in some games but not in all. Any activity which has one of these can be easily called a 'game', which leaves us with no common feature. Instead, a series of similarities (overlapping similarities, similarities in detail, criss-crossing and metaphoric extensions) and relationships prevail between and among these features. Wittgenstein calls such a network of similarities 'family resemblances' (p.32).

Austin (1961:71) argued that the senses of a lexical item could be regarded as forming a category for that lexical item, with each sense being a member of that category. Because the senses of a word do not always have the same properties, the category that the word is naming is not a category as claimed by the classical view. Austin concluded that there are central and non-central senses, which are related to one another in appropriate ways, through metaphoric and metonymic uses. As such, addition of non-central senses to the category gives rise to 'polysemy', the existence of multiple meanings.

Rosch (1973) argued that for most natural concepts a set of necessary and sufficient features cannot be set up; examples or instances of a concept may each share certain features and may not share certain others. Therefore, they may vary in the degree of membership of a category, showing a hierarchical trend. In this hierarchy some features get assigned a

privileged, central status due to their presence in most of the members, which in turn become prototypical members, while members which have a low frequency of features are also considered members but to a lesser degree. The members which have the fewest number of features are not 'good' examples of a category, and therefore sit on the borderlines. Investigating the category of *bird*, Rosch (1973) discovered the existence of what is called 'prototype effects' and asymmetries within the members of the category. In a variety of experiments she asked her subjects to judge the members of category such as *robin*, *chicken*, *penguin*, *ostrich* in terms of greater representativeness for that category. The results showed that certain members of the category *bird* were consistently judged more representative than others. For instance, *robin* is more representative than *chicken* or *penguin*. Rosch called the most representative members of a category 'prototypical' members.

The least representative members of a category may share some of its features with members of a different yet neighbouring category. In such cases, the task of determining where a particular member belongs is not an easy one. Therefore, the notion of 'fuzziness' of categories emerged. Membership of the least representative is defined in terms of degree or probability. Labov (1973) carried out an experimental study to propose a non-intuitive and empirical model to the study of meaning, in which he tested the responses of subjects to a set of drawings which depicted varying degrees of typical and non-typical cups and cuplike objects. He wanted to see if the boundaries of categories designated by the objects are clearly separable by the speakers in an effort to capture the conditions for denotation (denotational meaning). According to the results, Labov concluded that the meaning of, for instance, *cup* cannot be defined in distinctive or discrete terms, because the concepts designated by the drawings are vague. The applicability of words *cup*, *bowl*, etc. to objects

depicted in the drawings is a matter of degree, displaying a prototypical structure: for instance, the word *cup* is 100 per cent applicable to typical drawings of typical cups. As the width of the container increases, the percentage of applicability keeps dropping down until it is exceeded by the applicability of the word *bowl*. At the crossing point, it is possible to have two conflicting statements : the object is a 'cup' and it is not a 'cup', because 'bowl' is also nominated for that object.

In their study of the English verb *lie* 'state something untrue', Coleman & Kay (1981) investigated the semantic structure with a view to find a gradient character as far as the elements that make up the meaning-whole are concerned. They hypothesized that the notion of prototypes found in colour and physical object categories can also be observed in other parts of the vocabulary. Their view of the prototype structure of lexical meaning is that semantic categories have blurry edges and permit degrees of membership. In their trial of the hypothesis for the lexical item *lie*, they elicited three properties for the definition; in order for an utterance to be protoypically *lie*, it should be false, deliberate, and intended to deceive. If an utterance has all of these elements, they anticipated their subjects to consider it as a full-fledged *lie*. However, if the utterance has one or more of the elements lacking, it will still be called a *lie*, but to a lesser degree. This feature will, they anticipated, prove that *lie* has a gradient structure in terms elements that make it up.

They developed an experiment in which they relied on speakers' ability to judge the degree of membership of the three elements for the category *lie*. In permutation, they formed 8 (possible) stories in which each of the elements may be present or absent. The results indicated that stories which contain more of the prototype elements received higher *lie*-scores from the subjects. The more the number of *lie*-elements in a story, the better *lie* it is.

Aside from this, Coleman & Kay also found gradience among the elements; the most central element appeared to be (deliberate) while (intent to deceive) was the next important, and (false) was the least important of all.

The above studies, particularly the last two, have important implications for the present study in the following ways. The meaning of lexical items such as *cup* or *bowl* cannot be defined in distinctive or discrete terms, simply because the concepts designated by the drawings are vague. As a result, the applicability of words *cup*, *bowl,* etc. to objects depicted in the drawings is a matter of degree and gradation. If denotation is taken as meaning, as is in Labov's study, the word *cup* has several meanings (denotations) until one of the meanings can be referred to by another word in the same lexical field. In this case, it may be claimed that some meanings (denotations) are more often referred to as cup than others, and the level of frequency of referring may play a significant role in designating which meaning is the most, more, and least central.

The Coleman & Kay (1981) study successfully demonstrated the applicability of the prototype approach to a vocabulary item on a quantitative basis using the internal structure of that vocabulary item. The second implication for the present study is methodology. As they can easily use elements as a gradient factor for a lexical item, the same thing can be done in similar studies. In this vein, the notion of polysemy can readily be accommodated within this framework.

In conclusion, the Prototype approach can easily accommodate several uses or senses of a lexical item within the definition, which other approaches, particularly the componential analysis approach, are incapable of doing. Literal, contextual, metaphoric, metonymic meanings can be more readily illustrated in this approach. A quantitative and non-discrete model of

definition is required to specify the boundaries of the concepts defined while delineating the invariant core of the concepts. The prototype approach offers this; a prototype definition can be flexible enough to accommodate several uses without specifying exact definitional characteristics of a lexeme, thus escaping lengthy formalities of definition.

**2.3 Semantic Change**

The term 'semantic change', or 'shift' as some linguists (Dixon, 1980) prefer, has been differently used by various linguists. Bloomfield (1933:426) reports that earlier linguists such as Bréal considered change of meaning as a process in which the speech form remains the same as it is while the meaning of that form alters from one time to the next. Similarly, semanticists like Stern (1933), Ullmann (1957), Jeffers and Lehiste (1979), and Brown (1979) regard changes in form, as well as meaning changes, as a kind of meaning change, as in the example below: the reduction of the form *private soldier* to *private* is classified as shortening in meaning, whereas Coseriu (1964), Werth (1974), Posner (1980), and Wilkins (1990), among others, consider such changes as changes in form, that is, changes in the lexical item or *lexical changes*. In this discussion, any change within the linguistic sign which involves meaning will be referred to as semantic change while any change which involves the replacement of the lexical item will be referred to as lexical change. Although lexical change is a kind of semantic change, I will keep the terms separate.

More commonly, changes in the meaning range of a word either restrict or extend the semantic range of that lexical item. The former type of change is called 'restriction of meaning', which reduces the (number of) senses of the lexical item with the passage of the time (Waldron, 1967:119). The latter type is generally referred to as 'extension of meaning', which increases the

existing senses (Waldron, 1967:120). Put differently, restriction tends to generate specific words whereas extension produces generic words[5]. For instance, the meaning of the lexical item *meat*, which formerly (16th century) meant 'food of any kind', got restricted to the sense 'edible flesh'. On the other hand, *picture* which formerly (15-16th centuries) referred to 'painting', 'drawing' came to be used to mean 'photo' and 'movie' in 18th and 19th centuries, an instance of extension of meaning.

What is generally referred to as 'semantic differentiation' (or 'semantic specialisation') involves the intrusion of another lexical item. It describes a situation in which the semantic content of a lexical item is divided up and shared with another lexical item with the passage of the time. In some cases, some of the senses of the lexical item are more specifically represented by the newcomer in such a way that the two lexical items have a hyponymic relationship. A case of semantic differentiation occurred in the meaning range of the adjective *clean* in English after the arrival of French *pure* which meant 'not mixed', 'innocent', 'chaste' in 14th and 15th centuries (Waldron, 1967:120). Although *pure* still designates these senses, the sense 'chaste' and/or 'without evil' is now only designated by *pure*. *Clean* can also cover the sense 'not mixed', and perhaps 'innocent' to a lesser extent.

### 2.3.1 Causes of Semantic Change

Changes of meaning are generally attributed to several factors including linguistic, sociological, and psychological (Waldron, 1967; Tucker, 1972; Stern, 1931; Ullmann, 1962). Changes of meaning involved in lexical variation can be attributed to socio-psychological factors. Individual and social attitudes, emotions, or feelings associated with the referent of the

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[5] The terminology differs. For instance, while Bloomfield (1933: 431) uses the terms 'expansion' and 'obsolescence' for 'extension' and 'restriction', respectively, Ullmann (1957: 204) prefers 'widening' and 'narrowing'.

lexical item often contribute to change of meaning. Some of the attitudes of speakers are referred to by the terms 'taboo', 'pejorative', 'euphemistic'. If a lexical item acquires negative connotations because of the way its denotation is perceived by speakers, an alternative (synonymous) lexical item emerges providing speakers with a means to deemphasize the negative connotations. A process of this kind produces a 'euphemism' or 'euphemistic expression'. The outcome of a euphemistic tendency may involve a transfer of a name to a referent whose existing name is considered unpleasant, which is the result of a tendency to tone down indecent associations of a referent.

According to Allan & Burridge (1991:11-2), a euphemism is an alternative expression to a dispreferred expression in order to avoid loss of face since the dispreferred expression may have (more) negative connotations (than its counterpart). Dispreferred expressions may be employed on purpose in order to show disapproval of and to downgrade certain actions, attitudes, qualities, entities, and particularly one's opponent's, as in expressions like *idiot box, you cripple!* The dispreferred expressions with offensive connotations about the denotation and/or hearer are called 'dysphemisms' (Allan & Burridge, 1991:26). The choice between the euphemism and dysphemism is motivated by the positive or negative connotations. Consider the following pairs: *bribe/honorarium, die/pass away, period/menstruation*. The latter of the pairs are used as euphemisms while the former may or may not be dysphemisms.

When the tendency to use a euphemism becomes a social norm, that is a euphemism begins to be used by an overwhelming majority of speakers, its counterpart (the original expression) drops out of use soon, causing a lexical change. For instance, the Turkish word *karı* which meant 'wife' is replaced by *eş* 'partner', which originally meant, and still does, 'one of a pair';

*karı* also signified 'old woman' aside from the connotation 'talkative'. Adoption of *eş* is to put both partners on an equal footing given that *koca* 'husband', which also means 'old man' is about to be replaced by the same lexical item.

Allan & Burridge (1991:4) emphasize that 'euphemism and dysphemism are defined by reference to concerns about face, concerns that are of immense significance on any occasion of language interchange.' Here, the term 'face' refers to public self-image. In discourse, one's self-image has to be sustained and enhanced in order for that person to feel good, confident, and secure. (Allan & Burridge, 1991:238). The so-called 'synonymous' loanwords are a good source for such purposes.[6] The car market where each car owner can sell a vehicle individually is referred to by many as *araba pazarı* while the sign at the entrance might say *oto(mobil) pazarı*. Again, when a reporter interviews a person of importance on TV, s/he is not doing *mülakat*, rather *röportaj* (Fr. reportage) to indicate that what is being done is done in the same fashion as in the Western countries. Also, speakers generally want their attributes, ideas, and goals to be tolerable and acceptable. Therefore, showing interest in their involvements and ideals by accommodating accent, style, dialect and so on would make them comfortable, and perhaps more friendly. At the lexical level, for instance, Turkish speakers have at their disposal three lexical items for the meaning 'tolerance': a traditional word *müsamaha*, a neologism *hoşgörü*, and the English loanword *tolerans*. Depending on the context of speech and the personal characteristics of the addressee, any of the options is utilised.

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[6] Bookless (1982:171) describes synonymous loanwords as loanwords whose semantic content (i.e. referential meaning) is already being denoted by existing expressions. The motivation for the borrowing stems from the speaker's need to convey connotative and emotive meanings. The loanword has a stylistic value; it is accepted as the synonym of its counterpart.

Another factor in meaning changes is a communal ban, 'taboo' (normative prescription), not to use the name of certain people or objects considered dangerous, uncanny, and unclean, or names that carry undesirable associations and connotations (Ullmann, 1962:205). The practice of taboo can be dictated, enacted in modern societies through prescriptive attitudes or language policies: the neologism *soyut* 'abstract' was to be used instead of the established word *mücerret*, which had an Arabic origin. In the replacement process, *soyut* transferred only one meaning, 'abstract', from *mücerret*, which had the meanings 'stripped', 'bare', 'simple', 'unmarried' and 'abstract', before acquiring the meaning 'intangible' (The Oxford Turkish-English Dictionary, 1984).[7]

Euphemistic and dysphemistic tendencies as well as language policies may account for a great number of semantic changes in the postulated lexical variants (traditional words vs. neologisms / traditional words vs. loanwords).

### 2.3.2 Typology of Semantic Changes

The following is a typological list of semantic changes:

(i) a lexical item with a certain (original) meaning comes to associate with a new but related (innovated) meaning, which coexists with the original meaning [polysemy].

(ii) Following (i), the innovated meaning may displace the original meaning [monosemy].

(iii) More than one innovated meaning may be associated with a lexical item [multiple polysemy].

(iv) Relatedness between innovated meanings can decrease so much that at some stage some meanings appear unlinkable and unrelated [homonymy].

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[7] Phrasals and idiomatic expressions are omitted from glosses for convenience.

(v) Any of the existing meanings may detach from the lexical item.

(vi) One or more of the existing (related) meanings may come to be associated with a new lexical item [partial synonymy/semantic differentiation].

(vii) One of the two lexical items sharing certain meanings may be discontinued from use [lexical change].

(viii) 'a lexical item **b**, hitherto associated with a semantic configuration **B**, comes to be displaced by another lexical item **C**, which has hitherto associated with semantic configurations **B'**, **B''** etc...' (Werth, 1974:379) [first lexical change, and then semantic change].

## 2.4 Sociolinguistic Method of Analysis

In section 2.2.3 it is explained why prototype theory will be employed in the explication of the definitions of the lexical items under investigation. In this section, I examine the Labovian type of sociolinguistic variable method of describing the linguistic variation and change as a possible framework of analysis.

As the framework of analysis, the sociolinguistic variable rule, which was originally developed by Labov (1963, 1966), seemed most suitable because of the following considerations. The linguistic situation being studied here is one of variation at the lexical level. The case of lexical choice in modern Turkish has emerged as a result of attempts to say 'the same thing by using two lexical items', firstly neologisms and traditional words, later loanwords and traditional ones, just like the words in American English *car* and *automobile*, which are said to be in 'free variation' (Labov, 1972d:188) for

both seem to have the same referent.[8] Variation between choices may have social and stylistic significance for speakers (Labov, 1972d:271). The lexical variants described in Turkish have acquired social and stylistic meanings. Lexical variation can easily be correlated with the social and demographic characteristics of speakers as well as with the style of discourse (Labov, 1972d:192-3). Neologisms and loanwords have been an indicator of prestige and higher status while traditional words have become non-standard and stigmatised.

Linguistic change results from linguistic variation (Labov, 1972d:123). This study, aside from examining social and stylistic correlations of lexical variants with speakers of various groups, investigates whether there has been a change of meaning in the pairs of words under investigation. One of the reasons why we hope to find a semantic change is that lexical variation is 'embedded' in the social setting and behaviour. In connection with this phenomenon, Bram (1955:27) writes that every change in beliefs, attitudes, or social institutions affects words and their meanings in numerous ways.

The attempts to examine and locate linguistic change have benefited enormously from the observation of linguistic variation (Labov, 1966; 1970; 1972c). The concept of linguistic variation is based on the idea that the language spoken within a speech community varies from one section to another. Sections may be social and demographic groups such as class, age, sex, place of residence, education, etc. It has long been observed that men and women, old and young, rich and poor talk differently. What was not known is how the linguistic variation correlated with the social environment until case studies by Labov (and others) showed that certain correlations can be made on the basis of sociolinguistic data. Labov (1966)

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[8] Joos (1962:13) reports that the following pairs of lexical expressions have their origins in the styles they are used in: to be with it - to be in the know, kiddo - crying out loud.

found, in general, that linguistic variation not only correlates with the social characteristics of speakers but may also be affected by the context of situation or style. A notion of 'sociolinguistic variable' emerged from this study, which meant a set of alternative ways of saying the same thing, with each alternative associated with a particular social significance. The alternatives are called 'linguistic variants' while the linguistic unit which gives rise to the variants is called a 'linguistic variable'.

The correlation of variants with respect to socioeconomic status yielded a pattern, which Labov called 'class stratification' while the analysis in terms of styles (careful, casual, and reading styles) is called 'style stratification'. 'Style' can be defined as the arrangement of linguistic repertoire in terms of the amount of attention paid to the speech due to factors like social distance, intimacy and so on (Labov, 1972d: 110). General implications of this kind of study have been borne out by numerous later studies which followed (some of them are Trudgill 1974a; Cheshire 1982; Milroy 1982; Horvath 1985; Dressler and Wodak 1982).

The problem of how to treat linguistic variation for the levels of linguistic analysis other than phonological has been a topic of interest and debate among linguists. Previously, however, the possibility of applying the sociolinguistic variable to other levels of analysis was considered; Labov (1966:49) stated that 'phonological variables appear to be the most useful' for stratification, as opposed to syntactic, lexical, etc., according to the criteria of a) frequency of occurrence, b) immunity from conscious suppression, c) being integral units of larger structures, and d) quantifiability on a linear scale.

G. Sankoff (1973) tries to demonstrate that variability takes place and can be fruitfully studied at syntactic and semantic levels other than

phonological. G. Sankoff looked at the syntactic variables from New Guinea Tok Pisin and Montreal French, and a semantic variable from Montreal French. She argued that the following elements fully qualified for a study of variation in the same way as the phonological variables: 1) the placement of the future marker *bai* in Tok Pisin before and/or after the noun phrases, 2) the deletion of the French complementizer *que* , and 3) the alternation between the French indefinite pronoun *on* and the definite pronouns *tu* and *vous* . For the last case of variability, for instance, she observes a clear variation for the age factor in which older speakers use *on* significantly more often than younger speakers, who use more of *tu* and *vous*.

Another study, Weiner & Labov (1983), investigated the extent to which the choice between the agentless passive and generalised active in American English is constrained by internal (semantic and syntactic) and external (social: style, sex, class, age, and ethnicity) factors, as in the sentences '*The liquor store was broken into*' vs. '*They (somebody) broke into the liquor store*.' Overall, the active variants are largely preferred over the passive ones: roughly, the percentages are 65 per cent and 35 per cent. Weiner & Labov claimed that semantic constraints play no role whatsoever in the choice of passive vs. active since both variants seemed to be used by all speakers surveyed as 'two alternative ways of saying the same thing' since they are 'truth-conditionally equivalent and used on the whole to refer to the same state of affairs' (p.31-2). The external (social) factors in general proved not to influence greatly the choice between the variants.

In their study of lexical and semantic variation in Montreal French, D.Sankoff et al. (1978) looked at the 'alternation among partial synonyms in a number of syntactically well-defined contexts' (p.23). Using distributional criteria and ethno-semantic methodology, they formalised a model of 'partial synonymy' for generic and specific terms within a semantic

(lexical) field, namely verbs for 'to dwell'. The notion of partial synonymy was crucial for their study of lexical choice because they wanted to see the effect of semantic variation on the socioeconomic differentiation of the speech community. The notion was based on the semantic principles of inclusion and exclusion (D.Sankoff, et al. 1978: 24-27). In other words, the relationship between the two lexical items is one of 'hyponymy': 'superordinate' (generic) words are inclusive of 'hyponyms' (specific words).

The distribution patterns indicate that speakers tend to choose more generic verbs to indicate a sense which is also covered by less generic verbs. For instance, the most generic verb *rester* was preferred by a great majority of participants while the most specific verb *habiter* was used least frequently. Aside from these, they also made correlations between the social characteristics of speakers and the verbs they preferred. For instance, one of the findings was that the specific verb *habiter* is more often used by the highly educated and professional speakers whereas working class speakers constitute the majority who use the generic verb *rester* (Sankoff et al. 1978:28-30).

The lexical choice patterns in Turkish are mainly a result of the language planning activities which prescribed the substitution of neologisms for traditional words as well as the synonymous loanwords from Indo-European languages.[9] The substitution initiative which caused the lexical variation was not expected to modify the semantic range of either of the variants one way or the other. Nonetheless, semantic changes are most likely to occur since the substitution was carried out in a changing social and cultural setting (Labov, 1972d:286). In addition to investigating meaning changes,

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[9] There are also cases in which one established Indo-European loanword is in variation with a recent Indo-European loanword. For instance, Italian *lokanta* 'restaurant' is being challenged by the French *restoran*.

this study may reveal sociolinguistic and stylistic differences between the variants, as was the case in the study by D. Sankoff et al. (1978).

## 2.5 Sociolinguistic Studies on Lexical Issues

Several sociolinguistic studies which concentrated on issues relating to individual lexical items, particularly loanwords, were carried out using Labovian methodology. Some of these studies, outlined below, have provided background for this study.

In an attempt to describe the use and integration of anglicisms (loanwords from English) in Spanish, Bookless (1977) investigated the factors which influence the acceptance and the continued use of eighty loanwords, using eighty speakers (53 had secondary education, 27 were tertiary students). The study tested the speakers' recognition, comprehension and usage of loanwords in a questionnaire presented to Spanish speakers living in different parts of Spain, using age, sex, education, occupation, knowledge of English and residence as variables. Bookless (1977) observed a definite correlation between social factors and the penetration of anglicisms: higher scores on all of the three scales of testing were identified with a higher standard of living, higher education, younger age, and more knowledge of English. The majority of speakers were able to identify the anglicisms. The percentage of usage reported was consistently less than that of comprehension. Overall, in the use of and attitude towards the anglicisms, neither an extreme positive nor an extreme negative trend was observed.

Sajavaara (1986) reports the results of a research program completed in 1980 by Sajavaara et al. on the use, comprehension and of attitudes towards English loanwords in Finnish. The subjects surveyed were 539 adolescents and young people: 313 male and 226 female. The sample stratification

consisted of sex, locality, and socioeconomic background. The tests used a multiple-choice technique. The variables sex and socioeconomic status did not have a noticeable effect on either of the independent variables. Surprisingly, the comprehension rate of English loanwords was very low; even the subjects who had a high proficiency in English failed to understand many of the lexical items tested. In so far as locality is concerned, subjects from Helsinki area came first in the percentage of comprehension of anglicisms, followed by those from a rural area. Again, Helsinki subjects were more critical of the use of English loanwords in any domain than either of the two rural area subjects. Overall, an overwhelming majority of subjects did not consider acceptable the use of English elements in job announcements, advertisements, and media, which comprise the main domains of use. A majority approved the use of such words for scholarly discussions and conferences.

In their quantitative study of linguistic style on the basis of lexical choice in Turkish, Cüceloğlu & Slobin (1980) tested Turkish speakers' perception of alternative lexical items (neologisms vs. traditional words) to see if linguistic style is associated with tendencies in politics, culture, morality, education, technological advancement, male-female relations, and so on. They found that linguistic style functioned as a clear differentiator in assigning, primarily, political and cultural attributions to the users of neologisms and traditional words. Subjects (328 male and 214 female students from a number of universities in Istanbul and Ankara, who participated in a written match-guise experiment, showed clear-cut attitudes towards and ideas about the supposed writers of two texts, which differed only in the choice of words; regardless of political or social persuasion, they attributed qualities such as right-wing, traditionalist, and religious to the writer of the text which included traditional words while they regarded the other writer who used neologisms in place of traditional

words as left-wing, modernist, and secular. Cüceloğlu and Slobin also found that the use of neologisms was a more marked social indicator than traditional words. Linguistic style is not generally associated with attitudes towards education, adoption of technology. Attitudes toward male-female relations also differed alongside the approval of linguistic choice; leftists preferred a liberal standing while rightists opted for traditional roles of the sexes. In a further experiment using a semantic differential, they tested the speakers' affective responses to the writers of both texts; in the evaluative dimension on the three bi-polar adjectives (good-bad; pleasant-unpleasant; tasteful-tasteless), subjects identified as leftists (by means of subsidiary tests: socialist - non-socialist, newspaper readership, religious feelings, etc.) gave overall positive responses to the neologism-writer and negative responses to the traditional word-writer. Not surprisingly, the subjects identified as rightist offered opposite evaluations. Students with moderate political tendencies diverge from both of these groups; linguistic style is not generally identified with certain persuasions. The variable of sex did not appear to be factor in the assigning of linguistic style to attributes.

Poplack et al. (1988) studied English loan word usage in five diverse francophone neighbourhoods in Ottawa, Canada, considering the variables education level, socio-economic status, degree of bilingual proficiency in English, sex and age in addition to residential area (majority/minority status of French in the neighbourhood) in order to see the degree of linguistic integration of loans as well as social assimilation by the francophone community. In a relatively active French/English bilingual situation through informal conversations with 120 speakers, they extracted more than two thousand loanwords against a background of twenty thousand instances of loanword use. They found surprising results: the proportion of loanwords which can be considered to be truly widespread in the community was only 7 per cent. They also found that the distribution of

grammatical functions for loans was nouns (64 per cent), verbs (14 per cent), interjections and frozen expressions (12 per cent), and adjectives (8 per cent). The findings with regard to education, age, and sex did not show significant results. Educational attainment had little or no independent effect for borrowing rates although there is a slight tendency for old established loanwords to be concentrated among those speakers with primary schooling or less while recent forms are preferred by those with more than primary education. Speakers aged between 15 and 34 use the greatest number of loanwords while older speakers (aged between 45 and 64) use fewer loanwords. Although speakers over the age of 65 employ the fewest loanwords, they are the ones who utilise the loanwords that entered Canadian French before 1930 more than any other group. Men use slightly more loanwords than women. It appeared that it was the social class membership which was the major predictor for the rates of borrowing. Speakers from a working class background used more loanwords than those from a middle class background. Also, a speaker who lives in a suburb where French is spoken by the minority (i.e. English is spoken by the majority) is likely to use loanwords more often than one living in a French majority suburb.

Cicioni (1991) conducted a survey on one hundred and eighty Italian speakers, resident in Rome, Milan and Naples, for their use, comprehension and subjective evaluation of fifty loanwords and their Italian alternatives. The independent variables she employed were gender, city, birthplace, class, education and knowledge of foreign languages. She made correlations between independent and dependent variables. There was a high correlation between the use of loanwords in Italian and the level of educational attainment. As the level of schooling increases, so does the usage of loanwords. Speakers who had tertiary and higher education utilised loanwords most often. Adults with less than eight years of

education used fewer than the above two groups while those adults with five or less years of schooling used the loanwords the least frequently. The trend was the same for young people; i.e. as the number of schooling years decreased, the number of loanwords used decreased. Among the young speakers, those who had 12-13 years of schooling used loanwords most frequently. Adults consistently utilised loanwords more than young speakers. Gender differences were minimal; women used slightly more loanwords than men. Although knowledge of foreign languages did not contribute to a higher use rate of loanwords, it did significantly affect the level of comprehension of loanwords. Age and gender differentiation for comprehension was nonsignificant. Again, education was the main determinant for higher level of comprehension of loanwords; there was a considerable difference in comprehension between the adult speakers who had eight or less years of education and the adults who had more than eight years of education. For the evaluation of loanwords in terms of precision, elegance, simplicity, and frequency, none of the socio-demographic and socio-cultural characteristics indicated correlations except class; a polarisation was observed between upper-middle-class speakers and working-class speakers while middle-class speakers did not vary in terms of the mean percentages.

## 2.6 Conclusion

Linguistic meaning is never identical with the world (real or assumed); however, it is not totally isolated from it. Definitions, therefore meanings, are relatively independent of the objective world. It is usage which will determine whether a definition stands or falls (provided that expressions are used reasonably appropriately). Therefore, the definition of an expression can only truly be obtained under the conditions the expression is used. Any change within the meaning range of a linguistic sign is a

semantic change while any change which involves the replacement of a linguistic form is a lexical change. Following a semantic change, meanings of a lexical item either get restricted or expanded, or certain meanings of that lexical item are signified by another form: a differentiation takes place. More often than not, the cause of semantic changes is one which stems from non-linguistic factors. In fact, psychological causes dominate others; euphemistic and dysphemistic tendencies are among the primary factors in both semantic and lexical changes.

Given the assumed denotational equivalence, the question of whether (postulated) synonyms (traditional words vs. neologisms, traditional words vs. synonymous loanwords) truly possess equivalence of meaning will be discussed; there is in fact no one hundred per cent equivalence of conceptual meaning, and stylistic and sociolinguistic variation in the choice of particular synonyms should be viewed as part of the meaning of these words, as loanword studies point out. Since the lexical variation takes place in a socially and politically changing environment, semantic changes are likely to take place between the lexical variants. Combining the Labovian quantitative approach with the prototype theory type of giving definitions for lexical items appears to be the best option in a quantitative sociolinguistic study of loanwords and neologisms in Turkish.

# Chapter 3

# SURVEY METHODOLOGY

## 3.0 Introduction

A review of methods in data collection is carried out. The experimental method is adopted; this involves the use of native speakers to provide specified types of facts about their language in a structured manner with the investigator in control. For purposes of collecting data a questionnaire was designed to elicit data on use, semantic changes and language attitudes. The techniques employed to elicit data on semantic changes and language attitudes are explained. This chapter also discusses how the dependent and independent variables were selected. The dependent variables are twenty lexical pairs. The independent variables (sex, age, and education) and their use in the survey are discussed. The sampling technique of subjects for the survey is quasi-random. Lastly, the problems encountered in the execution of the survey are presented.

## 3.1 Methodology in Data Collection

Linguistic analysis can be based on a corpus obtained by using the following methods either separately or in combination: intuitions, texts, elicitation, experiments, and observation (Labov, 1972a:99). When the investigator directly accesses the target language through his/her intuitions, the method is one of 'introspective self-observation'. Working on texts requires that the investigator have substantial knowledge of the language in question. The main difference between the two is that in the second type of study the investigator bases his/her generalisations on independently collected data (Milroy, 1987:4). The other three methods, that is, elicitation, experiments, and observation, involve the employment of subjects speaking the language as

a mother tongue. However, each of these methods differ from each other to the extent they place emphasis on different procedures and techniques, as will be seen below. I believe that it is sufficiently obvious, given the involvement of a large number of native speakers, that among those who are likely to rely on experiments, elicitation and observational techniques are individuals who investigate social as well as individual factors in linguistic variation. Furthermore, data obtained through systematic observation is unrivalled in reliability for a systematic study of language behaviour.

Labov (1972a:97) points out both the importance and drawbacks of observational information: '...observations of the vernacular provide the most systematic basis for linguistic theory, but have been the most difficult kinds of data for linguists to obtain.' However, sociolinguistic studies on lexicon using the observational method tend to suffer from a lack of sufficient number of occurrences of the desired items (unlike other branches of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, syntax), as Poplack et al. (1988:48-9) experienced in a study of loan word usage in Canadian French; '...these [borrowed] words are typically rare in monolingual discourse, so that several hours of speech will yield a few dozen, most of which occur only once'. Only one percent of the total corpus of 2.5 million words was borrowed words. The chief disadvantage of the observational method is the enormous length of time and amount of effort needed for this type of data collection. Furthermore, the method does not necessarily gather intended and comparable information for cross-tabulations (Milroy, 1987:185).

As a solution to data collection problems encountered in syntactic-based surveys, in which variants are equally, if not more, unlikely to crop up in recorded speech, Milroy (1987:148-8) suggests the employment of an 'elicitation' technique, which will involve '...supplement[ing] a corpus of naturally occurring speech with data gathered by some kind of experimental

method'. For instance, elicitation for a syntactic variable would require the recording of variants in natural speech, and then forms of that variant would be put to subjects in a questionnaire to elicit judgements of acceptability. This method, however, does not appear to be promising for the kind of lexical survey in this study precisely because the survey aims to get subjects to define individual lexical items which they use or are likely to use in their natural speech.

The remaining method in Labov's list above is the experimental method: According to Milroy (1987:5), the experimental method involves the use of native speakers to provide '...specified types of fact about the target language or variety' and requires the investigator to be in direct control over the data accessed or to manipulate subjects' responses. Since our survey is to do research on the reported use and definition of specified lexical items, and the language attitudes towards these lexical items, the most appropriate method appears to be the experimental one.

The target corpus of the lexical items to be studied is the total number of lexical variants in contemporary Turkish, that is traditional words vs. neologisms and traditional words vs. (synonymous) loanwords (see Chapter 1). For the purpose of collecting naturally occurring data to be accessed by the subjects, I decided to utilise a specifically designed series of cartoon illustrations to relate a story (see the text in 3.4). Via this technique, it is intended subjects will have to utilise one of the lexical variants, perhaps both. Twenty target variants are intended to surface in the speech of subjects. In this way, the survey may overcome the problem that a sufficient number of lexical variants for a systematic study is not likely to crop up even in lengthy conversations with subjects, as has been remarked above.

Also, subjects will already have in their 'active competence' the lexical items they have used in the story-telling. Therefore, they will have minimal difficulty in tackling the variants in the course of the experiment. Of course, the same cannot be said of the variants they have not used. However, in each case the other variant of the variable is one which is frequently used by a major sector of the speech community. The speech to be obtained is expected to be in 'careful' style (Labov, 1972b:45).

There are other advantages of using cartoon illustrations in the collection of data to be experimented upon. In a participant-observation method, the researcher may be forced to use marked lexical variants in an effort to extract variables, to which the participant may 'accommodate' his linguistic behaviour.[1] Accommodation would affect the occurrence of the relevant forms. Subjects may be impelled to use a style which they think is similar to that of the researcher in an effort to please the researcher (Le Page, 1954; cited in Milroy, 1987:11).

The obvious advantages of using the experimental technique are that the technique (1) provides an economical means of collecting data, (2) makes it easy to collect large amounts of easily processible information (McIntosh, 1952), and (3) makes it easier for the investigator to administer the elicitation procedure. One of the points to be kept in mind concerning the experimental method is that participants may under-report or over-report on their language use and attitude: they tend to claim to use the linguistic forms regarded as prestigious. Comparison of actual and reported use will show which variants subjects consider prestigious.

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[1] The notion of 'accommodation', developed by Giles (1984), is a linguistic behaviour whereby a speaker uses a language variety closer to that of the interlocutor for social, ideological and other reasons.

### 3.2 Format of the Questionnaire

The written questionnaire consists of three parts: Use, Comprehension, and Language Attitudes. Part I on use has two sections: reported use and actual use. First, subjects are asked to indicate which variant of a lexical pair they use in their speech, following which subjects are asked to narrate a story as depicted in a series of cartoon illustrations for the purpose of eliciting naturally occurring data for actual use. Data thus obtained and reported use are compared in an effort to yield over-reporting and under-reporting phenomena. Part II provides choices of meanings for each variant for the subjects to choose from (3.2.1), and Part III presents a scale of semantic space consisting of seven points on which subjects express their attitudes for each lexical item (3.2.2).

#### 3.2.1 Definition of Lexical Items

In accordance with the view discussed in 2.3.3, the technique to be followed in this study can be described as follows. The meanings that are going to be presented for selection for a lexical item will be the same as those of its alternative. Meanings will either be in the form of statements or phrases (noun, adjective, etc.) (see below). Every choice (a, b, c, d, e) will state one of the meanings (senses) of the lexical item.

The wording of the same sense on two different occasions was slightly altered so that when the sense was read by the subjects they did not get the impression that the lexical items were being repeated. However, alteration of wording was made carefully. Further, subjects were provided with an empty line so that they could state a meaning not covered by the given choices. Consider the example below, where the lexical item *story* is explicated.

STORY

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. An account of past events. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. An account of imaginary events. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. Untrue statement. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Subjects were asked to select sense(s) with which they use a word by indicating the given options: (a), (b), (c), (d), (e). (The number of senses naturally depends upon the individual lexical item.) Subjects were asked to attend to the frequency range given opposite the meaning if they chose more than one sense. (The frequency range consists of figures from 1 to 5.) Further, they were told to circle differing figures to reflect how frequently they use a word with a particular meaning; higher figures are intended for more frequent usage and lower figures for less frequent usage. (The higher figures are correlated with the better or more central (prototypical) members in the meaning range.)

### 3.2.2 Language Attitudes

The study of the language attitudes of speakers toward certain speech forms or varieties has contributed to language policies and planning activities. As Fishman (1970:11) observed, language 'is not merely a *carrier* of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself *is* content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as of the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community.' Several techniques have been developed to observe the evaluative reactions of speakers towards various language varieties. The semantic differential technique appeared to be the most suitable for this study.

The semantic differential, which was originally designed to elicit the 'connotative' meaning of words, was employed in order to observe the attitudes of informants towards the words under investigation in regard to *simplicity, formality, nativeness, elegance*, and *rural-urban*. Before I examine why these five factors were chosen, I will note the evaluative basis of the differential technique, and later outline the semantic differential technique.

The evaluative aspect of the notion of 'attitude' has been emphasised by some researchers (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Oskamp, 1977) with regard to the idea of 'favourableness'. For instance, Fishbein & Ajzen (1975:6) define 'attitude' as 'a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object.' According to this conception of attitude, response consistency has an evaluative or affective dimension (negative-positive), which the authors consider the most distinctive feature of the attitude phenomenon. Therefore, they suggest that attitude must be measured by a procedure which 'locates the subject on a bipolar affective or evaluative dimension vis-á-vis a given object.' (p.11) One of the procedures of this type of measurement is the semantic differential technique, as developed chiefly by Osgood (1952).

Osgood (1952: 222) notes that the semantic differential technique was developed on the notion of 'synthesia', which is described as 'a phenomenon characterising the experiences of certain individuals, in which certain sensations belonging to one sense or mode attach to certain sensations of another group and appear regularly whenever a stimulus of the latter type occurs.' According to the author, the technique is essentially a 'combination of associational and scaling procedures.' (p.222) In the semantic differential test, informants are asked to differentiate a concept on a scale of seven units which is inserted between a pair of polar (antonymous) adjectives. The scale

provides the participants with a means which indicates both direction and intensity of their judgments.

A notion of 'factor analysis' is utilised in order to 'isolate a limited number of general dimensions of concepts' (p. 228). Factors such as **evaluative**, **potency**, **activity** appear effective in accounting the connotative meaning. For instance, the evaluative factor includes adjectives like *good-bad*, *tasty-distasteful*, *valuable-worthless*, *pleasant-unpleasant*. Following this procedure, on the scales of factors evaluation, potency, and activity, one can elicit, for instance, for the word *hero* the connotative meaning profile of *good*, *potent*, and *active*. In the same scale, *rose buds* can be *good*, *impotent*, and *passive*.[2]

Following this procedure, I have identified five bipolar adjectives for our objectives; these are *simple-complicated*, *colloquial-formal*, *native-nonnative*, *elegant-rough*, and *rural-urban*. It is generally claimed, especially by language purists, that loanwords are more difficult to understand and use in actual speech. By employing the *simple-complicated* adjective pair, generalisations could be made as to the above hypothesis. The general perception is that neologisms and, to some extent, loanwords are more frequently used in *formal* contexts while traditional words are used in more *colloquial* situations. This study will find out if speakers believe this to be so. Ratings for the *native-nonnative* scale will reveal the extent to which the speakers are aware of the origin of the words under investigation. The results obtained through this scale could be correlated with the *simple-complicated* scale. To some, *elegance* is another major factor in the choice between traditional words, neologisms,

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[2] In a later version of the technique (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1969), a notion of 'semantic space' is added with the aim of offering a coherent connotative meaning: A semantic space of a concept can be determined by utilising a sample of semantic scales. Each scale is 'assumed to represent a straight line function that passes through the origin of this space...' (p.21) Therefore the representativeness of the sample, that is the task of finding adjective pairs, is crucial.

and loanwords. The last scale will help to clarify if or to what extent the use of traditional words are regarded as a characteristic of rural speakers.

### 3.2.3 Sources of Lexical Base

In order to get a wide range of comments and data from the speakers surveyed, it was intended that the corpus should include a vocabulary of neologisms and loanwords which most, if not all, participants would be familiar with. Therefore, newspapers and other periodicals would be the best sources of data for this purpose, rather than heavy texts and written materials that are inaccessible to the uneducated. The mass-selling publications that are of interest to readers in different areas were chosen for examination. I therefore believe that an overwhelming majority of subjects have either heard or read the tokens chosen for this analysis, even if they do not themselves use them.

The following media materials were used for this purpose. The daily newspapers were perused over a period of one week.

1-Daily newspapers: 21-28 May 1992 *Milliyet*, *Günaydın*; 21-28 May 1992 *Türkiye*, *Zaman* and *Cumhuriyet*; 12-18 August 1993 *Sabah* and *Hürriyet*.

2- Sports newspaper: *Fotospor* 16-23 August 1993.

3- Periodicals: Monthly *Nokta* (news magazine) September 1993; Monthly *Kadınca*, (women's magazine), August 1993

### 3.2.4 Selection of Corpus Base

Any of the three types of terms (neologism/ loanword/ traditional word) are singled out after the perusal of news stories, commentaries, advertisements and sports pages. After listing all tokens of the selected items, they were

matched, and tokens are reduced to types. That is, noun, verb, adjective, etc. forms of a lexical item have been aggregated under the form which occurred most. When a term is not matched from the corpus, its near-synonym was added, which was less than a dozen times. The total number of tokens were 212: 162 traditional word - neologism, 50 traditional word - loanword. The traditional word - neologism pairs comprised 120 nouns, 27 adjectives, 14 verbs, and an adverb while the traditional word - loanword pairs included 34 nouns, 9 adjectives, 5 verbs, and 2 adverbs. Of these, on the basis of frequency of occurrence and relative intelligibility, 20 pairs were finally selected for testing (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: List of Lexical Variables by Orientation

| No | (Gloss) | Traditional Word | Neologism | Loanword |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | city | şehir | kent | |
| 2 | story | hikaye | öykü | |
| 3 | exam | imtihan | sınav | |
| 4 | student | talebe | öğrenci | |
| 5 | answer | cevap | yanıt | |
| 6 | judge | hakim | yargıç | |
| 7 | witness | şahit | tanık | |
| 8 | evidence | delil | kanıt | |
| 9 | to get acquitted | beraat (etmek) | aklanmak | |
| 10 | result | netice | sonuç | |
| 11 | daydream | hayal | düş | |
| 12 | uphill | yokuş | | rampa |
| 13 | ambulance | cankurtaran | | ambulans |
| 14 | clinic | muayenehane | | klinik |
| 15 | car | araba | | otomobil |
| 16 | interview | mülakat | | röportaj |
| 17 | nightgown | gecelik | | pyjama |
| 18 | restaurant | lokanta | | restoran |
| 19 | politician | siyasetçi | | politikacı |
| 20 | goodbye | güle güle | | bay bay |

11 are traditional word - neologism pairs and 9 are traditional word - loanword pairs. Of the 11 traditional word - neologism pairs, all but one are nouns; one is a verb. Of the traditional word - loanword pairs, all were nouns.

Adjectives and adverbs were not included for testing as their elicitation would require a more extensive and elaborate technique than the one selected: a series of cartoon illustrations. The selection was more manipulated than random: first, 40 pairs were selected on the basis of higher frequency of occurrence in the corpus. Depictions included scenes like a school, a street, bike-riding, a hospital, a court room, etc. Then, those 20 pairs which could be part of a series of events were chosen.[3]

The following text is the account of the events the cartoonist was asked to illustrate. (The underlined lexical items are the glosses for lexical variable. See the cartoon illustrations in Appendices.)

**STORY**

(A picture of a big city. In the foreground, an apartment flat window through which an adult is seen reading a story book to primary school children. The story unfolds as follows.)

Ali, a teacher, arrives in the school by his car and goes into the class to supervise end-of-the-year-exams. In the classroom, students are lined up each sitting on a desk with exam papers and pencils in front of them. One of the students rises and asks a question to one of the two teachers, who declines to answer, motioning 'no questions'. After the exams are completed and the students have left the school, Ali gets into his car. When he is driving his car uphill to his home, he runs over one of the school boys injuring him badly. Getting out of his car so upset and stressed, he tries to get the people at the accident scene to send for the ambulance, talking individually to a bearded man. An ambulance arrives and takes the injured boy to hospital. Doctors at the emergency clinic check the boy and decide to treat him as an in-patient. At a later time, Ali, handcuffed, stands in the courtroom answering the questions from the prosecutor and the judge. The bearded person is called as a witness for the case and gives evidence to the court. At last, however, Ali gets acquitted. He jumps in the air in happiness. Outside the court, Ali is interviewed by journalists.

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[3] In the phrases *mülakat yapmak*, *röportaj yapmak*, *güle güle demek*, and *bay bay demek*, the former are nouns while the latter are modal verbs like the English *make* and *do*. The same is valid for the expression *beraat etmek* while its counterpart *aklanmak* is a verb.

In the hospital, the injured boy is in his pyjamas and is having a dream. In his dream, he is riding a bicycle past a restaurant and other shops. Further down the street, the police have barricaded the street with portable fences behind which there is a huge crowd. The boy rides past the crowd which exhibits posters and placards. A politician is greeting the crowd on a platform with a hat in his hand. Back in reality, a nurse wakes the boy up and the boy gets dressed for home. The nurse at the door of the hospital bids good-bye to the boy, and boy waves back in the back seat of a car. On his arrival home, the boy receives the exam results from the letter box. He holds a paper on which the word university is written. Now he is very happy as he succeeded in getting into the university.

Most of the neologisms were recorded in dictionaries published in the late 1930s and early 1940s. This, however, does not necessarily show that recorded neologisms were being used prior to the publication of the dictionaries in that the dictionaries were published as part of the dissemination effort; they were prescriptive rather than descriptive. Table 2 offers information as to the origin of the nine loanwords and their estimated year of entry into Turkish.[4]

Table 2: Origin of Loanwords and Estimated Decade of Entry

| No | Original | Loanword | Estimated Decade of Entry | Source Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | restaurant | restoran | 1940 | French |
| 2 | reportage | röportaj | 1960 | French |
| 3 | pyjama | pijama | 1940 | French |
| 4 | clinique | klinik | 1940 | French |
| 5 | ambulance | ambulans | 1950 | French |
| 6 | automobile | otomobil | 1940 | French |
| 7 | rampa | rampa | 1940 | Italian |
| 8 | politica | politikacı | 1890 | Italian |
| 9 | bye bye | bay bay | 1980 | English |

[4] I use the term 'origin' in the sense of 'source' or 'the language from which Turkish borrowed' as opposed to 'the language in which a loan word was first created and used'.

Estimates of the decade of entry of the loanwords is based on information provided in the following dictionaries:

1- *A pocket dictionary of the English and Turkish languages*. (English-Turkish) 1855. London: Williams and Norgate.

2- *Küçük Lugat, A Concise Dictionary*. (Turkish-English) 1942. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi.

3- *Küçük Lugat, A Concise Dictionary*. (English-Turkish) 1942. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi.

4- *Sade Türkçe Kılavuzu*. (A Guide to Simple Turkish) 1953. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.

5- *Türkçe Sözlük*. (A Dictionary of Turkish) 1955. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.

6- *İngilizce-Türkçe Motorculuk Terimleri* (A Dictionary of Mechanics, English-Turkish) 1963. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.

7- *Redhouse Dictionary*. 1974. English-Turkish. İstanbul: Redhouse Publishing House.

8- *En Yeni Okul Sözlüğü* (A Recent Dictionary for Schools). 1982. İstanbul: Rafet Zaimler Kitabevi. (compiled by Ferit Develioğlu & Neval Kılıçkını)

9- *The Oxford Turkish-English Dictionary*. 1984. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

10- *Türkçe Sözlük* (Turkish Dictionary). 1988. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. (compiled by Hasan Eren, Nevzat Gözaydın, İsmail Parlatır, Talat Tekin & Hamza Zülfikar)

11- *Türkçe Konuşan Sözlük* (Turkish Speaking Dictionary). 1988. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi. (compiled by Haydar Ediskun & Baha Dürder)

The above dictionaries were also consulted to make sure that the selected neologisms and loanwords have genuine traditional counterparts, that is both variants are co-referential in meaning.

The table below presents the twenty established traditional lexical items with their sources and estimated time of entry into Turkish.

Table 3: Origin of (non-Turkish) Traditional Variants & Estimated Century Entry

| No | Source | Traditional | Estimated Century of Entry | Source Lang. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | - | güle güle | - | Turkish |
| 2 | - | gecelik | - | Turkish |
| 3 | - | cankurtaran | - | Turkish |
| 4 | - | yokuş | - | Turkish |
| 5 | - | lokanta | 15 | Italian |
| 6 | şaheed | şahit | 14 | Arabic |
| 7 | hakem | hakim | 14 | Arabic |
| 8 | cewab | cevap | 13 | Arabic |
| 9 | taliba | talebe | 12 | Arabic |
| 10 | imtihan | imtihan | 13 | Arabic |
| 11 | araba | araba | 17 | Arabic |
| 12 | hikaaya | hikaye | 18 | Arabic |
| 13 | şaher | şehir | 12 | Arabic |
| 14 | delil | delil | 14 | Arabic |
| 15 | beraat | beraat (etmek) | 16 | Arabic |
| 16 | mulaaka | mülakat | 19 | Arabic |
| 17 | siyasi | siyasetçi | 19 | Arabic |
| 18 | netece | netice | 14 | Arabic |
| 19 | muayenehana | muayenehane | 20 | Arabic-Persian |
| 20 | hayal | hayal | 11 | Persian |

As the table above shows, five of the loanwords are competing with Turkish words while four of them are competing with words of Arabic and Persian origin. Table 4 below shows the lexical fields the lexical items belong to. The highlighted lexical items are glosses.

Table 4: Distribution of all words by lexical fields

| No | Education | Judiciary | Technology | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | imtihan | hakim | cankurtaran | şehir |
| | **(exam)** | **(judge)** | **(ambulance)** | **(city)** |
| 2 | sınav | yargıç | ambulans | kent |
| | **(exam)** | **judge)** | **(ambulance)** | **(city)** |
| 3 | talebe | şahit | araba | cevap |
| | **(student)** | **(witness)** | **(motor car)** | **(answer)** |
| 4 | öğrenci | tanık | otomobil | yanıt |
| | **(student)** | **witness)** | **(motor car)** | **(answer)** |
| 5 | hikaye | delil | muayenehane | yokuş |
| | **(story)** | **(evidence)** | **(clinic)** | **(uphill)** |
| 6 | öykü | kanıt | klinik | rampa |
| | **(story)** | **(evidence)** | **(clinic)** | **(uphill)** |
| 7 | | beraat etmek | röportaj yapmak | gecelik |
| | | **(to get acquitted)** | **(to interview)** | **(pyjama)** |
| 8 | | aklanmak | mülakat yapmak | pijama |
| | | **(to get acquitted)** | **(to interview)** | **(pyjama)** |
| 9 | | | | hayal |
| | | | | **(dream)** |
| 10 | | | | düş |
| | | | | **(dream)** |
| 11 | | | | lokanta |
| | | | | **(restaurant)** |
| 12 | | | | restoran |
| | | | | **(restaurant)** |
| 13 | | | | siyasetçi |
| | | | | **(politician)** |
| 14 | | | | politikacı |
| | | | | **(politician)** |
| 15 | | | | güle güle |
| | | | | **(goodbye)** |
| 16 | | | | bay bay |
| | | | | **(goodbye)** |
| 17 | | | | netice |
| | | | | **(result)** |
| 18 | | | | sonuç |
| | | | | **(result)** |

### 3.3 Selection of Speakers

For the Turkish speech community in Turkey, quite a few independent variables could be proposed: age, gender, education, religion, politics, socio-economic background, rural-urban and quality of housing within urban areas (shanty towns versus affluent suburbs). Many of the quantitative sociolinguistic studies include the socioeconomic variable of class as the first and foremost characteristic of the speech community. The immense problems associated with the description of this variable are always discussed (Milroy, 1987:98).

In regard to the opposition rural-urban, it is difficult to find a homogeneous urban speech community in that large numbers of speakers living in urban areas have recently moved in from (isolated) villages, and they have hardly changed their lifestyles in their new environs. It requires tremendous effort to find the long-standing urban dwellers. However, as will be seen later (3.4), this opposition is implicitly taken into account in sampling the Ankara population but not established as a separate variable. Three suburbs are chosen; the first is at the outskirts of the city where the most recent immigrants live, the other is located between peripheral suburbs and the central suburbs which are populated by earlier immigrants, and the third one is in downtown where it is assumed that original dwellers live. Quality of housing, in the case of Ankara, generally correlates with the proximity of the suburbs to downtown. That is, the closer a suburb is to downtown, the better the housing and other facilities are. So this factor is also reflected in the choice of suburbs in terms proximity to city centre.

As to the politics and religion as speaker variables, they are by all means relevant. Nonetheless, these two variables are excluded on the basis that 1) political and religious convictions are highly sensitive, and asking people to

state this may jeopardise the participation rate, and 2) it is extremely difficult to fill cell all quotas for these two variables. Therefore, this study will utilise the socio-demographic variables education, age, and gender. What follows is a description of the importance of these three factors in sociolinguistic studies.

### 3.3.1 Education

There are numerous case studies which demonstrate that one of the chief influences in a person's speech is the level of educational attainment. For instance, in their study of Tehrani speech in Iran, Jahangiri and Hudson (1982:49) found that education proved to be a good predictor of a speaker's score in linguistic variables. Another study, Poplack et al. (1988:87), found that old established English loans in Canadian French are concentrated among speakers of primary schooling whereas recent loans are used by those who have more than primary schooling. Cicioni (1991) found that education correlates with the use and comprehension of loanwords in Italian; as the number of years in education goes up, so does the usage and comprehension of loanwords. In line with these findings, I hypothesise that (formal) education in Turkey is a significant factor in exposure to new and recent developments in modern life. It is mainly through education that new terms permeate the speakers' lexicon in that education is offered by those who are experts in the field and are familiar with the latest developments, or simply educated people. Moreover, since the beginning of the language reform in the 1930's, it has always been the educated people's, in particular school-teachers', main concern to replace the Arabic and Persian loanwords with neologisms. Also, the more education one attains, the more familiar one becomes with the words of European languages as languages of science, technology, and culture. It is hypothesised that the further one studies, the more access one has to the world of neologisms and loanwords, and thus to adopting them or not. Therefore, a selection of participants according to

educational attainment is adopted, creating three groups: those with only primary education, those with only secondary education, and those with tertiary education or higher education. School drop-outs within each level will be considered as belonging to that group.

### 3.3.2 Age

The study under investigation has much to say about the attitudes of the various age groups. Because dissemination of the recently created words is still continuing, by studying this factor I will be able to demonstrate whether age groups differ in assimilating neologisms. Mentioning the importance of the age variable in social studies, Finch (1986:13) notes '...documentation of age structure of a population (along with other features) is important in understanding social and cultural contexts of a given society at a specific point in time'.

Finch (1986:16) stresses the importance of using age groups with relevance to the rest of the study. Also, in a study of the perceptions of students on vocabulary, Cüceloğlu & Slobin (1980:297) note that age is a major factor in the use (or disuse) of the new lexical items, that is, older people employ mainly traditional words. The findings of Poplack et al. (1988) are not surprising: elderly speakers of Canadian French utilised established loanwords significantly more than younger speakers, whose loan vocabulary mainly included recent loans referring to the cultural phenomena of the past few decades.

In this survey, three age groups are decided upon: 18-23, 24-30, and 31 onwards. It is clear that the first two age groups are chosen from the younger section of the target population for the practical reason that the expected duration of the survey is thought to intimidate partcipants from the older age

group and elicit little usable data. This proved to be true; very few speakers above the age of 40 took part in the survey and some of them left the questionnaire unfinished. For the purpose of convenience here, the three age groups are labelled as 'young', 'adult', and 'old' respectively.

### 3.3.3 Gender

The linguistic differences between the two sexes are not only obvious but also have been demonstrated by numerous studies: for example, men and women in the West Indies consistently used different lexical items (Trudgill, 1974:86). Another example comes from Darkhat Mongol, in which the vowel systems of the sexes are systematically different (Trudgill, 1974:89). Among those who first studied *sex* as a sociolinguistic variable in their investigations were Labov (1966), Shuy, Wolfram & Riley (1968) and Trudgill (1972). In contemporary studies in the English speaking world, for instance, women have been observed, other factors being equal, to '...consistently produce linguistic forms which closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men...' (Trudgill, 1972:180) . On the area of lexical choice between borrowed and native words, Cicioni (1991:107) found that women consistently use more English loanwords than men in Italian.

In the context of Turkey, too, differences in various domains of speech have been observed although they are not as great as in Darkhat Mongol or the West Indies. Turkish women, for instance, have been associated with an elegant use of language, that is they are claimed to use a more polite and euphemistic vocabulary than men, who are claimed to use more tasteless, nasty, vulgar, etc. usage (See also 1.5). Given the evaluative aspect of choice of vocabulary, it would be interesting to see whether women prefer to use more

of that lexical stock to which positive social connotations are attached, particularly in the use of loanwords and neologisms.

### 3.4 Sampling Method

A systematic, random sampling procedure aims at a representative study of the language of a group of speakers. By this way, a description of the language of the representative sample is realised without bias. A random sample of speakers can be obtained from any list, or as it is generally called 'sample frame', which enumerates the target population such as the inhabitants of a city (Milroy, 1897:19). Sample frames can simply be a list of students at a university, local electoral registers, telephone directories, etc. The most important feature of random sampling is that every member of the sample frame has an equal chance of being selected for the survey.

Such a sampling procedure is the most representative technique known although depending on the list used it may inevitably be biased against some sections of the speech community such as the illiterate, blind, persons under a certain age, non-subscribers to the telephone, etc. There are also other drawbacks. The sample may result in over- or under-representation of one or more of the independent variables included. For example, the sample selected by Bookless (1977:51-52), in his study of anglicisms in Spanish, shows a big imbalance for the education variable; of all participants, 65 per cent had secondary education while 20 per cent had higher and 15 per cent had primary education. Random samples often include informants who may be unsuitable for various reasons; unable to locate address, inappropriate time and place, unwillingness to participate and so on.

Another sampling technique, which can be described as quasi-random, is also sometimes used. Here, informants are selected on the basis of specified principles, which simply amount to socio-demographic information about the

target population. Among those who opted for this sort of sampling technique are Romaine (1978) and Reid (1978), who selected their sample of students on the basis of the social and demographic characteristics of the locations of the schools. The results they obtained from their studies were also supported by other surveys.

The method requires the selection of a pre-determined quota of speakers with certain socio-demographic characteristics. A number smaller than two digits is randomly selected. The selected number, let us say 7, determines the first informant. The second informant in that area is the 17th person, and the procedure goes on with the 27th, the 37th person in the list and so on. Although such a procedure can create a bias for subjects who appear early in the list, in fact it did not in this survey, at least in a great magnitude; survey venues such as streets, and departments in workplaces were divided in a size of about a hundred subjects so that about ten subjects could be selected.

The sample used in this thesis is quasi-random. I selected three suburbs, two workplaces, and two schools within a university in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. The advantages of this sort of approach in a survey of this kind is that it makes it less difficult for the researcher to contact the informants, the time consumed will be less, and fewer refusals are likely. The sampling frames were educational rolls in schools, a list of employees in workplaces, and street address numbers. The actual survey was conducted by visiting buildings, shops, and houses; or classes within a school. At places other than school premises, streets served as a list from which informants were contacted and selected. The streets were selected on the basis that they were to have shops as well. When the designated building happened to be a building which housed several occupants, which it usually was, then a further enumeration had to be done at the entrance of the building. (Generally, the number of occupants is indicated by the number of door bells at the entrance, so it was not difficult to

do the fraction.) Accompanied by someone who is familiar with the area, the researcher knocked on the doors and explained what the survey was about, and sought co-operation from the house or shop occupant to participate in the survey. This procedure was always conducted with a mature person on the premises. So when a child appeared at the door, his/her parents were requested. If they were willing to participate in the survey, they were also willing to let us in their houses or shops to administer the questionnaire.

At the workplaces, first of all the co-operation of the person who ran the workplace was sought. They were almost always inquisitive about how much time is required for each participant to finish the survey. (This was true of other would-be-informants.) Less than an hour was the response. Then a list of employees given by the person in charge was obtained and informants were selected by a fraction of ten. Later each designated informant was individually contacted by, first, saying that his/her employer knew about the survey and had granted time for him/her to take part. In the case of co-operation, the survey was conducted on the spot.

At schools the way the survey was conducted was slightly different. After seeking approval from the deans of the faculties, a further approval was requested from the lecturers of those classes which were selected at random by using fractions from the list of classes provided by the deans. The researcher went into the classrooms accompanied by the lecturer, who introduced him, told where he came from and explained what the survey was all about. Here the selection fraction was reduced to five; for instance, the 4th, 9th, 14th and so on students were selected from the class list. Selected students were asked if they would consent to take part in such a survey. The ones who declined to take part were requested by the lecturers to leave the classroom. The researcher was left alone in the class with the participants. While the tape-recording of the narration (of the cartoon illustrations) was

being done with the first student, the others waited until the researcher finished with the recording. Once it was over, the written questionnaire was given to the first student. Then the second and the third student was tape-recorded while the previous one(s) kept working on the questionnaire. Precautions were taken in order not to reveal the content of the written questionnaire before each participant was tape-recorded. When the above-mentioned problems of random sampling, that is unwillingness to participate, inappropriate time and place, and absence from the residence or shop or classroom, occurred, informants falling on the next consecutive fractions were contacted. The number of refusals were around 40; the highest number of refusals (20) occurred in homes while it was 10 in both workplaces and classes.

As a representative quasi-random sample of the Ankara population, three dimensions were proposed; suburbs, universities, and workplaces. I selected three suburbs in Ankara; Yenişehir, Etlik, and Türközü. These suburbs were chosen taking into account the features such as the quality of housing, level of income, and social services as well as facilities. Three types of residential suburbs were studied; downtown (upper, middle, lower), the so-called shanty towns on the outskirts, and the suburbs located in between the downtown and the shanty towns. After listing these suburbs separately, one of each was picked depending on the availability of the local people to accompany the researcher.

There are four universities in Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Hacettepe University, Gazi University, and Ankara University. It is common local knowledge that these universities can be ranked in the order given above in terms of student performance at university entry exams as well as the standard of their graduates (Lansley, 1992). Either Hacettepe or Gazi was preferable since they were the middle universities in terms of student

performance; I picked Gazi. Within Gazi University, two faculties were used for the sampling population: the Faculty of Letters and Faculty of Science. These two faculties had students from diverse backgrounds; students doing humanities, particularly literature, and students doing science. The two workplaces chosen were Opera Technical College, and Sümerbank Textiles. The majority of staff in the College were teachers who taught diverse subjects such as accounting, office training, computing, trading, maths, geography, history, Turkish and English. There were also a few office workers and cleaners. The employees in the Sümerbank Textiles had a wide range of jobs; floor cleaners, porters, unskilled workers, tailors, secretaries, marketeers, and managers: it represented a good cross-section of the community.

### 3.4.1 Characteristics of the Sample

In the survey, the total number of participants who fully completed the questionnaire and whose data was useable as part of the information base, was 105. The initial aim was to secure not less than five participants for the designated 18 cells. Most of the cells had at least five participants.

Table 5: Proportions of speakers with the characterisation of the independent variables.

| Factor Group | Factors | % | Number of Subjects |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sex: | Female | 61 | 65 |
| | Male | 39 | 40 |
| Age: | Young (18-23) | 42 | 45 |
| | Adult (24-30) | 29 | 30 |
| | Old (31+) | 29 | 30 |
| Education: | Primary | 24 | 25 |
| | Secondary | 29 | 30 |
| | Tertiary | 47 | 50 |
| | Total | 100 | 105 |

The cell 'Young-Male-High School Educated' was the only cell for which no informants could be found after a trial of 153 speakers; of course, this does not mean that all young males have more than secondary education. Due to a lower refusal rate among women, especially the young and more educated, the sample had more women than men: the ratio is 61 per cent and 39 per cent respectively (see Table 5 above).

### 3.5 Statistical Tests Used

The statistical documentation and analysis of the data was done using Statistical Package for Social Sciences - Version 4.1 (SPSSX). Level of significance in applicable areas is measured by chisquare (Pearson), which is 0.05 or below. This level of significance test is used in relevant statistical calculations within Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Throughout the thesis, the term 'significant' is used exlusively to refer to statistical significance.

### 3.6 Conclusion

The method of data collection was the experimental method, using a quasi-random sample to locate a sufficient number of speakers to provide specific types of data about their speech with the investigator taking an active role. The survey includes tape-recording all subjects and a written questionnaire, which gathers data on reported use of lexical variants under investigation, meanings, and socio-psychological evaluation of lexical items. Semantic changes are essentially a result of the collective attitudes of the speakers within a speech community. By employing the semantic differential technique, the attitudes (likes, dislikes, etc.) of speakers will be revealed. Thus, the attitude factor which is the most important in lexical change would be revealed. The twenty lexical pairs to be used in the experiment were

chosen from popularly accessible daily papers and periodicals on the basis of higher frequency of occurrence and relative intelligibility to all subjects. The speaker characteristics included in the experimental survey were sex, age, and education. The age factor was divided into three groups: young (18-23), adult (24-30), old (31+), while level of education (primary, secondary, tertiary) was the educational characteristic investigated. The survey was carried out in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. A quasi-random method of subject selection was undertaken in three socially stratified suburbs, two workplaces, and two faculties at a university.

# Chapter 4

# ANALYSIS OF THE DATA ON USE

## 4.0 Introduction

This chapter comprises a description and analysis of the data obtained after the tape-recorded speeches were deciphered, and **Part I** (as well as **Part II** A) of the questionnaire was statistically documented and analysed by means of Statistical Package for Social Sciences - Version 4.1 (SPSSX). The description covers the following areas:

a) the findings concerning the subjects' use (reported and actual) of the selected 40 lexical items,

b) over-reporting and under-reporting of linguistic usage for the selected lexical items,

c) the reported semantic differences between the (postulated) synonymous pairs,

d) the correlations among lexical choices,

e) the correlations between lexical choices and speaker characteristics, and

f) finding out which variables are most important in signalling the social characteristics of a speaker.

## 4.1 Actual Use

The data for Actual use, **Part I A**, were elicited by means of a specifically designed cartoon illustration, which the participants were asked to narrate. The narration made by each subject was tape-recorded and later transcribed. The cartoon illustration was designed to elicit the 20 lexical variables. In other words, the maximum number of variants able to surface was 40 in the

narration of the story depicted in the illustration by all subjects. In the data, 39 of the expected variants were used by the subjects. The variant *rampa* 'uphill' did not surface (see Table 1).[1] 14 pairs appeared to be significantly differentiated for the actual use. Of these pairs 9 were traditional word - neologism while 5 were traditional word - loanword pairs.

Table 1: List of pairs actually used in the narration of the story[2]

| | | Trad. Word | | N/L | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Gloss) | Traditional - N/L | % | Cases | % | Cases | Cases |
| (student) | talebe-öğrenci* | 4.8 | 5 | 79.0 | 83 | 88 |
| (exam) | imtihan-sınav* | 5.7 | 6 | 54.2 | 57 | 63 |
| (result) | netice-sonuç* | 5.7 | 6 | 44.8 | 47 | 53 |
| (witness) | şahit-tanık | 26.7 | 28 | 21.9 | 23 | 51 |
| (judge) | hakim-yargıç* | 65.7 | 69 | 15.2 | 16 | 85 |
| (dream) | hayal-düş* | 44.8 | 47 | 10.5 | 11 | 58 |
| (city) | şehir-kent* | 51.4 | 54 | 10.5 | 11 | 65 |
| (answer) | cevap-yanıt* | 40.9 | 43 | 2.9 | 3 | 46 |
| (evidence) | delil-kanıt | 2.9 | 3 | 1.9 | 2 | 5 |
| (story) | hikaye-öykü* | 10.5 | 11 | 1.9 | 2 | 13 |
| (to get acquitted) | beraat etmek-aklanmak* | 25.7 | 27 | 0.9 | 1 | 28 |
| (ambulance) | cankurtaran-ambulans* | 8.6 | 9 | 80.9 | 85 | 94 |
| (to interview) | mülakat-röportaj* | 0.9 | 1 | 56.2 | 59 | 60 |
| (politician) | siyasetçi-politikacı* | 7.6 | 8 | 42.9 | 45 | 53 |
| (goodbye) | güle güle-bay bay | 11.4 | 12 | 8.6 | 9 | 21 |
| (car) | araba-otomobil* | 87.6 | 92 | 4.8 | 5 | 97 |
| (restaurant) | lokanta-restoran* | 13.3 | 14 | 2.9 | 3 | 17 |
| (clinic) | muayenehane-klinik | 2.9 | 3 | 2.9 | 3 | 6 |
| (pyjama) | gecelik-pijama | 0.9 | 1 | 7.6 | 8 | 9 |
| (uphill) | yokuş-rampa | 3.8 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Mean of %/ Total Cases | | 21.09 | 443 | 22.52 | 473 | 916 |

What is notable is that there were more lexical variants in the speech of the subjects than those which the illustration was designed to elicit; the number of variables other than the 20 variables projected stood at 28

[1] Significant differences for the variables will be marked with an asterisk. A variable is significant if it is at or below the level of significance, which is 0.05 calculated by chisquare.

[2] In the table, 'N' stands for neologisms while 'L' stands for loanwords. The first eleven lexical items above the line are neologisms, and the latter below the line are loanwords. Also, in the table percentages do not add up since some subjects used neither word, as the Total Cases column indicates.

(which yielded 41 of the possible 56 variants). This indicates how extensive and widespread lexical variability and choice are in contemporary Turkish. Consider the following list, which includes only the lexical items observed in actual speech.

| (Gloss) | Traditional Word | Neologism/Loanword |
|---|---|---|
| teacher | muallim/hoca | öğretmen/eğitmen |
| to judge | muhakeme etmek | yargılamak |
| to remind | hatırlatmak | anımsatmak |
| to defend | müdafa etmek | savunmak |
| question | sual | soru |
| driver | şoför | sürücü |
| effort | gayret | çaba |
| possible | muhtemel | olası |
| reporter | gazeteci | basın mensubu |
| incident | hadise | olay |
| life | hayat | yaşam |
| vehicle | araç | taşıt |
| off course | tabii | doğal |
| to cause | sebep olmak | |
| possibility | ihtimal | |
| dream | rüya | |
| suspicion | şüphe | |
| place | mahal | |
| examination | mütela | |
| cause | sebep | |
| warning | ihtar/ikaz | |
| to prove | | kanıtlamak |
| car | | taksi |
| suspected | | sanık |
| civilisation | | uygarlık |
| happy | | mutlu |
| impossible | | olanaksız |
| detrimental | | yaşamsal |

Neologisms and loanwords taken together are more often used than their counterparts, traditional words; the mean percentage for neologism-loanword is 22.5 while it is 21.1 for traditional words (Table 2). Women appeared to prefer neologism-loanwords over traditional words: 23 per cent and 20.1 per cent respectively. For men, however, there is no clear choice. By age group, young subjects used neologism-loanword 23.3 per cent, more

than adult and older subjects. As the educational level increases, so does the percentage of neologism-loanword usage. In a similar pattern, the younger a subject is, the higher proportion of neologism-loanword s/he uses.

Table 2: Actual Use by Independent Variables[3]

| | | Traditional Word (MEAN 21.1 %) | | Neologism+Loanword (MEAN 22.5 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 20.1 | 265 | 23.0 | 299 |
| | Male | 22.8 | 178 | 21.8 | 174 |
| Age | Young | 19.6 | 177 | 23.3 | 210 |
| | Adult | 21.5 | 129 | 22.6 | 136 |
| | Old | 22.3 | 137 | 21.1 | 127 |
| Education | Primary | 20.6 | 103 | 19.0 | 95 |
| | Secondary | 22.5 | 135 | 22.5 | 135 |
| | Tertiary | 20.5 | 205 | 24.3 | 243 |
| | Total | | 443 | | 473 |

### 4.1.1 Traditional Words vs. Neologisms

In the 11 pairs of lexical items for the traditional word-neologism group, it appears that, overall, traditional words are used more (25.7 per cent) than neologisms (22.2 per cent) (Table 3). Women used more of neologisms and fewer of traditional words in comparison to men. The differentiation in the use of both traditional words and neologisms suggests a two-way division of the age factors, grouping adult and old subjects on the one hand and young subjects on the other; young subjects utilised neologisms

[3] The raw score (178) in the traditional word column for males shows a higher percentage figure than that (265) for females, simply because the number of females is higher than that of males; 65 and 40 respectively. So the greatest possible number of cases for females is 1300 while it is 800 for males. See Table 5 in Chapter 3 for participant ratios.

considerably more than the other groups. As for traditional words, however, the lowest percentages came from young subjects.

In education, a stratification of factors emerges for neologisms. It is interesting to note that primary educated subjects use almost twice as many traditional words as neologisms. For secondary subjects, however, the difference is not considerable. Tertiary educated subjects, who are relatively more in touch with neologisms through increasing education, used more neologisms than traditional words.

Table 3: Actual Use by Independent Variables (Traditional & Neologism)

| | | Traditional Word (MEAN 25.7 %) | | Neologism (MEAN 22.2 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 24.7 | 177 | 23.2 | 165 |
| | Male | 27.7 | 122 | 20.7 | 91 |
| Age | Young | 23.6 | 117 | 24.6 | 122 |
| | Adult | 27.5 | 91 | 20.9 | 69 |
| | Old | 27.5 | 91 | 19.7 | 65 |
| Education | Primary | 27.3 | 70 | 14.9 | 41 |
| | Secondary | 28.2 | 93 | 21.8 | 72 |
| | Tertiary | 24.7 | 136 | 26.0 | 143 |
| | Total | | 299 | | 256 |

**4.1.2 Traditional Words vs. Loanwords**

Distribution of the mean scores of the 9 cells of speakers for traditional word-loanword pairs reveals a strong tendency to use loanwords on the part of all factors (Table 4). Women used fewer of the traditional variants than men. Women and men did not differ in the use of loanwords. With age group, adult subjects used the highest proportion of loanwords and lowest

proportion of traditional words. More interestingly, old subjects used loanwords more than young subjects.

As for education, secondary educated subjects scored the highest actual usage for traditional words followed by tertiary educated subjects. It was the tertiary educated subjects who used loanwords at the highest proportion (26.2 per cent) while secondary educated subjects used them at the lowest proportion (23.3 per cent).

Table 4: Actual Use by Independent Variables (Traditional Word & Loanword)

| | | Traditional Word (MEAN 15.2 %) | | Loanword (MEAN 23.0 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 14.3 | 88 | 22.9 | 134 |
| | Male | 16.6 | 56 | 23.1 | 83 |
| Age | Young | 14.8 | 60 | 21.7 | 88 |
| | Adult | 14.0 | 38 | 24.8 | 67 |
| | Old | 17.0 | 46 | 22.9 | 62 |
| Education | Primary | 14.6 | 33 | 24.0 | 54 |
| | Secondary | 15.5 | 42 | 23.3 | 63 |
| | Tertiary | 15.3 | 69 | 26.2 | 100 |
| | Total | | 144 | | 217 |

**4.2 Reported Use**

In **Part I B** (reported use) of the questionnaire, subjects were first asked to indicate which one of the pairs they used in the narration of the story. Then, if they had not used either of the pairs in the narration, they were asked to state which one of them they would use in the telling of the story. When compared with actual use, reported use will enable us to make

statements as to the non-linguistic factors (prestige and so on) affecting the choice of variants.

Table 5 below lists the 20 pairs with the number of (reported) occurrences of variants and the percentages within each pair. Recall that the total number of subjects who participated in the survey was 105, and the number of those whose responses were valid was also 105. The overall indicated usage pattern is favouring established traditional lexical items; it was the neologisms and loanwords which were favoured in actual use. The mean for traditional words surfaced as 55.3 per cent while it is 38.8 per cent for their counterparts (neologisms and loanwords).

Table 5: List of pairs reportedly used in the narration of the story[4]

| | | Trad. Word | | N/L | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Gloss) | Traditional - L/N | % | Cases | % | Cases | Cases |
| (student) | talebe-öğrenci* | 6.7 | 7 | 90.5 | 95 | 102 |
| (result) | netice-sonuç* | 15.2 | 16 | 80.9 | 85 | 101 |
| (exam) | imtihan-sınav* | 20.0 | 21 | 77.1 | 81 | 102 |
| (witness) | şahit-tanık* | 56.2 | 59 | 37.1 | 39 | 98 |
| (evidence) | delil-kanıt* | 58.1 | 61 | 34.3 | 36 | 97 |
| (dream) | hayal-düş* | 79.0 | 83 | 17.1 | 18 | 101 |
| (judge) | hakim-yargıç* | 80.0 | 84 | 15.2 | 16 | 100 |
| (story) | hikaye-öykü* | 76.2 | 80 | 13.3 | 14 | 94 |
| (city) | şehir-kent* | 82.8 | 87 | 12.4 | 13 | 100 |
| (to get acquitted) | beraat etmek-aklanmak* | 85.7 | 90 | 7.6 | 8 | 98 |
| (answer) | cevap-yanıt* | 90.5 | 95 | 6.6 | 7 | 102 |
| (to interview) | mülakat-röportaj* | 8.6 | 9 | 91.4 | 96 | 105 |
| (ambulance) | cankurtaran-ambulans* | 13.3 | 14 | 86.6 | 91 | 105 |
| (politician) | siyasetçi-politikacı* | 25.7 | 27 | 68.6 | 72 | 99 |
| (pyjama) | gecelik-pijama | 29.5 | 31 | 17.1 | 60 | 91 |
| (clinic) | muayenehane-klinik* | 66.6 | 70 | 20.9 | 22 | 92 |
| (car) | araba-otomobil* | 80.0 | 84 | 18.1 | 19 | 103 |
| (restaurant) | lokanta-restoran* | 69.5 | 73 | 18.1 | 19 | 92 |
| (uphill) | yokuş-rampa* | 77.1 | 81 | 13.3 | 14 | 95 |
| (goodbye) | güle güle-bay bay* | 84.7 | 89 | 10.5 | 11 | 100 |
| Mean of %/ Total Cases | | 55.3 | 1161 | 38.8 | 816 | 1977 |

[4] Percentages do not add up to 100 because not all speakers reported the use of one variant or the other, as the Total Cases column indicates.

In view of the variables groups, the following picture emerges (Table 6): men reported they use more traditional words than women whereas women indicated they use more neologism-loanword than men. As for age, factors are well stratified; as the age increases, so does the proportion of reported use of traditional words. The opposite trend is true for neologism-loanword variants. That is, the lower the age is, the higher the number of reported neologism-loanword. The factor education is significant for the distribution of the traditional words (Table 6). Tertiary educated subjects reported the lowest proportion of traditional words (48.2 per cent) while primary and secondary educated subjects chose traditional words at similar proportions: 61.1 per cent and 60.2 per cent respectively.

Table 6: Reported Use by Independent Variables

| | | Traditional Word (MEAN 55.3 %) | | Neologism+Loanword (MEAN 38.8 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 52.3 | 687 | 40.0 | 516 |
| | Male | 58.6 | 474 | 37.8 | 300 |
| Age | Young | 50.8 | 461 | 40.2 | 369 |
| | Adult | 56.8 | 344 | 40.1 | 238 |
| | Old | 58.9 | 356 | 35.1 | 209 |
| Education | Primary | *61.1 | 308 | 35.2 | 174 |
| | Secondary | *60.6 | 368 | 35.7 | 211 |
| | Tertiary | *48.2 | 485 | 43.3 | 431 |
| | Total | | 1161 | | 816 |

### 4.2.1 Traditional Words vs. Neologisms

The reported usages for eleven pairs of traditional word-neologism are as follows: traditional words account for 59.1 per cent while neologisms account for 35.6 per cent (Table 7). For all factors within each speaker

variable, traditional words scored more reported usage than neologisms. Again, men indicated they use more traditional variants than women while women reported a higher percentage of use for neologisms. Although women's self-reports of the usage of both variants are close, men favour traditional variants over neologisms almost twice as much: 62.5 per cent and 34 per cent respectively.

There is very little differentiation between adult and old subjects in the use of traditional words while young subjects differ from those two groups considerably. The lowest percentage of reported usage for neologisms is with old subjects. The factor education is significant for the distribution of traditional words (Table 7). Secondary educated subjects indicated the highest proportion of reported use (67.2 per cent) whereas tertiary educated subjects indicated at the lowest proportion (51.3 per cent), significantly below the mean. Surprisingly, secondary educated subjects, rather than primary educated subjects, scored the lowest percentage for neologisms, not only within education but also within other groups.

Table 7: Reported Use by Traditional and Neologism

| | | Traditional Word (MEAN 59.1 %) | | Neologism (MEAN 35.6 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 56.9 | 406 | 36.6 | 262 |
| | Male | 62.5 | 277 | 34.0 | 150 |
| Age | Young | 54.3 | 269 | 38.7 | 192 |
| | Adult | 62.1 | 205 | 35.1 | 116 |
| | Old | 63.3 | 209 | 31.5 | 104 |
| Education | Primary | *64.6 | 179 | 31.3 | 86 |
| | Secondary | *67.2 | 222 | 30.3 | 100 |
| | Tertiary | *51.3 | 282 | 41.1 | 226 |
| | Total | | 683 | | 412 |

### 4.2.2 Traditional Words vs. Loanwords

There were nine loanwords as alternatives to traditional words. Loanwords claim about 43 per cent of the overall reported usage between the two variants; the mean for traditional words is 50.6 per cent (Table 8). Women again reported using more loanwords than men while men reported a higher use of traditional variants. By age group, adult subjects reported the highest proportion of use for loanwords, followed by young subjects. As for traditional words, the older a subjects is, the more traditional words s/he reported s/he uses. As to education, loanword usage increases steadily as the educational attainment increases with tertiary educated subjects far ahead of the other two groups.

Table 8: Reported Use by Traditional Word and Loanword

| | | Traditional Word (MEAN 50.6 %) | | Loanword (MEAN 42.7 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 48.0 | 281 | 43.4 | 254 |
| | Male | 54.7 | 197 | 41.6 | 150 |
| Age | Young | 47.3 | 192 | 41.6 | 177 |
| | Adult | 51.5 | 139 | 45.1 | 122 |
| | Old | 54.4 | 147 | 38.8 | 105 |
| Education | Primary | 57.3 | 129 | 39.1 | 88 |
| | Secondary | 54.0 | 146 | 41.0 | 111 |
| | Tertiary | 45.1 | 203 | 45.5 | 205 |
| | Total | | 478 | | 404 |

Concluding, male, old, primary educated subjects consistently reported highest proportion of traditional variants whereas female, young, tertiary educated subjects reported more recently introduced variants (neologisms and loanwords) more than other groups. There are two exceptions; one is

secondary educated subjects who scored lowest for neologisms, and the second is adult subjects who scored highest for loanwords.

### 4.2.3 Interpretation

The education factor group was significant at two occasions in reported use; once for the overall distribution of traditional words, the other also for the traditional words when they were the alternatives of neologisms (Tables 6 and 7). As has been seen, in both the actual and reported use of neologisms the combination of factors female, young, and tertiary educated lead the way; as the age of subjects decreases, the proportion of neologisms increases (Tables 3 and 7). Differentiation and convergence of this kind is not particularly interesting given the occurrence of the same phenomena (for instance, women tend to opt for (more) standard and polite forms than men) in previous studies.[5] The stratification of the factors in the actual use of neologisms supports the hypotheses about the various age groups and education levels; the younger a subject is, the more neologisms s/he uses. Also, as the educational attainment increases, so does the proportion of neologisms (Table 3). Interestingly, tertiary educated subjects outscore primary educated subjects by almost twice as much in the actual use of neologisms.

With loanwords, the highest proportions for actual use were scored by male, adult, and tertiary educated subjects. The lowest scores were obtained from female, young, and secondary educated subjects (Table 4). In reported use, male, old, and primary educated subjects reported the lowest percentages. Therefore, the hypotheses are largely not supported for loanwords in both actual and reported usage.

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[5] The standard status of neologisms in Turkish as well as the socio-psychological factors in the use of loanwords have been discussed in 1.7.

Considering individual lexical items (Table 1), occurrences generally indicate a weighted preference for one alternative or another, that is, a great majority of the pairs were significantly differentiated, particularly in reported use. Given the data, the lexical items in the left hand column (i.e. traditional words) of the chart below appear to be losing the battle to survive in the longer term because of the intrusion from their alternatives.

| (English) | Traditional Word | Neologism | Loanword |
|---|---|---|---|
| (student) | talebe | öğrenci | |
| (exam) | imtihan | sınav | |
| (result) | netice | sonuç | |
| (interview) | mülakat | | röportaj |
| (politician) | siyasetçi | | politikacı |

In fact, *mülakat* (interview) can be considered virtually out of use given that it only occurred once in the speech of 105 subjects, while its counterpart *röportaj* (to interview) was used 59 times. *röportaj* has secured its place in the Turkish lexicon for a long time to come. Although the loan *otomobil* of the *araba-otomobil* (car) pair entered Turkish in the 1940s, it does not seem to have gained much acceptance: 4.8 per cent. Is it going to go out of use? Probably not, because *otomobil* has always been used by a small but influential section of the speech community. Also it is seen as the technical word for 'car'. Furthermore, it is used as a sign (in shortened form, *oto*) in car yards. The loanword *ambulans* (ambulance) has had a great success since entering Turkish in the 1950s: it is used 80.9 per cent, as opposed to the native word *cankurtaran* (8.6 per cent). One is inclined to think that *cankurtaran* will survive given that it also functions as a generic term, which means 'anything that saves lives or helps in difficult situations.' (see Chapter 5 for more) The success of the loanword *politikacı* (politician) drove its counterpart *siyasetçi* to a marginal position: 42.9 per cent and 7.6 per cent respectively.

Neologisms have been accepted by speakers to a great extent. The lexical item *yargıç* (judge) was coined to replace *hakim* (judge), and has been in sporadic usage not only in mass media but also in scholarly writing. Its recent challenge to *hakim* (judge) appears to have gained considerable ground: it accounts for about 15 per cent of usage. It can be expected that it will gain more acceptance from speakers in future. The neologism *kent* (city) is starting to have a considerable percentage of usage: it is used by about 10 per cent of the subjects while traditional *şehir* is utilised by more than 50 per cent. *Düş* (dream), which has come into popular usage recently, is being utilised at about 10 per cent and appears to have a promising future. *Tanık* (witness) and *yanıt* (answer) are relatively recent arrivals in the lexical variation scene. While *tanık* has became a rival (21.9 per cent) to its counterpart *şahit* (26.7 per cent), *yanıt* has lagged behind in acceptance; it is preferred by only 2.9 per cent of the subjects whereas *cevap* had an overwhelming (40.9 per cent) support.

### 4.3 Over-reporting and Favouring

Comparison of reported use and actual use (Tables 1 and 5) offers interesting results in that cases of over-reporting (that is, usage is indicated in the questionnaire but did not materialise in actual speech) centres largely on the traditional items, contrary to initial hypotheses. It was hypothesised (0.3) that over-reporting (or favouring) phenomena are widely observed for a lexical item which

a) recently entered speech,

b) is considered as being standard, and/or

c) is used and encouraged by not only mass media but also by professionals who are regarded to be standing at the prestigious end of the occupational scale such as politicians, lecturers, journalists, sports and arts personalities.

In other words, neologisms and loanwords were predicted to be favoured. However, as seen in Table 9 below, a clear majority (15) of the over-reported items (20) are traditional words while three of them are loanwords and two are neologisms. (The over-reported items are shown in the very left hand side column; individual capital letters to the left indicate whether an over-reported item is traditional (T), neologism (N), or loanword (L)).

Table 9: Ordering of over- and under-reported lexical pairs by difference between Traditional Words and Neologisms/Loanwords

| | Over-reporting | | Under-reporting | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Gloss) | Items | % | Items | % |
| T (nightgown) | gecelik* | -52.7 | pijama* | +52.7 |
| T (bye bye) | güle güle* | -32.0 | bay bay* | +32.0 |
| T (clinic) | muayenehane* | -26.1 | klinik* | +26.1 |
| L (uphill) | rampa* | -14.8 | yokuş* | +14.8 |
| L (car) | otomobil | -13.3 | araba | +13.3 |
| T (politician) | siyasetçi | -12.2 | politikacı | +12.2 |
| T (exam) | imtihan | -11.1 | sınav | +11.1 |
| T (interview) | mülakat | -7.2 | röportaj | +7.2 |
| T (witness) | şahit | -5.3 | tanık | +5.3 |
| N (to get acquitted) | aklanmak | -4.7 | beraat etmek | +4.7 |
| T (result) | netice | -4.5 | sonuç | +4.5 |
| T (city) | şehir | -4.0 | kent | +4.0 |
| T (ambulance) | cankurtaran | -3.7 | ambulans | +3.7 |
| T (judge) | hakim | -2.8 | yargıç | +2.8 |
| L (restaurant) | restoran | -2.8 | lokanta | +2.8 |
| T (evidence) | delil | -2.5 | kanıt | +2.5 |
| T (dream) | hayal | -1.2 | düş | +1.2 |
| T (student) | talebe | -1.1 | öğrenci | +1.1 |
| T (story) | hikaye | -0.4 | öykü | +0.4 |
| N (answer) | yanıt | -0.2 | cevap | +0.2 |

Four pairs were significantly differentiated for their over-reporting (These are the first four pairs asterisked in Table 9). The highest over-reporting occurred for a traditional word: *gecelik* (nightgown) was favoured over the loanword *pijama* by more than half of the subjects. The second and the third

highest over-reported items also come from the stock of traditional words; *güle güle* (bye bye) was over-reported by 32 per cent, and *muayenehane* (clinic) was over-reported by about 26 per cent. The next most favoured items are two loanwords: *rampa* (uphill) and *otomobil* (car). They were over-reported by about 15 per cent and 13 per cent respectively.

The prediction made above (4.2.3) on the basis of actual occurrence that five traditional lexical items (*talebe* 'student', *imtihan* 'exam', *netice* 'result', *mülakat* 'interview', and *siyasetçi* 'politician') would be out of use soon appears not to be confirmed by the self-report data in that these items were in fact over-reported. In particular, *siyasetçi* and *imtihan* were over-reported by more than 10 per cent.

Over-reporting related to independent and dependent variables is as follows: traditional variants are over-reported more than their counterparts (neologisms + loanwords); 34.4 per cent and 16.6 per cent respectively. Traditional words are favoured more than twice as much as neologisms. When compared, loanwords are favoured about 6 per cent more than neologisms.

Table 10 below compares Tables 3 and 7. Over-reporting occurred very little for neologisms except for the education factor; secondary subjects under-reported neologims substantially more than primary and tertiary educated subjects. With traditional words, there was not much differentiation for the groups sex and age; however, women and young subjects under-reported the traditional words. The education factor differed most among other groups; secondary subjects indicated the highest proportion for over-reporting, followed closely by primary educated subjects whereas tertiary educated subjects under-reported the traditional words, considerably below the mean percentage.

Table 10: Over-reporting of Traditional Words and Neologisms by Independent Variables

| | | Traditional Word (Mean 33.4 %) | | Neologism (Mean 13.4 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 32.2 | 229 | 13.4 | 97 |
| | Male | 34.8 | 155 | 13.3 | 59 |
| Age | Young | 30.7 | 152 | 14.1 | 70 |
| | Adult | 34.6 | 114 | 14.2 | 47 |
| | Old | 35.8 | 118 | 11.6 | 39 |
| Education | Primary | 37.3 | 109 | 16.4 | 45 |
| | Secondary | 39.0 | 129 | 8.5 | 28 |
| | Tertiary | 26.6 | 146 | 15.1 | 83 |
| | Total | | 384 | | 156 |

A comparison of Tables 4 and 8 produces the figures in Table 11. It is the combination of female, adult, tertiary educated subjects who attach prestige value to loanwords. The highest over-reporting for traditional words were obtained from male, adult and old, primary educated subjects.

Table 11: Over-reporting of Traditional Words and Loanwords by Independent Variables

| | | Traditional Word (Mean 35.4 %) | | Loanword (Mean 19.7 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 33.7 | 193 | 20.5 | 120 |
| | Male | 38.1 | 141 | 18.5 | 67 |
| Age | Young | 32.5 | 132 | 19.9 | 89 |
| | Adult | 37.5 | 101 | 20.3 | 55 |
| | Old | 37.4 | 101 | 15.9 | 43 |
| Education | Primary | 42.7 | 96 | 15.1 | 34 |
| | Secondary | 38.5 | 104 | 17.7 | 48 |
| | Tertiary | 29.8 | 134 | 19.3 | 105 |
| | Total | | 334 | | 187 |

Concluding, although an extremely clear-cut picture of favouring of the alternative expressions did not emerge, it can be safely stated that more often than not favouring of neologisms and loanwords are correlated with adult, tertiary educated subjects and, to a lesser degree, primary educated subjects. Men consistently over-reported traditional words more than women.

### 4.4 Reported Semantic Difference

**Part II A** of the questionnaire tried to find out the perceptions of speakers on semantic equivalence (or difference) between the lexical pairs presented on a 'Yes' or 'No' response basis. The data produced by this part will also be compared and analysed with that of **Part II B** (in the next chapter), which involved selecting the relevant meanings given. The responses to the question 'Do you think there is a semantic difference between the following pair of words?' have been varied and interesting. 14 pairs were reported significantly different in meaning.

The *gecelik-pijama* 'pyjama' pair was marked most semantically different (Table 12). The three least semantically different pairs are *imtihan-sınav* 'exam', *talebe-öğrenci* 'student', and *netice-sonuç* 'result'. These three pairs include traditional members which are stated to be on the verge of extinction (4.1.3). Such an observation might imply that subjects consider the traditional words as the 'replaced', and their counterparts as 'replacer'. However, this observation is not valid for the *mülakat-röportaj* 'interview' pair, traditional member of which is predicted to drop out of use; *mülakat-röportaj* were considered semantically different by about 44 per cent of the subjects.

Table 12: Ranked pairs of lexical pairs marked Semantically Different

| (Gloss) | Lexical Pairs | % | n=105 Cases |
|---|---|---|---|
| (nightgown) | gecelik-pijama* | 46.6 | 49 |
| (interview) | mülakat-röportaj* | 43.8 | 46 |
| (restaurant) | lokanta-restoran* | 32.3 | 34 |
| (dream) | hayal-düş* | 32.3 | 34 |
| (goodbye) | güle güle-bay bay* | 31.4 | 33 |
| (clinic) | muayenehane-klinik* | 30.4 | 32 |
| (to get acquitted) | beraat etmek-aklanmak* | 27.6 | 29 |
| (car) | araba-otomobil* | 25.7 | 27 |
| (uphill) | yokuş-rampa* | 20.9 | 22 |
| (judge) | hakim-yargıç* | 20.0 | 21 |
| (ambulance) | cankurtaran-ambulans* | 19.0 | 20 |
| (story) | hikaye-öykü* | 17.1 | 18 |
| (politician) | siyasetçi-politikacı* | 15.2 | 16 |
| (city) | şehir-kent* | 15.2 | 16 |
| (witness) | şahit-tanık | 12.3 | 13 |
| (answer) | cevap-yanıt | 10.4 | 11 |
| (evidence) | delil-kanıt | 9.5 | 10 |
| (result) | netice-sonuç | 8.5 | 9 |
| (student) | talebe-öğrenci | 6.6 | 7 |
| (exam) | imtihan-sınav | 5.7 | 6 |

The mean of percentages showing semantic differences reported for traditional words-neologisms is 15.5 while for traditional words-loanwords it is 29.6 per cent (Table 13). This indicates that the percentage of subjects who report semantic difference for the pairs concerned is considerably lower than those who do not. Furthermore, the percentage of semantic differences indicated for traditional word-loanword pairs is virtually twice as great as that reported for traditional word-neologism pairs; 29. 6 per cent and 15.5 per cent respectively.

In traditional word-neologism pairs, higher reporting of semantic difference came from the combination of male, old, primary educated subjects. The highest differentiation occurred in the age group where old subjects reported 20.3 per cent semantic difference while young subjects reported 12.5 per cent.

Table 13: Reported Semantic Differences of Traditional Word-Neologism and Traditional Word-Loanword Pairs by Dependent Variables

| | | Trad. W/Neologism (Mean 15.5 %) | | Trad. W/Loanword (Mean 29.6%) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | Cases | % | Cases |
| Sex | Female | 13.4 | 96 | 29.9 | 175 |
| | Male | 17.7 | 78 | 28.9 | 104 |
| Age | Young | 12.5 | 62 | 28.6 | 116 |
| | Adult | 13.6 | 45 | 29.6 | 80 |
| | Old | 20.3 | 67 | 30.7 | 83 |
| Education | Primary | 18.6 | 50 | 29.3 | 66 |
| | Secondary | 13.6 | 45 | 25.5 | 69 |
| | Tertiary | 14.4 | 79 | 32.0 | 144 |
| | Total | | 174 | | 279 |

As far as traditional word-loanword pairs are concerned, reporting of semantic difference is more evenly distributed across groups except for education: tertiary educated subjects reported the highest proportion (32 per cent) whereas secondary educated subjects reported the lowest proportion (25.5 per cent).

To conclude, semantic differentiation of traditional word-loanword pairs is reported by the subjects who have less education, who are men, and older subjects who have possibly been living since the time of the introduction of these neologisms. Interestingly, the factors male, old, and primary educated, the group who reported the highest proportion of semantic differences for these pairs, showed the lowest proportion of actual and reported use for neologisms (Tables 3 and 7). As for traditional word-loanword pairs, it appears that the factors which are positive for the differentiation of these pairs are female gender, and old age, and higher education.

## 4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described linguistic use (actual and reported) of the twenty lexical variants in Turkish as well as the perceptions of speakers as to semantic differences between these lexical variants. In actual use of the 20 tested pairs, traditional words formed a lower proportion than their counterparts, neologisms and loanwords. However, subjects reported use of more traditional words when asked than neologisms and loanwords together, suggesting an over-report of the use of traditional words. Thus, the hypothesis that neologisms and loanwords would be favoured was not confirmed by this finding. Most saliently, female, young, and tertiary educated subjects used neologisms (actually and reportedly) considerably more than traditional words while male, old, and primary educated speakers used the fewest of these. Therefore, the hypothesis that high frequency of usage as well as approval of neologisms are associated with female, young, and tertiary educated subjects (0.3) is confirmed. However, the hypothesis concerning loanword usage and approval is not confirmed; in fact, they were not regarded as standard forms nor over-reported.

Adult and tertiary educated subjects scored the highest proportions for loanwords in both actual and reported usage. Generally, use of traditional words reflects social characteristics such as older age, lower education, and male gender whereas use of loanwords, and especially neologisms, is associated with women, and higher education, and perhaps younger age. As to attitudes, traditional words were usually held in high regard. Responses to possible semantic differences between the lexical variants are discussed in the following chapter, which looks at the issue of semantic divergence and convergence in more detail. The results in this section will be discussed there and related to the subjects' judgements of these pairs.

# Chapter 5

# ANALYSIS OF SEMANTIC CHANGES

## 5.0 Introduction

This chapter investigates the issue of semantic changes in the interaction of alternative expressions, namely traditional words vs. neologisms, and traditional words vs. loanwords. It describes and analyses the data collected in **Part II-B** of the interview on 'Multiple Choice Definitions'. Statistical documentation was carried out by means of Statistical Package for Social Sciences-Version 4.1 (SPSSX). The description covers the following areas:

a) the findings concerning the subjects' reporting of the definitions given for the lexical items,
b) the correlations between the findings of this chapter (Part II-B) and the results of actual use (Part I-B) and of semantic differences (Part II-A),
c) the correlations between lexical variables,
d) the correlations between speaker characteristics and lexical variables.
e) identifying central and non-central meanings of the lexical items under investigation.

## 5.1 *Şehir-Kent* (City)[1]

The first pair to be examined is that which appeared as No. 1 and No. 21 in the questionnaire: *şehir-kent*. *Şehir* is the traditional word, and *kent* is the neologism introduced to replace it. The three meanings for these two lexical

[1] The first member of each pair is the traditional word.

items, each of which were given in the questionnaire on two occasions, can be rendered in English as follows:

a) large settlement area, provincial town.

b) a town with good living conditions.

c) a centre of industry, commerce, and administration.

The number of subjects who responded was 103. It appears that the semantic difference between the alternatives is quantitative rather than qualitative: both alternatives have all three meanings (Table 1). This tends to confirm the results obtained in Chapter 4.4, where about 85 per cent of the subjects indicated that these two lexical items were semantically equivalent. Compared with actual usage, the neologism, *kent*, was given substantially more meanings than it was used in actual speech (Appendix 4); it was used only by about 10 per cent of the subjects in the narration of cartoon illustration.

Table 1: Distribution of Meanings for *şehir* and *kent* (city)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c)* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Total |
| *şehir* | 84 | 81.5 | 21 | 20.4 | 63 | 61.2 | 168 |
| *kent* | 92 | 89.3 | 23 | 22.3 | 41 | 39.8 | 156 |

Proportions of meanings for these two lexical items are selected in the same order. That is, meaning (a) in both lexical items was chosen by most of the subjects followed by meaning (c), and meaning (b) received the fewest number of responses. *Kent* and *şehir* appear to differentiate for meanings (a) and (c) whereas they converge on meaning (b); the differences of percentage

for meanings (a) and (c) are significant.[2] Table 2 shows how speaker variables stand in relation to these two meanings.

Table 2: Meaning (a) and (c) by Dependent Variables

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (c) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *şehir* | | *kent* | | *şehir* | | *kent* | |
| | | (Mean 81.5 %) | | (Mean 89.3 %) | | (Mean 61.2 %) | | (Mean 39.8) | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 50 | 76.9 | 58 | 89.2 | 41 | 63.1 | 23 | 35.4 |
| | Male | 34 | 85.0 | 34 | 85.0 | 22 | 55.0 | 18 | 45.0 |
| Age | Young | 35 | 77.8 | 42 | 93.3 | 27 | 60.0 | 14 | 31.1 |
| | Adult | 25 | 83.3 | 27 | 90.0 | 16 | 53.3 | 11 | 36.6 |
| | Old | 24 | 80.0 | 23 | 76.6 | 20 | 66.6 | 16 | 53.3 |
| Education | Primary | 18 | 72.0 | 21 | 84.0 | 15 | 60.0 | 12 | 48.0 |
| | Secondary | 24 | 80.0 | 24 | 80.0 | 18 | 60.0 | 11 | 36.0 |
| | Tertiary | 42 | 84.0 | 47 | 94.0 | 30 | 62.5 | 18 | 36.0 |

As far as *kent* is concerned, the groups which chose the highest number of meaning (a) are female, young, and tertiary educated while it was male, old, and primary educated subjects who gave the highest number of meaning (c). In other words, a 'provincial town' can be more readily defined as *kent* for the former of groups subjects whereas for the latter groups of subjects *kent* is more of a centre of commercial activity and more.

### 5.2 *Hikaye-Öykü* (Story)

There were 100 respondents for *hikaye* and for *öykü*, 103. The pair *hikaye-öykü* (story) appeared at No. 2 and No. 22. The three meanings given were the following:

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[2] Significant differences will be marked with an asterisk on tables throughout this chapter. A variable is significant if it is at or below the level of significance, which is 0.05 calculated by chisquared.

a) oral narration of an incident.

b) a piece of literary writing of interesting past imaginary events.

c) untrue oral statement.

It appears that the neologism *öykü* has largely managed to assume the meanings designated by the traditional word *hikaye* (Table 3). This had in fact been echoed before when more than 80 per cent of the subjects pointed out the semantic equivalence of these two lexical items (4.4 as well as Appendix 3). Despite the fact that both lexical items occurred rather infrequently in actual speech, the rate of usage for *öykü* was substantially lower than that of *hikaye*: 1.9 per cent and 10.5 per cent respectively (Appendix 4a). The percentage of meanings given for *öykü* in this section puts it at a competing position against *hikaye* (Table 3).

Table 3: Distribution of Meanings for *hikaye* and *öykü* (story)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *hikaye* | 45 | 45.0 | 78 | 78.0 | 40 | 40.0 |
| *öykü* | 44 | 42.7 | 78 | 75.7 | 22 | 21.4 |

Meaning (b) was attributed to both items with the highest percentage: above 75 per cent. Over 40 per cent of the subjects circled meaning (a) for *hikaye* and *öykü*. For both items, the order of meanings is (b), (a), and (c). Unlike meanings (a) and (b), meaning (c) is highly significant in its differentiation between the two lexical items (Table 3).

Table 4 illustrates how speakers of various groups contributed to the results obtained for meaning (c). Curiously, the highest scoring groups are male, adult, and primary educated subjects who did not use one single token of

*öykü* in their actual speech (Appendix 4a). Although *öykü* does not cover meaning (c) as much as *hikaye*, it can be considered very successful in its acquisition of its meanings.

Table 4: Meaning (c) by Dependent Variables

| | | *hikaye* (Mean 40.0 %) | | *öykü* (Mean 21.4 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 21 | 32.3 | 13 | 20.0 |
| | Male | 19 | 47.5 | 9 | 22.5 |
| Age | Young | 14 | 31.1 | 10 | 22.2 |
| | Adult | 11 | 36.6 | 8 | 26.6 |
| | Old | 15 | 50.0 | 4 | 13.3 |
| Education | Primary | 9 | 36.0 | 8 | 32.0 |
| | Secondary | 12 | 40.0 | 5 | 16.6 |
| | Tertiary | 19 | 38.0 | 9 | 18.0 |

### 5.3 *Araba-Otomobil* (Car)

The *araba-otomobil* pair which appeared at No. 3 and No. 23 in the questionnaire received 103 responses. Three meanings given for the pair were as follows:

a) wheeled land vehicle without engine.

b) wheeled fast vehicle with engine.

c) vehicle which runs on petrol to carry people.

103 subjects provided responses for both alternatives. The pair appear to converge on meanings (b) and (c) while they are substantially differentiated for meaning (a) (Table 5). About 73 per cent of the subjects stated that these two lexical variants are semantically the same (Appendix 3). However, *otomobil* was only used by about 5 per cent of the subjects in the actual

speech part of the interview while its counterpart, *araba*, was used by a substantial number of subjects (Appendix 4b).

Table 5: Distribution of Meanings for *araba* and *otomobil* (car)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *araba* | 39 | 37.9 | 76 | 73.8 | 73 | 70.9 |
| *otomobil* | 7 | 6.8 | 74 | 71.8 | 70 | 68.0 |

Features mentioned in meaning (b) and (c) contribute almost equally to the identification of a referent as *araba* or *otomobil*. Meanings (b) and (c) occupy the position of central meaning although meaning (b) was given by a slightly higher percentage of subjects. Interestingly, results of frequency assignment reveal that the central meaning for *araba* is meaning (c) (Table 6)[3].

Table 6: Frequencies for meanings (b) and (c) of *araba*.

| | More Frequent | | Less Frequent | Least Frequent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequencies | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Meaning (b) | 18 | 25 | 9 | 2 | 0 |
| Meaning (c) | 29 | 15 | 9 | 1 | 1 |

The differentiation of meaning (a) between *araba* and *otomobil* is quite substantial; in fact significant (Table 5). Table 7 below shows the

[3] The expressions 'most frequently', 'more frequently', 'less frequently', and 'never used' corresponds to figures (5), (4), (3), (2), and (1) respectively, as presented in the questionnaire across the definitions. In the case of lexical items with four meanings, (1) and (2) are collapsed and taken as 'least frequently'. In the case of lexical items with three meanings, occurrences for frequency (4) will be divided equally between the highest frequency, which is (5), and medium frequency, which is (3), producing 'more frequently' and 'less frequently' respectively. The least frequent will comprise (1) and (2).

assignment of meaning (a) by various speaker groups to both lexical variants.

Table 7: Meaning (a) by Dependent Variables

| | | *araba* (Mean 37.9 %) | | *otomobil* (Mean 6.8 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 24 | 36.9 | 5 | 7.7 |
| | Male | 15 | 37.5 | 2 | 5.0 |
| Age | Young | 15 | 33.3 | 1 | 2.2 |
| | Adult | 10 | 33.3 | 4 | 13.3 |
| | Old | 14 | 46.6 | 2 | 6.6 |
| Education | Primary | 11 | 44.0 | 3 | 12.0 |
| | Secondary | 9 | 30.0 | 2 | 6.6 |
| | Tertiary | 19 | 38.0 | 2 | 4.0 |

In the assignment of meaning (a) to *araba*, older age and less education are positive factors while the role of gender is minimal; referents such as cart and wagon are still important examples of this word, in particular for older subjects, who were a lot more exposed to these referents than younger subjects. As for the assignment of meaning (a) to *otomobil*, roughly 7 per cent usage should be treated with caution; from a native speaker's viewpoint, it is either a recent innovation or an error.

### 5.4 *İmtihan-Sınav* (Exam)

The pair *imtihan-sınav* were at No. 4 and No. 24 in the questionnaire. The former received 103 responses while the latter had 101. The following meanings were proposed to the subjects:

a) testing, trial.

b) examining someone's knowledge.

c) a trying situation which requires resisting and courage.

d) a testing of human beings in terms of good and bad deeds.

This pair had been marked least semantically different among the 20 pairs (Appendix 3). As Table 8 below indicates, obviously, subjects had the meaning (b) in mind when they stated that these two variants are 92 per cent semantically the same (Appendix 3). In spite of this, *imtihan* was used by about 6 per cent of the subjects while *sınav* was used by about 80 per cent of the subjects (Appendix 4a).

Table 8. Distribution of Meanings for *imtihan* and *sınav* (exam)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c) | | Meaning (d)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *imtihan* | 53 | 51.5 | 89 | 86.4 | 24 | 23.3 | 31 | 30.1 |
| *sınav* | 34 | 33.7 | 90 | 89.1 | 24 | 23.8 | 19 | 18.9 |

Meaning (b), which was assigned to both lexical items by more than three quarters of the subject population, seems to be the primary meaning, followed by meaning (a). In terms of centrality of the four meanings, both lexical items are most frequently used with meaning (b), more frequently used with meaning (a), less frequently with meaning (c), and least frequently with meaning (d).

The figures in the table above do not reveal semantic differences for meanings (b) and (c). The difference for meaning (a) and meaning (d) is, however, significant. Obviously, *sınav* does not mean 'testing', 'experimenting', or even 'trial' as much as *imtihan* does. Also, *sınav* does not include the morality aspect of testing of human beings as much as *imtihan* does. The following table is given to show how the various speaker groups

assign meanings (a) and (d) differently. The meaning components 'testing', 'trial' on one hand and 'moral responsibility' on the other hand are not significantly associated with any of the speaker groups, in particular with gender.

Table 9: Meanings (a) and (d) by Dependent Variables

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (d) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *imtihan* | | *sınav* | | *imtihan* | | *sınav* | |
| | | (Mean 51.5 %) | | (Mean 33.7) | | (Mean 30.1 %) | | (Mean 18.9 %) | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 32 | 49.2 | 20 | 30.8 | 20 | 30.8 | 12 | 18.5 |
| | Male | 21 | 52.5 | 14 | 35.0 | 11 | 27.5 | 7 | 17.5 |
| Age | Young | 25 | 55.6 | 13 | 28.8 | 13 | 28.8 | 8 | 17.7 |
| | Adult | 12 | 40.0 | 8 | 26.6 | 7 | 23.3 | 6 | 20.0 |
| | Old | 16 | 53.3 | 13 | 43.3 | 11 | 36.6 | 5 | 16.6 |
| Education | Primary | 13 | 52.0 | 9 | 36.0 | 7 | 28.0 | 4 | 16.0 |
| | Secondary | 16 | 53.3 | 12 | 40.0 | 7 | 23.3 | 6 | 20.0 |
| | Tertiary | 24 | 48.0 | 13 | 26.0 | 17 | 34.0 | 9 | 18.0 |

### 5.5 *Şahit-Tanık* (Witness)

The pair appeared as No. 5 and No. 25 in the survey, and both received an equal number of useable responses: 103. The following were the three meanings provided for *şahit* and *tanık* (witness):

a) person who is present at the scene of an incident.

b) person who gives evidence in a law court in relation an incident s/he saw.

c) person who provides professional information in a law court as requested from him/her.

The proportions of meanings given for *şahit* and *tanık* are in parallel with the proportions elicited in the actual use part of the interview; the mean

percentage of the (overall) meanings given for *şahit* is about 57 per cent while it is 53 per cent for *tanık* (Table 10). *Şahit* was used by about 27 per cent of the subjects while *tanık* was utilised by about 22 per cent (Appendix 4a ). The reporting of semantic difference in an earlier section (4.4) is also consistent with these results: about 87 per cent of the subjects stated that these two items are semantically the same (Appendix 3).

Table 10. Distribution of Meanings for *şahit* and *tanık* (witness)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *şahit* | 85 | 82.5 | 72 | 69.9 | 19 | 18.4 |
| *tanık* | 66 | 64.1 | 82 | 79.6 | 17 | 16.5 |

There appears to be a semantic shift for meanings (a) and (b), while meaning (c) is equally represented for both lexical variants. Meaning (a) was assigned by more subjects to *şahit* than to *tanık* while meaning (b) was assigned by more subjects to *tanık* than to *şahit* (Table 10). In other words, for more of subjects, *şahit* is a person who is present at the scene of an incident whereas *tanık* is someone who gives evidence in court about what s/he saw. This may be the beginning of a differentiation of meanings (a) and (b): *şahit* is more often used in informal contexts while *tanık* is specialised to contexts of law.

Two significant cases of meaning differentiation occurred for meanings (a) and (b). In Table 11, these two meanings were broken down according to dependent variables. For both lexical items, more women than men chose meaning (a), and more men than women gave meaning (b). Interestingly, male, adult, and primary educated subjects contributed to the meaning (b) for *tanık* more than other groups. No other clear pattern emerges with other dependent and independent variables.

Table 11: Meanings (a) and (b) by Dependent Variables

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (b) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *şahit* (M. 82.5 %) | | *tanık* (M. 64.1 %) | | *şahit* (M. 69.9 %) | | *tanık* (M.79.6 %) | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 53 | 82.8 | 43 | 67.2 | 42 | 65.6 | 47 | 73.4 |
| | Male | 32 | 82.0 | 23 | 59.0 | 30 | 76.9 | 35 | 89.7 |
| Age | Young | 39 | 86.6 | 29 | 64.4 | 29 | 64.4 | 34 | 75.5 |
| | Adult | 21 | 75.0 | 15 | 51.7 | 19 | 67.9 | 26 | 89.7 |
| | Old | 25 | 83.3 | 22 | 75.9 | 24 | 80.0 | 22 | 79.9 |
| Education | Primary | 20 | 80.0 | 14 | 58.3 | 16 | 66.6 | 21 | 87.5 |
| | Secondary | 23 | 82.1 | 19 | 65.5 | 20 | 71.4 | 20 | 69.0 |
| | Tertiary | 42 | 82.4 | 33 | 66.0 | 36 | 72.0 | 41 | 82.0 |

### 5.6 *Talebe-Öğrenci* (Student)

The items *talebe* and *öğrenci* appeared at No. 6 and No. 26 respectively in the questionnaire. Subjects provided 104 codable responses for *talebe* and 103 for *öğrenci*. The following three meanings were offerred to the subjects:

a) child who attends school.

b) person who receives private tuition from either a teacher or institution.

c) person who pursues knowledge.

There does not seem to be a large semantic difference between the competing variants (Table 12), as confirmed by 93 per cent of the subjects who stated that *talebe* and öğ*renci* had the same semantic content. Meaning (c) was assigned to both variants at virtually the same percentage. Both meaning (a) and (b) were more frequently assigned to the neologism,

*öğrenci*. The actual use between the two items is greater for *öğrenci*, giving support to the figures in this section (Appendix 4a): *öğrenci* was actually used by 79 per cent of the subjects whereas *talebe* was only used by less than 5 per cent.

Table 12: Distribution of Meanings for *talebe* and *öğrenci*.

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *talebe* | 90 | 86.5 | 40 | 38.5 | 30 | 28.8 |
| *öğrenci* | 93 | 90.3 | 46 | 44.7 | 28 | 27.2 |

As is obvious in Table 12, the component 'child who goes to school' is what the majority of the subjects considers essential in the designation of both lexical items. To less than 50 per cent of the subjects, both lexical alternatives have the component 'person who receives private tuition', which is a common phenomenon in Turkey.[4] Therefore, the best example of *talebe* and *öğrenci* is that reference contained in meaning (a), while the reference in meaning (b) is a better example than that stated in meaning (c).

It is worth examining the most central meaning with various speaker groups and comparing the occurrences with those of the actual use. Female, young, and tertiary educated subjects who scored the highest percentages in the actual use of *öğrenci* (Appendix 4a) also chose meaning (b) for *öğrenci* more than other groups (Table 13). Interestingly, primary educated subjects who scored the highest percentage of actual use for the traditional word (12 per cent) and the lowest percentage for the neologism (52 per cent)

[4] A person who goes through primary to tertiary education usually sits for at least four general examinations so as to get into the school s/he wants. Prior to these examinations, guardians make sure that children either get private tuition or get enrolled at exam oriented fee paying small schools.

(Appendix 4a) gave the fewest meanings for *talebe* and followed tertiary educated subjects in the percentage of meanings given for *öğrenci*. More interestingly, secondary educated subjects who did not utter one token of *talebe* in their actual speech at the interview gave the highest percentage of meaning (b) for *talebe*.

Table 13: Meaning (a) for *talebe* and *öğrenci*

| | | *talebe* (Mean 86.5 %) | | *öğrenci* (Mean 90.3 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 59 | 90.8 | 58 | 90.6 |
| | Male | 58 | 79.5 | 35 | 89.7 |
| Age | Young | 39 | 86.7 | 42 | 93.3 |
| | Adult | 26 | 89.7 | 24 | 82.8 |
| | Old | 25 | 83.3 | 27 | 93.1 |
| Education | Primary | 20 | 83.3 | 21 | 87.5 |
| | Secondary | 26 | 89.7 | 24 | 85.7 |
| | Tertiary | 44 | 88.0 | 48 | 94.1 |

### 5.7 *Cevap-Yanıt* (Answer)

The pair *cevap-yanıt* appeared at No. 7 and No. 27 in the questionnaire. 102 subjects provided processable data for *cevap*, and 104 subjects did so for *yanıt*. The three definitions given for these two words are as follows:

a) response to a question.

b) response to a query in writing.

c) meeting of a demand.

It appears that the traditional word, *cevap*, and the neologism, *yanıt*, are not substantially differentiated semantically, except for meaning (c) (Table 14). Earlier, about 90 per cent of the subjects had reported they found both

forms semantically the same (Appendix 3). Meaning (a) was circled by most of the subjects (about 93 per cent) for both items, followed by meaning (b) which was used by about 45 per cent of the subjects (Table 14). The order of meanings, then, is (a), (b), and (c).

Table 14: Distribution of Meanings for *cevap* and *yanıt* (answer)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *cevap* | 98 | 96.1 | 45 | 44.1 | 30 | 29.4 |
| *yanıt* | 93 | 89.4 | 49 | 47.1 | 12 | 11.5 |

Table 15: Meaning (c) by Dependent Variables

| | | *cevap* (Mean 29.4 %) | | *yanıt* (Mean 11.5 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 20 | 31.2 | 7 | 10.8 |
| | Male | 10 | 26.3 | 5 | 12.8 |
| Age | Young | 13 | 30.2 | 6 | 13.3 |
| | Adult | 8 | 27.6 | 4 | 13.8 |
| | Old | 9 | 30.0 | 2 | 6.6 |
| Education* | Primary | 7 | 30.4 | 5 | 20.8 |
| | Secondary | 7 | 23.3 | 1 | 3.3 |
| | Tertiary | 16 | 32.0 | 6 | 12.0 |

It has been said above that the only major differentiation of meaning between *cevap* and *yanıt* occurred with meaning (c). Table 15 details meaning (c) versus speaker variables. Of all the factors, education is significant with *yanıt*; *yanıt* virtually lacks the meaning (c) for groups such as old and secondary educated. This is no surprise given the scarcity of usage of *yanıt* in actual speech by these two groups (Appendix 4a). With *cevap*, the

combination of female, young, and tertiary educated produced the highest percentages. There is not much substantial differentiation in regard to other variables.

### 5.8 *Yokuş-Rampa* (Uphill)

The pair *yokuş-rampa* (uphill) were given as No. 8 and No. 28 in the questionnaire. An equal number of responses were obtained from subjects: 103. The four meanings given for the two lexical items are as follows:

a) ascending land.

b) ascending road.

c) sloping area where land-to-air missiles are located.

d) sloping way for the carrying of goods between ships and land.

A great deal of semantic difference appears to be current between *yokuş* and *rampa*, except for meaning (a), which received the highest number of responses for both words (Table 16). About 77 per cent of the subjects stated that the two lexical items are semantically the same in an earlier part of the interview (Appendix 3). The order of meanings appears to be (a), (b), (c), and (d) as far as the occurrences of cases are concerned.

Table 16. Distribution of Meanings for *yokuş* and *rampa* (uphill)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c)* | | Meaning (d) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *yokuş* | 77 | 74.8 | 71 | 68.9 | 10 | 9.7 | 11 | 10.7 |
| *rampa* | 73 | 70.8 | 49 | 47.6 | 19 | 18.4 | 6 | 5.8 |

The difference between the two lexical items for meanings (b) and (c) is significant (Table 16); particularly for meaning (b), where more than 20 per

cent of the subjects did not consider *rampa* as 'ascending road'. Table 17 reveals the contribution to meanings (b) and (c) by various speaker groups.

Table 17: Meanings (b) and (c) by Dependent Variables

| | | Meaning (b) | | | | Meaning (c) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *yokuş* | | *rampa* | | *yokuş* | | *rampa* | |
| | | Mean 68.9 % | | Mean 47.6 % | | Mean 9.7 % | | Mean 18.4 % | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex* | Female | 42 | 65.6 | 27 | 42.2 | 7 | 10.9 | 6 | 9.4 |
| | Male | 29 | 74.4 | 22 | 56.4 | 3 | 7.7 | 13 | 33.3 |
| Age* | Young | 31 | 68.8 | 20 | 45.5 | 4 | 8.8 | 4 | 9.1 |
| | Adult | 20 | 51.3 | 15 | 51.7 | 5 | 17.2 | 10 | 34.5 |
| | Old | 20 | 51.3 | 14 | 46.7 | 1 | 3.4 | 15 | 16.7 |
| Education | Primary | 18 | 75.0 | 11 | 45.8 | 3 | 12.5 | 4 | 16.7 |
| | Secondary | 19 | 67.9 | 13 | 44.8 | 4 | 14.3 | 4 | 13.8 |
| | Tertiary | 34 | 66.6 | 25 | 50.0 | 3 | 5.9 | 11 | 22.0 |

With meaning (b), men gave more meanings for both items. As far as *rampa* is concerned, men gave significantly more meanings than women; 56.4 per cent and 42.2 per cent respectively. As for meaning (c), two factors appear to be significant for their differentiation of with *rampa*; these are gender and age. A significantly higher proportion of men (33.3 per cent) indicated meaning (c) than women (9.4 per cent). With age, it was the adult subjects who chose meaning (c) at the highest proportion (34.5 per cent) while old subjects gave it at a percentage of 16.7 whereas young subjects scored the lowest proportion.

### 5.9 *Cankurtaran-Ambulans* (Ambulance)

The traditional word *cankurtaran* was at No. 9 while the loanword *ambulans* was at No. 29. They received an equal number of responses: 104. The three meanings given were;

a) vehicle for carrying injured and ill people to hospital.

b) vehicle capable of providing first-aid for injured people at the scene of an accident.

c) vehicle used in saving lives in natural disasters.

The difference between the traditional word and the loanword is quantitative rather than qualitative; meanings (a) and (b) were chosen by an approximately similar percentage of subjects for both items (Table 18). This was further supported as more than 80 per cent of the subjects had reported that both variants were semantically equivalent (section 4.4 as well as Appendix 3). In terms of the number of meanings given, *cankurtaran* slightly dominates *ambulans* in meanings (a) and (c) whereas it is behind *ambulans* in meaning (b). That is, *ambulans* is more of a vehicle capable of providing first-aid at accident scenes. For both words, the central meaning is (a). Meaning (b) appears to be more central than meaning (c).

Table 18: Distribution of Meanings for *cankurtaran* and *ambulans* (ambulance)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *cankurtaran* | 91 | 87.5 | 58 | 55.8 | 38 | 36.5 |
| *ambulans* | 89 | 85.6 | 65 | 62.5 | 24 | 23.1 |

The only significant difference is observed with meaning (c); the difference amounts to over 13 per cent. Table 19 shows this meaning as broken down by speaker groups. Men appeared to be more sensitive than women toward this meaning for both items. More men think that the referent of both *cankurtaran* and *ambulans* is used in natural disasters. Another group who also think similarly is primary educated. There is no single combination of

factors which favours or disfavours this meaning for one variant or the other.

Table 19: Meaning (c) by Dependent Variables

| | | *cankurtaran* (Mean 36.5 %) | | *ambulans* (Mean 23.1 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 22 | 33.8 | 12 | 18.5 |
| | Male | 16 | 40.0 | 12 | 30.8 |
| Age | Young | 15 | 33.3 | 11 | 24.0 |
| | Adult | 10 | 34.5 | 6 | 20.0 |
| | Old | 13 | 43.0 | 7 | 23.3 |
| Education | Primary | 11 | 45.8 | 6 | 25.0 |
| | Secondary | 9 | 31.0 | 6 | 20.7 |
| | Tertiary | 18 | 35.3 | 12 | 23.5 |

### 5.10 *Muayenehane-Klinik* (Clinic)

The pair *muayenehane-klinik* (clinic) were at No. 10 and No. 30 in the questionnaire. Subjects provided 104 useable responses for *muayenehane* and 103 for *klinik*. The following definitions were given:

a) a place where the sick and injured are provided with medical treatment.

b) specialised sections of a hospital such as ear-nose-and-throat.

c) private office of a doctor.

It seems that a differentiation between the traditional word, *muayenehane*, and the loanword, *klinik*, is emerging. While meaning (a) is assigned to both variants by a nearly equal percentage of subjects, a clear majority of the subjects tend to favour meaning (b) for *klinik* and meaning (c) for *muayenehane* (Table 18). About 77 per cent of the subjects who circled

meaning (b) reported that to them a *klinik* is 'a section of a hospital which specialises in one branch of medicine such as ear-nose-and-throat'. As for meaning (c), more than 72 per cent of the subjects who chose meaning (c) indicated that the definition of *muayenehane* is 'a private office of a doctor'.

Table 20: Distribution of Meanings for *muayenehane* and *klinik* (clinic)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *muayenehane* | 72 | 69.2 | 20 | 19.2 | 71 | 68.3 |
| *klinik* | 64 | 62.1 | 68 | 66.0 | 27 | 26.2 |

The centrality of meanings is correlated with higher percentages given to meanings. For *muayenehane*, the order is (a), (c), and (b), and for *klinik* it is (b), (a), and (c). The two lexical items significantly differentiate in regard to meanings (b) and (c). Table 21 shows how various variables contribute to these two meanings.

Table 21: Meanings (b) and (c) by Dependent Variables

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (b) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *muayenehane* (M. 19.2 %) | | *klinik* (M. 66.0 %) | | *muayenehane* (M. 68.3 %) | | *klinik* (M. 26.2 %) | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 12 | 18.4 | 41 | 63.1 | 47 | 72.3 | 18 | 27.7 |
| | Male | 8 | 20.0 | 27 | 67.5 | 24 | 60.0 | 9 | 22.5 |
| Age | Young | 8 | 17.7 | 28 | 62.2 | 32 | 71.1 | 9 | 20.0 |
| | Adult | 6 | 20.0 | 21 | 70.0 | 20 | 70.0 | 11 | 36.6 |
| | Old | 6 | 20.0 | 19 | 63.3 | 19 | 63.3 | 7 | 23.3 |
| Education* | Primary | 8 | 32.0 | 10 | 40.0 | 13 | 52.0 | 9 | 36.0 |
| | Secondary | 6 | 20.0 | 19 | 63.3 | 19 | 63.3 | 7 | 23.3 |
| | Tertiary | 6 | 12.0 | 39 | 78.0 | 39 | 78.0 | 11 | 22.0 |

The education factor is significantly differentiated in the assignment of meaning (b) for both *muayenehane* and *klinik*; as the education level decreases, the percentage of meaning (b) selection for *muayenehane* increases. Conversely, as the educational level increases, so does the percentage of meaning (b) assignment for *klinik*. The same pattern is true for meaning (c) although non-significantly; the higher the educational attainment is, the higher the percentage of the subjects who think *muayenehane* is a 'private office of a doctor'. The lower the educational level is, the higher the number of the subjects who consider *klinik* as a 'private office of a doctor'. With other variables, however, no clear pattern is observed.

### 5.11 *Hakim-Yargıç* (Judge)

The pair *hakim-yargıç* (judge) were at No. 11 and No. 31 respectively. There were 103 responses for traditional word, *hakim*, and 104 for the loanword, *yargıç*. The four meanings given were as follows:

a) influential person.

b) person with legal authority to decide on disputed cases in a law court.

c) person who determines who is right and wrong.

d) one who has a good view from above.

Differences between the traditional item and the neologism permeate all four meanings (Table 22). The traditional item, *hakim*, was given more meanings than its counterpart, *yargıç*: the percentage of actual usage for *hakim* was about 65 while for *yargıç* it was about 15 (section 4.1 as well as Appendix 4a). About 80 per cent of the subjects had earlier reported that the two lexical items were semantically equivalent (section 4.4; also Appendix 3). It is interesting that *yargıç* is not doing well overall except for meaning (b), which is given to *yargıç* significantly more (about 20 per cent) than to *hakim*.

Table 22. Distribution of Meanings for *hakim* and *yargıç* (judge)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c)* | | Meaning (d)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *hakim* | 30 | 29.1 | 69 | 67.0 | 71 | 68.9 | 22 | 21.4 |
| *yargıç* | 13 | 12.5 | 92 | 88.5 | 45 | 43.3 | 2 | 1.9 |

The central meaning for *yargıç* is no doubt meaning (b), which was given by about 90 per cent of the subjects, whereas which meaning is the central meaning for *hakim* is not clear at all given the close percentages of meaning (b) and (c). However, when the assignment of frequencies is examined, it is clear that a higher percentage of the subjects who gave more than one meaning preferred meaning (b) over meaning (c) as the most central meaning for *hakim* (Table 23). The order of meanings for both items is the same: (b), (c), (a), and (d). In fact, the existence of meaning (d) for *yargıç* seems to be dubious as it was only given by 1.9 per cent of the subjects (Table 22).

Table 23: Frequencies of Usage for Meanings (b) and (c) of *hakim*.

| Frequencies | 5 | | 4 | | 3 | | 2 | | 1 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Meaning (b) | 23 | 43.4 | 18 | 34.0 | 11 | 20.8 | 1 | 1.9 | 0 | 0 |
| Meaning (c) | 15 | 35.7 | 14 | 33.3 | 11 | 26.2 | 1 | 2.4 | 1 | 2.4 |

The lexical items are significantly differentiated for all meanings. Table 24 shows the these meanings for speaker variables. The only significant factor group is education with meaning (a) for *yargıç*; the higher the educational level is, the lower percentage of subjects who consider *yargıç* as having the meaning 'influential' (Table 24). No pattern is observed in regard to dependent and independent variables.

Table 24: Distribution of Meanings for *hakim* and *yargıç* (judge)

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (b) | | | | Meaning (c) | | | | Meaning (d) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *hakim* Mean 29.1 % | | *yargıç* Mean 12.5 % | | *hakim* Mean 67 % | | *yargıç* Mean 88.5 % | | *hakim* Mean 68.9 % | | *yargıç* Mean 43.3 % | | *hakim* Mean 21.4 | | *yargıç* Mean 1.9 % | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 22 | 34.4 | 9 | 13.8 | 45 | 70.3 | 59 | 90.8 | 40 | 62.5 | 27 | 42.2 | 13 | 20.3 | 1 | 1.5 |
| | Male | 8 | 20.5 | 4 | 10.3 | 24 | 61.5 | 33 | 84.6 | 31 | 79.5 | 18 | 46.2 | 9 | 23.1 | 1 | 2.6 |
| Age | Young | 14 | 31.8 | 5 | 11.1 | 29 | 65.9 | 41 | 91.0 | 29 | 65.9 | 18 | 40.0 | 8 | 18.2 | 1 | 2.2 |
| | Adult | 8 | 27.6 | 5 | 13.8 | 18 | 62.1 | 27 | 93.1 | 21 | 72.4 | 12 | 41.4 | 7 | 24.1 | 1 | 3.4 |
| | Old | 8 | 26.7 | 4 | 13.3 | 22 | 73.3 | 24 | 80.0 | 21 | 70.0 | 15 | 50.0 | 7 | 23.3 | 0 | 0 |
| Education | Primary | 9 | 39.1 | *5 | 20.8 | 13 | 56.5 | 20 | 83.3 | 17 | 73.9 | 13 | 54.2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4.2 |
| | Secondary | 7 | 24.1 | *3 | 10.3 | 23 | 79.3 | 27 | 93.1 | 18 | 62.1 | 9 | 31.0 | 6 | 26.6 | 0 | 0 |
| | Tertiary | 14 | 27.5 | *5 | 9.8 | 33 | 64.7 | 45 | 88.2 | 36 | 70.6 | 23 | 45.1 | 16 | 31.4 | 1 | 1.9 |

**5.12 *Mülakat-Röportaj* (Interview)**

*Mülakat* appeared as No. 12 and *röportaj* as No. 32 in the questionnaire. 102 subjects responded to *mülakat* while 103 subjects responded to *röportaj*. There were five meanings for both alternatives. These are:

a) act of meeting with someone.

b) an account of a journalist on what s/he saw.

c) a journalist's getting information by asking questions.

d) the making of a program by a TV or radio journalist who does it by researching.

e) an employer's meeting with prospective employers.

The traditional word, *mülakat*, and the loanword, *röportaj*, appear to be differentiated on all meanings except for one, meaning (b), which seems to be the least important component for both lexical items (Table 25). Indeed, more than 45 per cent of the subjects had indicated that the two lexical variants were semantically different (4.4 as well as Appendix 3); the two words were the second most differentiated pair among the 20 pairs.

Table 25: Distribution of Meanings for *röportaj* and *mülakat* (interview)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c)* | | Meaning (d)* | | Meaning (e)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *mülakat* | 25 | 24.5 | 8 | 7.8 | 48 | 47.1 | 19 | 18.6 | 69 | 67.6 |
| *röportaj* | 18 | 17.5 | 11 | 10.7 | 86 | 83.5 | 35 | 34.0 | 5 | 4.9 |

The two lexical items also differ on the order of meanings. The primary meaning for *röportaj* is meaning (c) (83.5 per cent), and it is meaning (e) for *mülakat* (67.6 per cent). The order of meanings for *mülakat* is (e), (c), (a), (d), and (b). The order of meanings for *röportaj* is (c), (d), (a), (b), and (e). Three

Table 26: Distribution of Meanings (c), (d), (e) for *mülakat* and *röportaj* (interview)

| | | Meaning (c) | | | | Meaning (d) | | | | Meaning (e) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *mülakat* Mean 47.1 % | | *röportaj* Mean 83.5 % | | *mülakat* Mean 18.6 % | | *röportaj* Mean 34.0 % | | *mülakat* Mean 67.6 % | | *röportaj* Mean 4.9 % | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 30 | 46.2 | *59 | 90.8 | 12 | 18.5 | *19 | 29.2 | 45 | 69.2 | 2 | 3.8 |
| | Male | 18 | 48.6 | *27 | 71.1 | 7 | 18.9 | *16 | 42.1 | 24 | 64.9 | 3 | 7.9 |
| Age | Young | 21 | 48.8 | 37 | 84.1 | *6 | 14.0 | *10 | 22.7 | 28 | 65.1 | 1 | 2.3 |
| | Adult | 12 | 41.4 | 25 | 86.2 | *7 | 24.1 | *11 | 37.9 | 24 | 82.8 | 2 | 6.9 |
| | Old | 15 | 50.0 | 24 | 80.0 | *5 | 16.6 | *14 | 46.7 | 17 | 56.6 | 2 | 6.7 |
| Education | Primary | 12 | 50.0 | 18 | 75.0 | 5 | 20.8 | 12 | 50.0 | 17 | 70.8 | 3 | 12.5 |
| | Secondary | 13 | 44.8 | 25 | 86.2 | 5 | 17.2 | 7 | 24.1 | 17 | 58.6 | 0 | 0 |
| | Tertairy | 23 | 46.9 | 43 | 86.0 | 9 | 18.4 | 16 | 32.0 | 35 | 71.4 | 2 | 4.0 |

meanings appear to be significant (Table 25); these are (c), (d), and (e). Table 26 shows the distribution of these meanings with respect to speaker variables.

With meaning (c) for *röportaj*, men and women differ significantly in their assignment of this meaning; more women use *röportaj* for meaning (c), whose difference from other meanings is one of getting information on a question-and-answer basis. Although non-significantly, as subjects get younger, and as the educational level of subjects increases, so does the proportion of meanings given for (c).

As far as meaning (d) is concerned, three differences are significant; age for *mülakat*, and gender and age for *röportaj*. With *mülakat*, adult subjects gave the highest proportion of meaning (d), while old subjects gave a higher proportion than young subjects. With *röportaj*, gender and age factor groups are significantly differentiated; women provided more meanings than men. As the age of subjects goes up, so does the proportion of meanings. With non-significant variables, there does not seem to be any pattern.

### 5.13 *Gecelik-Pijama* (Nightgown)

There were 102 responses for *gecelik*, and 103 responses for *pijama*. The pair were given as No. 13 and No. 33 in the questionnaire. The three meanings offerred to the subjects were as follows:

a) dress for bed.

b) two-piece dress worn in bed.

c) one-piece sleeping dress.

A case of semantic differentiation appears to exist between *gecelik* and *pijama* in relation to meanings (b) and (c) (Table 27). These two words were reported

as the most semantically different pair among the 20 pairs: about 55 per cent reported to this effect. For more than 70 per cent of the subjects in this section, both words refer to 'dress for bed' almost equally. Following this observation, *gecelik* is primarily a 'one-piece dress for bed' and secondarily a 'two-piece dress for bed' whereas *pijama* is primarily a' two-piece dress for bed' and secondarily a 'one-piece dress for bed'.

Table 27: Distribution of Meanings for *gecelik* and *pijama* (nightgown)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *gecelik* | 70 | 68.6 | 16 | 15.7 | 62 | 60.8 |
| *pijama* | 77 | 74.8 | 48 | 46.6 | 12 | 11.7 |

The two alternatives are significantly differentiated for all three meanings. Table 28 gives the data on responses provided by various speaker groups. With meaning (a), the two are significantly different in regard to gender and education; for both items, women chose meaning (a) more than men. The fewer the number of years a subjects spent in education, the higher the number of meanings selected for both lexical items. Although non-significantly, there is a pattern for the age variable as well; the older a subject is, the higher the percentages of meaning (a) for both words.

In so far as meaning (b) is concerned, for *pijama* two factor groups are significant; gender and education. About 57 per cent of women indicated that *pijama* is a 'two-piece dress for bed' while the proportion of men who indicated that this is so is about 29 per cent. With education, more than 60 per cent of the tertiary educated subjects stated that *pijama* is two-piece whereas secondary educated subjects stated this at about 43 per cent. Primary educated subjects scored only about 20 per cent. Age also is a factor

Table 28: Distribution of Meanings for *gecelik* and *pijama* (nightgown)

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (b) | | | | Meaning (c) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *gecelik* | | *pijama* | | *gecelik* | | *pijama* | | *gecelik* | | *pijama* | |
| | | Mean 68.6 % | | Mean 74.8 % | | Mean 15.7 % | | Mean 46.6 % | | Mean 60.8 % | | Mean 11.7 % | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | *40 | 63.5 | *43 | 66.2 | 7 | 11.1 | *37 | 56.9 | *45 | 71.4 | 5 | 7.7 |
| | Male | *30 | 76.9 | *34 | 89.5 | 9 | 23.1 | *11 | 28.9 | *17 | 43.6 | 7 | 18.4 |
| Age | Young | 26 | 57.8 | 28 | 63.6 | 5 | 11.1 | 25 | 56.8 | 31 | 68.9 | 5 | 11.4 |
| | Adult | 20 | 71.4 | 24 | 82.8 | 4 | 14.3 | 11 | 37.9 | 16 | 57.1 | 3 | 10.3 |
| | Old | 24 | 82.8 | 25 | 83.3 | 7 | 24.1 | 12 | 40.0 | 15 | 51.7 | 4 | 13.3 |
| Education | Primary | *21 | 87.5 | *23 | 95.8 | 5 | 20.8 | *5 | 20.8 | *8 | 33.3 | 4 | 16.7 |
| | Secondary | *18 | 64.3 | *22 | 78.6 | 5 | 17.9 | *12 | 42.9 | *19 | 67.9 | 3 | 10.7 |
| | Tertairy | *31 | 62.0 | *32 | 62.7 | 6 | 12.0 | *31 | 60.8 | *35 | 70.0 | 5 | 9.8 |

in the differentiation of *pijama*; younger subjects are associated with higher proportions of meaning (b), albeit non-significantly. So, it can be stated that female, young, and tertiary educated are the groups which showed the highest proportions as to the 'two-piece' meaning of *pijama* while male adult, and primary educated subjects showed the lowest proportions.

With meaning (c), significant differentiation occurred in relation to *gecelik* only; with gender and education. Again, women used *gecelik* for meaning (c) more than men. Tertiary educated subjects gave the highest proportion of meanings for *gecelik*. Although non-significantly, younger subjects also selected meaning (c) at the highest percentage. With *pijama*, very few subjects expressed an opinion, and there is no significant differentiation between variables. However, the highest proportions were obtained from male, old, and primary educated subjects.

To summarise, first, both lexical items definitely refer to 'night dress for bed' almost equally. Secondly, a *pijama* is a 'two-piece dress for bed' whereas *gecelik* is a 'one-piece dress for bed'. With speaker groups, female gender and higher education are significantly more associated with the statement '*pijama* is a two-piece dress for bed' and '*gecelik* is a one-piece dress for bed' than male gender and lower education.

### 5.14 *Delil-Kanıt* (Evidence)

The pair appeared at No. 14 and No. 34. There were 104 responses for *delil* and 101 responses for *kanıt*. Five meanings were given for these two words. They were:

a) a sign that brings something to light.

b) a clue or document which reveals whether something is true or not.

c) the thing on which a judge bases his decision in a matter of dispute.

d) a trace which leads someone to truth.

e) guide.

There does not seem to be any substantial semantic difference between the traditional word and the neologism (Table 29). In fact, in an earlier part of the interview, about 90 per cent of the subjects reported that the two lexical items were semantically equivalent (Appendix 3). The overall proportional difference between the two words is less than 10 per cent, with *kanıt* chasing *delil* closely.

Table 29: Distribution of Meanings for *delil* and *kanıt* (evidence)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c) | | Meaning (d) | | Meaning (e) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *delil* | 70 | 67.3 | 69 | 66.3 | 32 | 30.8 | 37 | 35.6 | 6 | 5.8 |
| *kanıt* | 64 | 63.4 | 60 | 59.4 | 39 | 38.6 | 27 | 26.7 | 4 | 3.9 |

In all of the meanings, *delil* was given more meanings than *kanıt* except for meaning (c). About 8 per cent more of the subjects preferred meaning (c) for *kanıt*. Here, the possibility that *kanıt* was being used more for legal domains may be entertained. Table 30 shows how various groups differ in their assignment of this meaning for both words.

The only significant factor appears to be education. Tertiary educated subjects gave significantly higher proportions for both words than any other group (Table 30). Tertiary educated subjects gave meaning (c) more than twice as frequently as primary educated subjects for *kanıt*, and three times as much as primary educated subjects for *delil*. As the educational level goes up, so do the proportions of meaning (c) for both words.

Table 30: Meaning (c) by Dependent Variables

| | | *delil* (Mean 30.8 %) | | *kanıt* (Mean 38.6 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 21 | 32.3 | 24 | 37.5 |
| | Male | 11 | 28.2 | 15 | 40.5 |
| Age | Young | 14 | 31.1 | 17 | 39.5 |
| | Adult | 8 | 27.6 | 11 | 39.3 |
| | Old | 10 | 33.3 | 11 | 36.7 |
| Education* | Primary | 3 | 12.5 | 5 | 21.7 |
| | Secondary | 9 | 31.0 | 10 | 35.7 |
| | Tertiary | 20 | 39.2 | 24 | 48.0 |

### 5.15 *Hayal-Düş* (Dream)

The traditional word, *hayal*, was given at No. 15 and the neologism, *düş*, was given at No. 35 in the questionnaire. 104 subjects gave responses for *hayal* while 101 subjects gave responses for *düş*. The following three meanings were given:

a) conception of an idea.

b) unreal (expectation).

c) mental picture of a wish.

As is seen in Table 31, there seems to be a case of semantic differentiation between two lexical items. Indeed, this pair was earlier reported to be semantically the most different pair among the traditional word-neologism pairs (Appendix 3): more than 34 per cent of the subjects thus reported. In actual use, *hayal* was used by about 45 per cent of the subjects while *düş* was used by about 11 per cent. The order of meanings is also different for both words. It is (a), (c), and (b) for *hayal*, and (b), (c), then (a) for *düş*.

Table 31: Distribution of Meanings for *hayal* and *düş* (dream)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *hayal* | 74 | 71.2 | 45 | 43.3 | 66 | 63.5 |
| *düş* | 32 | 31.7 | 60 | 59.4 | 51 | 50.5 |

The two lexical items were significantly differentiated in their assignment for all three of these meanings (Table 31). Table 32 illustrates these meanings as they are broken down by speaker groups. With meaning (a), *hayal* is significantly differentiated for education; primary educated subjects chose this meaning at the highest proportion (87.5 per cent), followed by tertiary educated subjects (70.6 per cent), and the secondary educated subjects gave the lowest proportion (58.6 per cent). With meaning (b), gender was the factor for differentiation; men selected meaning (b) at 53.8 per cent while women selected it at 36.9 per cent. As to meaning (c), education was the significant factor group; secondary educated subjects gave the highest percentage, followed by primary educated subjects. No consistent pattern is observed among the speaker variables.

### 5.16 *Lokanta-Restoran* (Restaurant)

The pair *lokanta-restoran* appeared at No. 16 and No. 36 in the questionnaire. 103 responses were given for *lokanta* while 101 responses were given for *restoran*. There were four meanings for the two words:

a) food house which sells expensive food.

b) food house which sells cheap food.

c) food house in which waiters serve customers.

d) self-serve food house.

Table 32: Distribution of Meanings (a), (b), and (c) for *hayal* and *düş* (dream)

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (b) | | | | Meaning (c) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *hayal* | | *düş* | | *hayal* | | *düş* | | *hayal* | | *düş* | |
| | | Mean 71.2 % | | Mean 31.7 % | | Mean 43.3 % | | Mean 59.4 % | | Mean 63.5 % | | Mean 50.5 % | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 47 | 72.3 | 19 | 30.6 | *24 | 36.9 | 36 | 58.1 | 42 | 64.6 | 31 | 50.0 |
| | Male | 27 | 69.2 | 13 | 33.3 | *21 | 53.8 | 24 | 61.5 | 24 | 61.5 | 20 | 51.3 |
| Age | Young | 33 | 73.3 | 11 | 24.4 | 17 | 37.8 | 27 | 60.0 | 28 | 62.2 | 19 | 42.2 |
| | Adult | 20 | 69.0 | 7 | 25.0 | 14 | 48.3 | 18 | 64.3 | 18 | 62.1 | 17 | 60.7 |
| | Old | 21 | 70.0 | 14 | 50.0 | 14 | 46.7 | 15 | 53.6 | 20 | 66.7 | 15 | 53.6 |
| Education | Primary | *21 | 87.5 | 10 | 41.7 | 9 | 37.5 | 12 | 50.0 | 12 | 45.8 | *13 | 54.2 |
| | Secondary | *17 | 58.6 | 11 | 40.7 | 12 | 41.8 | 14 | 51.9 | 14 | 72.4 | *16 | 59.3 |
| | Tertairy | *36 | 70.6 | 11 | 22.0 | 24 | 47.1 | 34 | 68.0 | 34 | 66.7 | *22 | 44.0 |

A case of semantic differentiation appears to be seen for the two alternatives (Table 33). In 4.4, the proportion of the subjects who considered the two lexical items semantically different was more than 37 per cent. In actual speech, *lokanta* was more frequently used than *restoran* (Appendix 4b); 13.3 per cent and 2.9 per cent respectively.

Table 33: Distribution of Meanings for *lokanta* and *restoran* (restaurant)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c)* | | Meaning (d) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *lokanta* | 18 | 17.5 | 24 | 23.3 | 94 | 91.3 | 4 | 3.9 |
| *restoran* | 56 | 55.4 | 9 | 8.9 | 67 | 66.3 | 13 | 12.9 |

The order of meanings for the two words is not the same: it is (c), (b), (a), and (d) for *lokanta*, and it is (c), (a), (d), and (b) for *restoran*. More often than not, *lokanta* is a 'food house in which waiters serve cheap food' whereas *restoran* is a 'food house in which waiters serve expensive food'. Although a clear majority of the subjects (66.3 per cent) indicated that a *restoran* had waiters, the proportion of subjects who included 'self-serve' component (that is, meaning (d)) is a lot higher for *restoran* than for *lokanta*; 12.9 per cent and 3.9 per cent respectively. Nonetheless, the two items differ characteristically in the type of food (cheap or expensive) which is served.

*Lokanta* and *restoran* are significantly differentiated for meanings (a), (b), and (c). Table 34 shows how these three meanings are contributed by various speaker groups. Speaker variables seem to significantly differentiate in regard to education; primary educated subjects gave the highest proportion of meaning (a) for *lokanta*, followed by tertiary educated subjects. Again, it was the primary educated subjects who gave the highest proportion of meaning (b) for *restoran*. With meaning (c), tertiary educated

Table 34: Distribution of Meanings (a), (b), and (c) for *lokanta* and *restoran* (restaurant)

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (b) | | | | Meaning (c) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *lokanta* | | *restoran* | | *lokanta* | | *restoran* | | *lokanta* | | *restoran* | |
| | | Mean 17.5 % | | Mean 55.4 % | | Mean 23.3 % | | Mean 8.9 % | | Mean 91.3 % | | Mean 66.3 % | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 12 | 18.5 | 35 | 54.7 | 14 | 21.5 | 4 | 6.3 | 59 | 90.8 | 45 | 70.3 |
| | Male | 6 | 15.8 | 21 | 56.8 | 10 | 26.3 | 5 | 13.5 | 35 | 92.1 | 22 | 59.5 |
| Age | Young | 9 | 20.0 | 24 | 54.5 | 10 | 22.7 | 3 | 6.8 | 38 | 86.4 | 29 | 65.9 |
| | Adult | 5 | 17.2 | 18 | 64.3 | 8 | 27.6 | 4 | 14.3 | 28 | 96.6 | 19 | 67.9 |
| | Old | 4 | 13.3 | 14 | 48.3 | 6 | 20.0 | 2 | 6.9 | 28 | 93.3 | 19 | 65.5 |
| Education | Primary | *6 | 25.0 | 14 | 58.3 | 4 | 16.7 | *4 | 16.6 | 22 | 91.7 | *16 | 66.7 |
| | Secondary | *5 | 17.2 | 14 | 51.9 | 6 | 20.7 | *2 | 7.4 | 28 | 96.6 | *17 | 63.0 |
| | Tertairy | *7 | 14.0 | 28 | 56.0 | 14 | 28.0 | *3 | 6.0 | 44 | 88.0 | *34 | 68.0 |

subjects chose meaning (c) for *restoran* the most frequently. Although non-significantly, the combination of men, adult, and primary and tertiary educated groups appear to support the statement '*restoran* is an expensive food house and *lokanta* is a cheap food house' more than other groups.

### 5.17 *Siyasetçi-Politikacı* (Politician)

The traditional word, *siyasetçi*, and the loanword, *politikacı*, were given at No. 17 and No. 37 in the questionnaire. 102 responses were obtained for *siyasetçi* while 103 responses were obtained for *politikacı*. The three meanings given were as follows:

a) person who is involved in politics.

b) person who is skilful in his/her dealings.

c) person who deceives others by giving false political promises.

The two lexical items appear to have the same semantic content; the difference being quantitative rather than qualitative (Table 35). In 4.4, about 85 per cent of the subjects indicated that *siyasetçi* and *politikacı* were semantically equivalent. This was the highest percentage among the traditional word-loanword pairs (Appendix 3). The central meaning for both words is meaning (a). Meaning (c) appears to be more central than meaning (b).

Table 35: Distribution of Meanings for *siyasetçi* and *politikacı* (politician)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *siyasetçi* | 88 | 86.3 | 24 | 23.5 | 44 | 43.1 |
| *politikacı* | 80 | 87.4 | 31 | 30.1 | 35 | 34.0 |

**5.18 *Güle güle-Bay bay* (Bye bye)**

The pair appeared at No. 18 and No. 38 in the questionnaire. Both lexical items received the same number of responses: 103. The four meanings given were the following:

a) (in a) grinning (manner).

b) an expression used by someone who sees someone else off.

c) an expression used by someone who departs.

d) free from anxiety.

A case of semantic differentiation appears to be current between the traditional word, *güle güle*, and the loanword, *bay bay*. About 34 per cent of the subjects had earlier reported that these two items were semantically different (Appendix 3). The primary meaning for *güle güle* is meaning (b) while the primary meaning for *bay bay* is meaning (c). In other words, more of the subjects consider that *güle güle* is used by that person who sees someone off, and that *bay bay* is used by the person who departs.

Table 36: Distribution of Meanings for *güle güle* and *bay bay* (bye bye)

| | Meaning (a) | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c)* | | Meaning (d)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *güle güle* | 17 | 16.5 | 90 | 87.4 | 43 | 41.7 | 28 | 27.2 |
| *bay bay* | 7 | 6.8 | 52 | 50.5 | 72 | 69.9 | 6 | 5.8 |

Both items are significantly differentiated in meanings (b), (c), and (d). Table 37 shows these meaning as broken down by speaker variables. Meaning (b) for *güle güle* is significantly differentiated with education; as the educational attainment increased, so did the proportion of meaning (b).

Table 37: Distribution of Meanings (b), (c), and (d) for *güle güle* and *bay bay* (bye bye)

| | | Meaning (b) | | | | Meaning (c) | | | | Meaning (d) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *güle güle* Mean 87.4 % | | *bay bay* Mean 50.5 % | | *güle güle* Mean 41.7 % | | *bay bay* Mean 69.9 % | | *güle güle* Mean 27.2 % | | *bay bay* Mean 5.8 % | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 57 | 87.7 | 29 | 45.3 | 40 | 61.5 | 47 | 73.4 | 17 | 26.2 | 3 | 4.7 |
| | Male | 33 | 86.8 | 23 | 59.0 | 13 | 34.2 | 25 | 64.1 | 11 | 28.9 | 3 | 7.7 |
| Age | Young | 38 | 84.4 | 18 | 40.0 | 21 | 46.6 | 34 | 75.6 | 10 | 22.2 | 2 | 4.4 |
| | Adult | 25 | 86.2 | 18 | 62.1 | 10 | 34.5 | 20 | 69.0 | 9 | 31.0 | 3 | 10.3 |
| | Old | 27 | 93.1 | 16 | 55.2 | 12 | 41.4 | 18 | 62.1 | 9 | 31.0 | 1 | 3.4 |
| Education | Primary | *19 | 79.2 | 14 | 58.3 | 11 | 45.8 | 14 | 58.3 | 5 | 20.8 | *2 | 8.3 |
| | Secondary | *23 | 82.1 | 11 | 57.0 | 14 | 50.0 | 18 | 62.1 | 9 | 32.1 | *4 | 13.8 |
| | Tertairy | *48 | 94.1 | 27 | 54.0 | 18 | 35.3 | 40 | 81.4 | 14 | 27.5 | *0 | 0 |

Female, old, and tertiary educated subjects contributed to *güle güle* at the highest proportions. With meaning (c) for *bay bay*, female, young, and tertiary educated subjects gave the highest percentages. As to meaning (c) for *güle güle*, the combination of male, adult/old, and secondary educated subjects led other groups in their assignment of this meaning.

### 5.19 *Netice -Sonuç* (Result)

The traditional word, *netice*, and the neologism, *sonuç*, were given at No. 19 and No. 30 respectively in the questionnaire. There were 104 responses for *netice*, and 103 responses for *sonuç*. Three meanings were given for these two words:

a) outcome of an incident or event.

b) positive consequence after long hard work.

c) ending part of a speech or writing.

The pair appear to have semantically diverged to considerable extent although they converge for meaning (c) (Table 38). In slight contradiction with these results, 81 per cent of the subjects had reported that the two lexical items were semantically equivalent (Appendix 3).

Table 38: Distribution of Meanings for *netice* and *sonuç* (result)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b)* | | Meaning (c) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *netice* | 87 | 83.7 | 35 | 33.7 | 40 | 38.5 |
| *sonuç* | 60 | 58.3 | 80 | 77.7 | 44 | 42.7 |

The central meaning for *netice* is no doubt meaning (a), and meaning (c) appears slightly more central than meaning (b). For *sonuç*, the most central

meaning is meaning (b), while meaning (a) is less central and meaning (c) is the least central. The two lexical items are significantly differentiated for meanings (a) and (b). Table 39 gives a profile of these meanings in regard to speaker variables.

Table 39: Meanings (a) and (b) by Dependent Variables

| | | Meaning (a) | | | | Meaning (b) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *netice* | | *sonuç* | | *netice* | | *sonuç* | |
| | | Mean 83.7 % | | Mean 58.3 % | | Mean 33.7 % | | Mean 77.7 | |
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 57 | 87.7 | 34 | 53.3 | 21 | 32.3 | 49 | 76.6 |
| | Male | 30 | 76.9 | 26 | 66.7 | 14 | 35.9 | 31 | 79.5 |
| Age | Young | 38 | 84.4 | 26 | 59.1 | 13 | 28.9 | 32 | 72.7 |
| | Adult | 26 | 89.7 | 17 | 58.6 | 8 | 27.6 | 24 | 82.8 |
| | Old | 23 | 76.7 | 17 | 56.6 | 14 | 46.7 | 24 | 80.0 |
| Education | Primary | 20 | 83.3 | 15 | 62.5 | 12 | 50.0 | 18 | 75.0 |
| | Secondary | 22 | 75.9 | 15 | 51.7 | 10 | 34.5 | 23 | 79.3 |
| | Tertiary | 45 | 88.2 | 30 | 60.0 | 13 | 25.5 | 39 | 76.5 |

The central meaning (a) for *netice* was contributed most by the combination of female, adult, and tertiary educated groups. The groups which contributed to meaning (a) for *sonuç* at the highest proportion were male, young, and primary educated. The central meaning (b) for *sonuç* was favoured at the highest percentages by male, adult, and secondary educated subjects. The groups that gave the highest frequency of meaning (b) for *netice* were male, adult, and secondary educated. There were no significantly differentiated groups.

**5.20 Beraat etmek-Aklanmak (To get acquitted)**

Being the last pair in this part of the questionnaire, the two items appeared as No. 20 and No. 40 respectively. The traditional item, *beraat etmek*, received

102 responses while the neologism, *aklanmak*, received 104 responses. They had three meanings in the questionnaire.

a) to turn out to be morally intact.

b) to be cleared off following a legal charge.

c) to be relieved of a responsibility (of a board) by giving accurate and persuasive explanation before members (of an association) as to the dealings they carried out during their term in office.

The two items appear to converge for meanings (b) and (c) while differentiating significantly for meaning (a) (Table 40). Both alternatives were earlier reported to be semantically equivalent by about 70 per cent of the subjects (Appendix 3). The central meaning for both words is meaning (b); more than 85 per cent of the subjects gave this meaning. The order of meanings for both lexical items is meaning (b), (a), then (c). Table 41 illustrates meaning (a) broken down by dependent variables.

Table 40: Distribution of Meanings for *beraat etmek* and *aklanmak* (to get acquitted)

| | Meaning (a)* | | Meaning (b) | | Meaning (c) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | % | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| *beraat etmek* | 58 | 56.9 | 87 | 85.3 | 8 | 7.8 |
| *aklanmak* | 42 | 40.4 | 95 | 91.3 | 13 | 12.5 |

With *beraat etmek*, the combination of factors male, old, and primary educated chose this meaning at the highest proportions whereas female, young, and tertiary educated groups chose it at the lowest proportions. As far as *aklanmak* is concerned, this meaning was favoured most frequently again by male, old, and primary educated subjects. The lowest frequency was obtained from female, adult, and tertiary educated subjects. There were no significant differences.

Table 41: Meaning (a) by Dependent Variables

| | | *beraat etmek* (Mean 56.9 %) | | *aklanmak* (Mean 40.4 %) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cases | % | Cases | % |
| Sex | Female | 31 | 48.4 | 24 | 36.9 |
| | Male | 27 | 71.1 | 18 | 46.2 |
| Age | Young | 19 | 42.2 | 18 | 40.0 |
| | Adult | 17 | 60.7 | 9 | 31.0 |
| | Old | 22 | 75.9 | 15 | 50.0 |
| Education | Primary | 16 | 69.6 | 14 | 58.3 |
| | Secondary | 17 | 60.7 | 14 | 48.3 |
| | Tertiary | 25 | 49.0 | 14 | 27.5 |

**5.21 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the semantic changes in the 20 pairs under investigation. A great many of these pairs appeared semantically non-equivalent, thus confirming the initial hypothesis that semantic changes occurred upon the arrival of neologisms and loanwords as alternative lexical items to traditional words (0.3).

Cüceloğlu & Slobin (1980:324) concluded their study of traditional words and their counterparts, neologisms, by saying '...it is clear that pairs of old and new terms cannot be considered synonymous in modern Turkish.' (see also 2.5) That is, alternative lexical items convey particular political, social, religious, and other tendencies of speakers. In the literature, this kind of information is referred to as 'connotative' (associative) meaning as opposed to 'denotative' (cognitive) meaning, which is the core and more important of the two in terms of communication itself (2.1.1). As I reasoned in 0.1 as well as in 2.4, semantic changes pertaining to denotative meaning were likely to

have occurred because of the connotative meanings attributed to lexical variants. This appears to be true given the results in this study.

It is also confirmed that the nature of semantic changes is generally one of a differentiation or specialisation. There were only three pairs which did not differentiate significantly in the meanings they had; these are *talebe-öğrenci* (student), *delil-kanıt* (evidence), and *siyasetçi-politikacı* (politician). The remaining pairs can be divided into two groups on the basis of the number of meanings the pairs differentiated: 'mild differentiation' and 'strong differentiation'.

Mild differentiation is here defined as that which occurs in pairs differentiating significantly in one meaning only. Strong differentiation is here defined as that which takes place in pairs which differentiates significantly in more than one meaning. There were five pairs with mild differentiation. Table 41 below lists these pairs.

Table 42: List of Mildly Differentiated Pairs

| Traditional Word | Neologism | Loanword | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| *hikaye* | *öykü* | | story |
| *cevap* | *yanıt* | | answer |
| *beraat etmek* | *aklanmak* | | to get acquitted |
| *cankurtaran* | | *ambulans* | ambulance |
| *araba* | | *otomobil* | car |

Strong differentiation took place in 12 pairs, as listed in Table 43. Neither mild nor strong differentiation nor absence of differentiation is associated with either neologisms or loanwords; three of the pairs which were mildly differentiated had neologisms as alternatives while two of them had loanwords. As for the strongly differentiated pairs, half of them had

neologisms and the other half loanwords as alternatives. Therefore, it is impossible to generalise in regard to the orientation of the lexical items.

Table 43: List of Strongly Differentiated Pairs

| Traditional Word | Neologism | Loanword | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| *şehir* | *kent* | | city |
| *imtihan* | *sınav* | | exam |
| *şahit* | *tanık* | | witness |
| *hakim* | *yargıç* | | judge |
| *hayal* | *düş* | | dream |
| *netice* | *sonuç* | | result |
| *yokuş* | | *rampa* | uphill |
| *muayenehane* | | *klinik* | clinic |
| *mülakat* | | *röportaj* | interview |
| *gecelik* | | *pijama* | nightgown |
| *lokanta* | | *restoran* | restaurant |
| *güle güle* | | *bay bay* | bye bye |

Results pertaining to the differentiation obtained in this chapter mainly confirm the results elicited in 4.4 (also summarised in Appendix 3). Except for *imtihan-sınav* (exam) and *netice-sonuç* (result), the pairs which showed strong differentiation were reported different in meaning at the highest proportions. Otherwise, it is hard to generalise; it has been shown that each word pair is different and unique. Thus it is impossible to see an overall pattern.

# Chapter 6

# ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

## 6.0 Introduction

This chapter describes and analyses the data obtained in **Part III** of the questionnaire, Attitudes Toward Language, which elicited evaluative reactions of subjects to the 40 lexical items under investigation (3.2.2 as well as Appendix 2). Elicitation was carried out by means of the semantic differential technique. The technique , which was originally developed to elicit connotative meaning of lexical items, requires subjects to differentiate a lexical item on a seven-point scale between a pair of polar (antonymous) adjectives. Five bi-polar adjectives were employed in this study: these are *simple-complicated*, *colloquial-formal*, *native-nonnative*, *elegant-rough*, and *rural-urban*.[1] The description and analyses cover the following areas:

a) findings of how the 40 lexical items fared in relation to the five semantic scales,

b) comparison of the alternative lexical items for each semantic scale,

c) observing whether the alternative lexical items differentiate significantly for a particular semantic scale,

d) ascertaining which speaker variables are reflected in the evaluation of the lexical items,

e) correlations between traditional words, neologisms, loanwords and speaker characteristics.

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[1] In the seven-point scales, lower figures are associated with a higher degree of simplicity, colloquialness, nativeness, elegance, and ruralness. Higher figures are associated with a higher degree of complexity, formality, non-nativeness, roughness, and urbanness. 4, which is in the middle of the scale, reflects a neutral position (see, for example, Table 1).

### 6.1 *Şehir-Kent* (City)

The number of subjects who rated the traditional alternative, *şehir*, was 93 while there were 91 for the neologism, *kent*. Table 1 below shows the percentages of subjects who chose various points in the five scales of simplicity, formality, nativeness, elegance, and ruralness.[2]

Table 1: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *şehir* and *kent* (city)[3]

| Intensity Scales | Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *şehir* | 2.03 | **59.1** | 9.7 | 11.8 | 15.1 | 0 | 2.2 | 2.2 |
| | *kent* | 2.84 | **39.6** | 14.3 | 9.9 | 12.1 | 13.2 | 5.5 | 5.5 |
| Formality* | *şehir* | 3.30 | 21.5 | 8.6 | 8.6 | **51.6** | 3.2 | 2.2 | 4.3 |
| | *kent* | 4.29 | 3.3 | 6.6 | 12.1 | **47.3** | 8.8 | 11.0 | 11.0 |
| Nativeness* | *şehir* | 2.56 | **40.9** | 16.1 | 17.2 | 10.8 | 6.5 | 4.3 | 4.3 |
| | *kent* | 4.25 | 17.6 | 4.4 | 7.7 | **27.5** | 9.9 | 15.4 | 17.6 |
| Elegance | *şehir* | 2.40 | **43.0** | 20.4 | 8.6 | 16.1 | 6.5 | 4.3 | 1.1 |
| | *kent* | 2.65 | **36.3** | 16.5 | 13.2 | 19.8 | 9.9 | 3.3 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness* | *şehir* | 4.50 | 6.5 | 4.3 | 7.5 | **46.2** | 5.4 | 10.8 | 19.4 |
| | *kent* | 5.53 | 2.2 | 3.3 | 0 | 18.7 | 16.5 | 28.6 | **30.8** |

Simplicity: The majority of subjects consider that both items are easy to comprehend: about 60 per cent of the subjects indicated that *şehir* is very simple to understand while about 40 per cent of the subjects indicated that

[2] Only the percentages will be given throughout this chapter for convenience; tokens are very close to percentages since the number of subjects in most cases is approximately one hundred. Mean is calculated including rankings 1 to 7.

[3] The highest proportions for each lexical item is bold in tables. Also, asterisk (*) indicates cases where the ranking is significantly different, that is, level of significance is or below 0.05, calculated by (Pearson) chisquare in SPSSX:4.1.

*kent* is very simple to understand.[4] By comparison, *şehir* is significantly more understandable to more of the subjects.

Formality: Both lexical items are neither too colloquial nor too literary. They differentiate significantly for formality; 30.8 per cent of the subjects regarded *kent* as formal while 9.7 per cent of the subjects suggested *şehir* as formal. *Kent* differentiates significantly for formality in regard to gender and education; more men than women opted for neutrality while women chose higher and lower figures more than men. With education, secondary educated subjects went for the neutral position at the highest proportion, followed by tertiary educated subjects (Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of formality scale for *kent* by gender and age

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 4.48 | 5.1 | 5.1 | 13.6 | **37.3** | 6.8 | 16.9 | 15.3 |
| | Male | 4.06 | 0 | 9.4 | 9.4 | **65.6** | 12.5 | 0 | 3.1 |
| Education | Primary | 4.23 | 4.5 | 9.1 | 18.2 | **31.8** | 18.2 | 0 | 18.2 |
| | Secondary | 3.86 | 0 | 4.5 | 18.2 | **72.7** | 0 | 0 | 4.5 |
| | Tertiary | 4.57 | 4.3 | 6.4 | 6.4 | **42.5** | 8.5 | 21.3 | 10.6 |

Nativeness: The two lexical items significantly differentiate in the proportions of assigned intensity: *şehir*, Persian loanword, has recorded a mean of 2.56 whereas *kent*, an old Persian loanword from other Turkish languages in the guise of neologism, has had a mean of 4.25. That is, *şehir* is native while *kent* is not. Obviouly, assignment of nativeness in this case has a lot to do with the length of time: the longer a loanword has been in use, the more native it is.

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[4] In this chapter when the expressions *rather*, *medium*, and *very* are used in conjunction with any of the bi-polar adjectives, they should be taken to refer to points (3), (2,) and (1) or (5), (6), and (7) respectively depending on the location of the adjective.

Elegance: Both lexical items received approximately the same rankings from the subjects; they were found to be very elegant by the biggest cell. Nonetheless, the proportion of those who gave *şehir* as very elegant is 10 per cent more than those who indicated *kent* as very elegant.

Ruralness: The two lexical items differ significantly; *şehir* is neutral in terms of the rural-urban dichotomy, while *kent* is considered relatively very urban. The proportion of the subjects who gave figures 6 and 5 for *kent* is about three times higher than those who gave the same figures for *şehir*.

To sum up, *şehir* is significantly more native, rural and less formal than *kent*. *Şehir* is more simple, neutral, and less elegant than *kent*. Significantly, female, secondary educated subjects reported the highest proportions for the neutral position of *kent* on the formality scale.

### 6.2 *Hikaye-Öykü* (Story)

The traditional item, *hikaye*, had 93 responses while the neologism, *öykü*, had 91 responses. Table 3 below illustrates the five scales for the two lexical items.

Simplicity: The majority of subjects found both lexical items nearly equally simple, while the proportion of those who indicated that it was very simple was close to 40 per cent.

Formality: A convincing majority reported that the two lexical items are neither colloquial nor literary. However, *öykü* is significantly more formal than *hikaye*. The lexical item *öykü* differs significantly for the education factor (Table 4): secondary educated subjects more uniformly agree on the neutral ranking of *öykü* on the formality scale than tertiary educated

subjects, whereas the biggest cell in primary educated subjects indicated that *öykü* is medium literary.

Table 3: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *hikaye* and *öykü* (story)

| Scales | Intensity Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity | *hikaye* | 2.61 | **37.6** | 20.4 | 9.7 | 18.3 | 6.5 | 5.4 | 2.2 |
| | *öykü* | 2.55 | **41.8** | 18.7 | 14.3 | 6.6 | 8.8 | 6.6 | 3.3 |
| Formality* | *hikaye* | 3.50 | 16.1 | 7.5 | 6.5 | **57.0** | 7.5 | 4.3 | 1.1 |
| | *öykü* | 4.09 | 9.9 | 8.8 | 6.6 | **46.2** | 5.5 | 17.6 | 5.5 |
| Nativeness | *hikaye* | 2.88 | **33.3** | 18.3 | 14.0 | 16.1 | 5.4 | 6.5 | 6.5 |
| | *öykü* | 3.03 | 27.5 | 9.9 | 20.9 | **28.6** | 5.5 | 3.3 | 4.4 |
| Elegance | *hikaye* | 2.50 | **37.6** | 16.1 | 16.1 | 23.7 | 3.2 | 2.2 | 1.1 |
| | *öykü* | 2.61 | **31.9** | 22.0 | 15.4 | 18.7 | 9.9 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness* | *hikaye* | 4.60 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 6.5 | **51.6** | 9.7 | 17.2 | 10.8 |
| | *öykü* | 5.13 | 2.2 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 28.6 | 12.1 | **29.7** | 19.8 |

Table 4: Distribution of formality scale for *öykü* by education

| Intensity | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education Primary | 4.81 | 9.1 | 4.5 | 0 | 31.8 | 4.5 | **36.4** | 13.6 |
| Secondary | 3.54 | 4.5 | 9.1 | 18.2 | **63.6** | 4.5 | 0 | 0 |
| Tertiary | 3.90 | 12.8 | 10.6 | 4.3 | **44.7** | 6.4 | 17.0 | 4.3 |

Nativeness: The two alternatives differ substantially in the proportions of assigned intensity; the highest percentage for *hikaye* is with rating (1); *hikaye* is ranked very native. For 18.3 per cent of the subjects, it is medium native while for 14.0 per cent it is rather native. With *öykü*, the biggest single group (28.6 per cent) favours the neutral position while about the same percentage of subjects (27.5 per cent) believe that *öykü* is very native.

Elegance: There was little differentiation between the two alternatives; an average 35 per cent of subjects (the biggest single groups) indicated that both words were very elegant.

Ruralness: Significant differentiation is observed for the two lexical items. A clear majority of subjects agree on the neutrality of *hikaye*; it is equally used by rural and urban speakers. For *öykü*, however, subjects are divided in the range from neutral to very urban. In fact, the single biggest group (29.7 per cent) for *öykü* reported that it was medium urban. Education is a highly significant factor for the subjects relative to the rural-urban scale (Table 5). Primary educated subjects concentrate on the neutral point while secondary educated subjects are divided between neutral position and very urban, whereas tertiary educated subjects ranked *öykü* as a medium urban word. Therefore, as the level of education goes up, the proportion of subjects who reported that *öykü* is an urban lexical item increases.

Table 5: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *öykü* by education

| Intensity | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Mean | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Education | Primary | 4.63 | 0 | 4.5 | 4.5 | **59.1** | 0 | 18.2 | 13.6 |
| | Secondary | 4.81 | 9.1 | 0 | 9.1 | **22.7** | **22.7** | 13.6 | **22.7** |
| | Tertiary | 5.50 | 0 | 6.4 | 0 | 17.0 | 12.8 | **42.6** | 21.3 |

In short, *hikaye* is more native, complicated and elegant than *öykü*. *Öykü* is significantly more urban and formal than *hikaye*. Lastly, *öykü* is significantly more formal to primary educated subjects while it is most neutral for secondary educated subjects.

### 6.3 *Araba-Otomobil* (Car)

93 subjects gave responses for the traditional word, *araba*, and 91 subjects gave responses for the loanword, *otomobil*. Table 6 shows the semantic scales for *araba* and *otomobil*.

Simplicity: The two lexical items differ significantly in comprehension. Despite the fact that the majority of subjects indicated that both words are very simple to comprehend, the percentage of those who thus reported is more than twice as great for *araba* as for *otomobil*.

Table: 6: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *araba* and *otomobil* (car)

| Scales | Intensity Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *araba* | 1.81 | **68.8** | 7.5 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 2.2 | 3.2 | 1.1 |
| | *otomobil* | 3.22 | **30.8** | 9.9 | 13.2 | 19.8 | 11.0 | 7.7 | 7.7 |
| Formality* | *araba* | 3.19 | 19.1 | 10.6 | 13.8 | **47.9** | 5.3 | 1.1 | 2.1 |
| | *otomobil* | 4.35 | 8.8 | 3.3 | 7.7 | **41.8** | 12.1 | 14.3 | 12.1 |
| Nativeness* | *araba* | 2.32 | **43.6** | 13.8 | 16.0 | 20.2 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 0 |
| | *otomobil* | 4.53 | 11.0 | 7.7 | 1.1 | **23.1** | 18.7 | 15.4 | **23.1** |
| Elegance | *araba* | 3.19 | 21.3 | 14.9 | 9.6 | **31.9** | 13.8 | 5.3 | 3.2 |
| | *otomobil* | 3.03 | 19.8 | 16.5 | **24.2** | 22.0 | 8.8 | 6.6 | 2.2 |
| Ruralness* | *araba* | 3.92 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 14.9 | **54.3** | 8.5 | 7.4 | 4.3 |
| | *otomobil* | 5.29 | 1.1 | 3.3 | 5.5 | 20.9 | 13.2 | 24.2 | **31.6** |

Formality: For both words, the largest proportion of subjects reported that these two words are in the middle of the formality scale. Nonetheless, the rest of the groups suggest significant less formality for *araba* and more formality for *otomobil*. Therefore, the hypothesis that *otomobil* would be used

substantially more frequently in formal contexts (4.2.3) is not supported by this finding.

Education is a significant factor for formality (Table 7). Rankings by secondary educated subjects were heavily concentrated in the middle, indicating that both items have nothing to do with the extreme ends of the formality scale. Primary educated subjects show the same attitude, albeit less strongly. Tertiary educated subjects substantially differ from these two groups; they perceive that the traditional word, *araba*, is used in less formal contexts. While about 30 per cent of them indicated neutrality, the combined cells for lesser formality have a proportion of about 60 per cent.

Table 7: Distribution of formality scale for *araba* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 3.67 | 8.7 | 13.0 | 4.3 | **56.5** | 13.0 | 0 | 4.3 |
| | Secondary | 3.78 | 0 | 4.3 | 17.4 | **73.9** | 0 | 4.3 | 0 |
| | Tertiary | 2.66 | **33.3** | 12.5 | 16.6 | 31.3 | 4.2 | 0 | 2.1 |

Nativeness: The two lexical items significantly differentiate in their rankings for this scale: the traditional word, *araba*, which was originally an Arabic loanword, was found very native to Turkish by a convincing majority of subjects while the more recent loanword, *otomobil*, a French loanword, was mainly recognised as a non-native word. Although the biggest groups are divided between neutral and very non-native, the combined percentages for the higher (non-native) end of the scale outweighs the rest comfortably.

Elegance: It appears that *otomobil* is regarded as more elegant than *araba*; a slightly higher proportion of the subjects tend to favour *otomobil* for elegance. Gender differs significantly for *otomobil* (Table 8); the biggest

single group of women opted for rather elegant while the second biggest group regarded *otomobil* as very elegant. Conversely, the biggest group of men opted for medium elegant while the second biggest group decided on the neutral position. The combined proportions for higher elegance, however, are virtually the same.

Table 8: Distribution of elegance scale for *otomobil* (car) by gender

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 3.46 | 23.7 | 6.8 | **30.5** | 18.6 | 8.5 | 8.5 | 3.4 |
| | Male | 2.97 | 12.5 | **34.4** | 12.5 | 28.0 | 9.8 | 3.1 | 0 |

Ruralness: The two lexical items are differentiated significantly by the subjects; the majority of the subjects concentrate on a neutral rating for *araba*. The single biggest group for *otomobil* (31.6 per cent) reported that *otomobil* is a very urban word. In support of this, the second biggest single group indicated that *otomobil* is medium urban lexical item. The education factor is significant in the distribution of cells for *otomobil* (Table 9). For the majority of primary educated subjects, *otomobil* is a neutral word, with the rest leaning to urban. Secondary educated subjects outscored tertiary educated subjects in assigning higher urbanness to *otomobil*.

Table 9: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *otomobil* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 5.11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **50.0** | 13.6 | 9.1 | 27.3 |
| | Secondary | 5.61 | 0 | 0 | 13.6 | 9.1 | 18.2 | 18.2 | **40.9** |
| | Tertiary | 5.34 | 2.1 | 6.4 | 4.3 | 12.8 | 10.6 | **34.0** | 29.0 |

To summarise, *araba* is regarded as significantly more simple, native and rural a word than *otomobil*. *Otomobil* is regarded as considerably more formal and elegant a word than *araba*. Tertiary educated subjects significantly consider *araba* less formal than other groups while secondary educated subjects reported at significant proportions that *otomobil* is used in urban contexts, followed by tertiary educated subjects.

### 6.4 *İmtihan-Sınav* (Exam)

The number of responses for the traditional word (originally Arabic), *imtihan*, were 94 while it was 91 for the neologism, *sınav*. Table 10 gives the data for these two lexical items.

Table 10: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *imtihan* and *sınav* (exam)

| Intensity Scales | Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *imtihan* | 3.74 | **22.3** | 8.5 | 8.5 | 20.2 | 19.1 | 12.8 | 8.5 |
| | *sınav* | 2.07 | **56.0** | 15.4 | 7.7 | 12.1 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 2.2 |
| Formality | *imtihan* | 4.05 | 10.6 | 3.2 | 8.5 | **50.0** | 2.1 | 14.9 | 10.6 |
| | *sınav* | 3.60 | 15.4 | 8.8 | 8.8 | **49.5** | 5.5 | 8.8 | 3.3 |
| Nativeness | *imtihan* | 3.68 | **24.5** | 12.8 | 11.7 | 22.3 | 17.0 | 13.8 | 4.3 |
| | *sınav* | 2.96 | 26.4 | 14.3 | 14.3 | **30.8** | 7.7 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| Elegance* | *imtihan* | 3.61 | 18.1 | 12.8 | 11.7 | **22.3** | 17.0 | 13.8 | 4.3 |
| | *sınav* | 2.55 | **30.8** | 22.0 | 20.9 | 13.2 | 11.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness* | *imtihan* | 4.12 | 7.4 | 7.4 | 10.6 | **42.6** | 6.4 | 14.9 | 10.6 |
| | *sınav* | 5.77 | 2.2 | 4.4 | 1.1 | **36.3** | 19.8 | 14.3 | 22.0 |

Simplicity: The two lexical items which differentiate significantly were found to be simple by the majority of speakers. Over 22 per cent of subjects

ranked *imtihan* as very simple while 56 per cent of subjects ranked *sınav* as very simple.

Formality: Each rating for the two lexical items received very similar percentages. The biggest single groups reported the neutral position in the formality scale for each word. The neologism, *sınav*, is a little more formal than the traditional word, *imtihan*.

Nativeness: Despite the fact that the biggest group regarded *imtihan* as very native while the biggest group considered *sınav* as neutral, *imtihan* is more nonnative than *sınav*. According to the combined percentages, *imtihan* was ranked nonnative by over 35 per cent of the subjects while *sınav* was ranked likewise by over 14 per cent of the subjects.

Elegance: There is significant differentiation between the two words; the biggest single group ranked *sınav* as very elegant while the biggest group opted for the neutral ranking for *imtihan*. Also, over 73 per cent of the subjects found *sınav* elegant while fewer than 43 per cent of the subjects found *imtihan* elegant. The gender factor is highly significant for *imtihan* (Table 11). While over 18 per cent of men ranked *imtihan* as relatively rough, 44 per cent of women ranked *imtihan* thus.

Table 11: Distribution of elegance scale for *imtihan* (exam) by gender

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 3.78 | **21.3** | 9.8 | 11.5 | 13.1 | 19.7 | 19.7 | 4.9 |
| | Male | 3.41 | 12.1 | 18.2 | 12.1 | **39.4** | 12.1 | 3.0 | 3.0 |

Ruralness: The majority of subjects gave a neutral ranking for the two lexical items. Of those who expressed an opinion on the urbanness of both

words, a significant majority of the subjects (56 per cent) believe that *sınav* is an urban word while over 30 per cent of subjects think that *imtihan* is an urban word.

In short, *sınav* is rated as significantly more simple, urban and elegant than *imtihan*. *İmtihan* is less formal and native than *sınav*. With speaker groups, women regarded the traditional word, *imtihan*, significantly more rough than men did.

### 6.5 *Talebe-Öğrenci* (Student)

93 responses were given to the traditional word, *talebe*, while 91 responses were given to the neologism, *öğrenci*. Table 12 below shows the data on the five semantic scales.

Table 12: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *talebe* and *öğrenci* (student)

| Intensity Scales | Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *talebe* | 2.67 | **43.0** | 19.4 | 8.6 | 6.5 | 9.7 | 5.4 | 7.5 |
| | *öğrenci* | 1.80 | **67.0** | 8.8 | 5.5 | 15.4 | 2.2 | 1.1 | 0 |
| Formality | *talebe* | 3.16 | 21.5 | 14.0 | 16.1 | **35.5** | 5.4 | 3.2 | 4.3 |
| | *öğrenci* | 3.32 | 17.6 | 4.4 | 6.6 | **54.3** | 3.3 | 6.6 | 2.2 |
| Nativeness | *talebe* | 2.83 | **34.4** | 18.3 | 12.9 | 16.1 | 7.5 | 3.2 | 7.5 |
| | *öğrenci* | 2.81 | **35.2** | 13.2 | 14.3 | 24.2 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 5.5 |
| Elegance* | *talebe* | 3.87 | 18.3 | 5.4 | 12.9 | **26.9** | 14.0 | 16.1 | 6.5 |
| | *öğrenci* | 2.07 | **44.0** | 25.3 | 14.3 | 14.3 | 1.1 | 0 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness* | *talebe* | 3.40 | 12.9 | 12.9 | 21.5 | **38.7** | 3.2 | 9.7 | 1.1 |
| | *öğrenci* | 5.04 | 2.2 | 0 | 1.1 | **39.6** | 19.8 | 19.8 | 17.6 |

Simplicity: *Öğrenci* is significantly more simple than *talebe*. 67 per cent of the subjects ranked *öğrenci* as very simple while 43 per cent of the subjects ranked *talebe* as very simple. The factors gender and age appear to be significantly differentiated for *öğrenci* (Table 13); close to 75 per cent of women reported that *öğrenci* is very simple while over 53 per cent of men reported this word as very simple. With age, *öğrenci* is very easy to more than 70 per cent of young and adult subjects, whereas only half of the old subjects ranked it as very easy.

Table 13: Distribution of simplicity scale for *öğrenci* by gender and age

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 14.1 | **74.6** | 8.5 | 1.7 | 15.3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Male | 14.1 | **53.1** | 9.4 | 12.5 | 15.6 | 6.3 | 3.1 | 0 |
| Age | Young | 13.6 | **72.1** | 7.0 | 0 | 18.6 | 2.3 | 0 | 0 |
| | Adult | 16.1 | **73.1** | 3.8 | 15.4 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 0 | 0 |
| | Old | 12.9 | **50.0** | 18.2 | 4.5 | 22.7 | 0 | 4.5 | 0 |

Formality: More than half of the subjects ranked *talebe* as less formal whereas over 28 per cent of the subjects regarded *öğrenci* as less formal. So, overall, *talebe* is less formal than *öğrenci*.

Nativeness: No substantial difference is observed between the two lexical items for this scale; the biggest single groups (close to 35 per cent) for both words indicated that they are words very native to Turkish. *Talebe* differentiates significantly for nativeness in regard to gender (Table 14); the combined percentages of men who ranked *talebe* as a native word is over 77 per cent while the same percentage for women is 55 per cent.

Table 14: Distribution of nativeness scale for *talebe* (student) by gender

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 3.26 | **31.7** | 10.0 | 13.3 | 18.3 | 10.0 | 5.0 | 11.7 |
| | Male | 2.05 | **39.4** | 33.3 | 12.1 | 12.1 | 3.0 | 0 | 0 |

Elegance: The two lexical items differ significantly in their rankings for elegance; the neologism is elegant to about 84 per cent of the subjects (combined proportion) while the traditional word is elegant to only about 37 per cent of the subjects. The biggest group for *talebe* gave a neutral ranking. The education factor is significant for *talebe* (Table 15). *Talebe* is elegant to 45.5 per cent of primary educated subjects, and to 17.4 per cent of the secondary educated subjects while it is only so to 6.3 per cent of tertiary educated subjects. Thus, the higher attribution of elegance to *talebe* is associated with lower education.

Table 15: Distribution of elegance scale for *talebe* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 2.35 | **45.5** | 9.1 | 22.7 | 13.6 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 0 |
| | Secondary | 4.03 | 17.4 | 0 | 8.7 | **30.4** | 26.1 | 13.0 | 4.3 |
| | Tertiary | 4.48 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 10.4 | **31.3** | 12.5 | 22.9 | 10.4 |

Ruralness: Differences between the two words are significant for this scale. The largest single groups who agreed on the neutral ranking for both words differ very little. What differs significantly is the points on the urban side of the scale as well as the combined percentages of these points; more than 55.7 per cent of the subjects believe that *öğrenci* is used in urban settings whereas only 14 per cent of the subjects believe that *talebe* is used in those settings. The education factor differs significantly for *öğrenci* (Table 16). For

the neutral ranking, primary educated subjects gave the highest percentage (63.6 per cent) followed by tertiary educated subjects (36.2 per cent). Secondary educated subjects reported the urbanness of *öğrenci* at the highest proportion, followed by tertiary educated subjects.

Table 16: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *öğrenci* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 4.40 | 4.5 | 0 | 0 | **63.6** | 18.2 | 4.5 | 9.1 |
| | Secondary | 5.54 | 4.5 | 0 | 0 | 22.7 | 9.1 | **31.8** | **31.8** |
| | Tertiary | 5.10 | 0 | 0 | 2.1 | **36.2** | 25.5 | 21.3 | 14.9 |

In summary, *öğrenci* is significantly more simple, elegant and urban than *talebe*. *Öğrenci* is more simple and more formal than *talebe* while the two words are almost equally regarded as native to Turkish. It is hard to generalise with speaker variables.

### 6.6 *Cevap-Yanıt* (Answer)

Table 17, which is based on 93 responses for the traditional word, *cevap*, and 90 responses for the neologism, *yanıt*, offers the data for the five semantic scales.

Simplicity: Significant differentiation is observed between the two forms. It appears that *yanıt* is less known than *cevap*; a significant majority of subjects (62.4 per cent) ranked *cevap* as very simple while the percentage of the subjects who ranked *yanıt* as very simple was less than 35 per cent.

Formality: The two words were found neither formal nor informal by the majority of the subjects; the biggest groups for each word decided on the

neutral ranking. Of those who rated the two words on either side, a slightly higher proportion of subjects ranked *cevap* as less formal, and *yanıt* as more formal.

Table 17: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *cevap* and *yanıt* (answer)

| Scales | Intensity Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *cevap* | 1.90 | **62.4** | 9.7 | 11.8 | 11.8 | 2.2 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| | *yanıt* | 3.02 | **34.4** | 16.7 | 12.2 | 12.2 | 5.6 | 11.1 | 7.8 |
| Formality | *cevap* | 3.54 | 16.1 | 6.5 | 5.4 | **61.3** | 2.2 | 7.5 | 1.1 |
| | *yanıt* | 4.01 | 7.8 | 5.6 | 8.9 | **54.4** | 8.9 | 7.8 | 6.7 |
| Nativeness | *cevap* | 2.96 | **26.9** | 20.4 | 17.2 | 16.1 | 7.5 | 7.5 | 4.3 |
| | *yanıt* | 3.54 | **24.4** | 6.7 | 16.7 | 21.1 | 14.4 | 4.4 | 12.2 |
| Elegance | *cevap* | 2.53 | **37.6** | 18.3 | 14.0 | 20.4 | 3.2 | 5.4 | 1.1 |
| | *yanıt* | 2.93 | **36.7** | 15.6 | 7.8 | 20.0 | 5.6 | 7.8 | 6.7 |
| Ruralness* | *cevap* | 4.46 | 0 | 2.2 | 10.8 | **59.1** | 6.5 | 10.8 | 10.8 |
| | *yanıt* | 5.60 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 3.3 | 20.0 | 15.6 | 23.3 | **35.6** |

Nativeness: There is little difference between the two lexical items. The traditional word was regarded as more native than neologism. Both items were ranked very as native by the biggest groups. The education factor differs significantly in regard to the neologism, *yanıt* (Table 18). Interestingly, each of the speaker groups varies extensively not only in relation to each other but also among themselves. Paradoxically, the most opinionated group is the secondary educated subjects ; close to 29 per cent of these subjects ranked *yanıt* as very native while 23.8 per cent ranked it as very non-native. The majority of the primary educated subjects indicated *yanıt* as nonnative, in agreement with the latter group within primary educated subjects whereas the majority of the tertiary educated subjects agree with the former group.

Elegance: The two lexical items received approximately the same rankings from the subjects. The biggest single groups almost equally regarded both words as very elegant. The second biggest groups for each word decided on a neutral ranking.

Table 18: Distribution of nativeness scale for *yanıt* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 3.90 | 18.2 | 0 | 13.6 | 22.7 | **36.4** | 4.5 | 4.5 |
| | Secondary | 3.71 | **28.6** | 4.8 | 19.0 | 9.5 | 14.3 | 0 | 23.8 |
| | Tertiary | 3.33 | **25.5** | 10.6 | 17.0 | **25.5** | 4.3 | 6.4 | 10.6 |

Ruralness: The two lexical items differentiate significantly on the rural-urban scale. The biggest single group (59.1 per cent) were undecided for *cevap* while the biggest group for *yanıt* (35.6 per cent) reported *yanıt* as a very urban word. The combined percentages are as follows: to about 75 per cent of the subjects, *yanıt* is an urban word, while *cevap* is so to only 28 per cent of the subjects.

To summarise, *yanıt* is significantly more complicated and urban than *cevap*. *Yanıt* is slightly more formal and nonnative than *cevap*. There is very little differentiation for elegance. With speaker groups, the only significant factor is education in relation to the nativeness of *yanıt*; the higher the educational level is, the more often *yanıt* is recognised as a native word.

### 6.7 *Yokuş-Rampa* (Uphill)

There were 93 responses for the traditional word, *yokuş*, and 90 responses for the loanword, *rampa*. Table 19 shows the data for the five scales.

Table 19: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *yokuş* and *rampa* (uphill)

| Intensity Scales | Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *yokuş* | 2.24 | **51.6** | 16.1 | 7.5 | 12.9 | 7.5 | 1.1 | 3.2 |
| | *rampa* | 3.97 | **20.0** | 10.0 | 13.3 | 8.9 | 18.9 | 14.4 | 14.4 |
| Formality | *yokuş* | 3.40 | 17.2 | 5.4 | 9.7 | **60.2** | 3.2 | 3.2 | 1.1 |
| | *rampa* | 4.07 | 7.8 | 8.9 | 6.7 | **48.9** | 8.9 | 11.1 | 7.8 |
| Nativeness* | *yokuş* | 2.37 | **41.9** | 18.3 | 11.8 | 19.4 | 6.5 | 2.2 | 0 |
| | *rampa* | 4.57 | 12.2 | 3.3 | 5.6 | **27.8** | 16.7 | 15.6 | 18.9 |
| Elegance* | *yokuş* | 3.33 | 22.6 | 9.7 | 10.8 | **38.7** | 8.6 | 7.5 | 2.2 |
| | *rampa* | 4.05 | 8.9 | 10.0 | 16.7 | **23.3** | 20.0 | 14.4 | 6.7 |
| Ruralness* | *yokuş* | 3.80 | 7.5 | 5.4 | 10.8 | **63.4** | 5.4 | 4.3 | 3.2 |
| | *rampa* | 4.94 | 1.1 | 3.3 | 6.7 | **32.2** | 13.3 | 26.7 | 16.7 |

Simplicity: The two words differ significantly on the simplicity scale; the proportion of subjects who ranked *yokuş* as very simple is more than twice as large as that of those who ranked *rampa* as very simple. On the complicated side of the scale, the combined percentage for *rampa* is close to 48 per cent while it is about 12 per cent for *yokuş*.

Formality: There is little differentiation on formality; *yokuş* was slightly less formal (32.3 per cent) than *rampa* (23.4 per cent) given the combined proportions. In the ranking where the largest groups were neutral, *rampa* was ranked literary by about 28 per cent of the subjects while *yokuş* was ranked literary by a mere 8 per cent of the subjects given the combined percentages on the literary side of the scale.

Nativeness: *Yokuş* and *rampa* differ significantly on the native-nonnative scale. *Yokuş* was rightly ranked as a native word by a combined proportion of

72 per cent of the subjects while *rampa* was recognised as a loanword by more than half of the subjects. The education factor significantly differentiates for *rampa* (Table 20).

Table 20: Distribution of nativeness scale for *rampa* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 4.00 | 18.2 | 4.5 | 4.5 | **45.5** | 4.5 | 4.5 | 18.2 |
| | Secondary | 4.33 | 14.3 | 9.5 | 4.8 | 14.3 | **33.3** | 4.8 | 19.0 |
| | Tertiary | 4.90 | 8.5 | 0 | 6.4 | **25.5** | 14.9 | **25.5** | 19.1 |

Higher education appears to be associated with higher recognition of *rampa* as a loanword. The majority of the primary educated subjects did not seem to have an idea about the origin of *rampa* while two equal groups gave two very opposite rankings. The majority of secondary and tertiary educated subjects nearly equally ranked *rampa* as a nonnative word; 57.1 per cent and 59.5 per cent respectively.

Elegance: *Rampa* appears to be very balanced on this scale; neither elegant nor rough, whereas *yokuş* was significantly ranked as elegant by more of the subjects.

Ruralness: The two lexical items are significantly differentiated for this scale; 56.7 per cent of the subjects believe that the loanword, *rampa*, is used in urban contexts while 12. 9 per cent of the subjects indicated the same opinion for *yokuş*. The education factor is significantly differentiated for *rampa* on the ruralness scale (Table 21). A majority of the primary educated subjects are divided between the neutral ranking and on the urban ranking. The biggest group of the tertiary educated subjects indicated

*rampa* as medium urban. Secondary educated subjects reported the ranking of very urban at the highest proportion.

Summarising, *yokuş* is significantly more simple, native, elegant, and rural than *rampa*, which is more literary than *yokuş*. Education is a significant factor for *rampa* regarding the scales nativeness and rural-urban; generally, higher education is associated with higher rating of *rampa* as a non-native and urban word.

Table 21: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *rampa* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 4.76 | 0 | 0 | 13.6 | **31.8** | **31.8** | 9.1 | 13.6 |
| | Secondary | 4.86 | 4.8 | 9.5 | 4.8 | **28.6** | 4.8 | 23.8 | 23.8 |
| | Tertiary | 5.17 | 0 | 2.1 | 4.3 | 34.0 | 8.5 | **36.2** | 14.9 |

### 6.8 *Delil-Kanıt* (Evidence)

There were 90 useable responses for both *delil* and *kanıt*. Table 22 below gives the data for the five semantic scales. No substantial difference is observed for any of the scales except for elegance.

Simplicity: Very little difference is observed. *Kanıt* is slightly more simple than *delil*. The biggest groups for each word suggested that both words are very simple to comprehend. The gender factor is significant for *delil* (Table 23). The biggest group of women ranked *delil* as very simple while the biggest group of men believed that it is neutral on the simplicity scale. Also, the proportion of those women who reported *delil* very simple is more than twice as large as that of the men who indicated likewise.

Table 22: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *delil* and *kanıt* (evidence)

| Scales | Intensity Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity | *delil* | 3.20 | **30.0** | 12.2 | 8.9 | 23.3 | 11.1 | 10.0 | 4.4 |
| | *kanıt* | 2.95 | **34.4** | 14.4 | 13.3 | 11.1 | 15.6 | 7.8 | 3.3 |
| Formality | *delil* | 4.12 | 7.8 | 2.2 | 8.9 | **51.1** | 14.4 | 11.1 | 4.4 |
| | *kanıt* | 3.95 | 7.8 | 6.7 | 6.7 | **55.6** | 11.1 | 8.9 | 3.3 |
| Nativeness | *delil* | 3.40 | 23.3 | 8.9 | 13.3 | **30.0** | 13.3 | 5.6 | 5.6 |
| | *kanıt* | 3.35 | 24.4 | 12.2 | 8.9 | **26.7** | 16.7 | 7.8 | 3.3 |
| Elegance* | *delil* | 2.80 | **24.4** | 20.0 | 21.1 | **24.4** | 6.7 | 2.2 | 1.1 |
| | *kanıt* | 5.75 | 21.1 | 14.4 | 16.7 | **41.1** | 10.0 | 18.9 | 21.1 |
| Ruralness | *delil* | 5.00 | 0 | 2.2 | 6.7 | **41.1** | 10.0 | 18.9 | 21.1 |
| | *kanıt* | 5.33 | 0 | 1.1 | 1.1 | **33.3** | 15.6 | 25.6 | 23.3 |

Table 23: Distribution of simplicity scale for *delil* by gender

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 3.20 | **37.3** | 6.8 | 10.2 | 15.3 | 11.9 | 11.9 | 6.8 |
| | Male | 3.27 | 16.1 | 22.6 | 6.5 | **38.7** | 9.8 | 6.5 | 0 |

Formality: The two lexical items did not differ considerably in the formality scale; however, *kanıt* is a little less formal than *delil*. More than half of the subjects preferred the neutral ranking for each word.

Nativeness: Despite the fact that the two biggest single groups regarded the two words as neutral forms, more of the subjects (45.5 per cent for each) ranked both words as native to Turkish (although *delil* was originally Arabic).

Elegance: The two words are highly significantly differentiated; given the combined percentages on the rough side of the scale, *kanıt* is rough to half of the subjects whereas *delil* was rough to only 10 per cent of the subjects.

Ruralness: The two forms appear to be more urban than rural. The combined proportion of the cells on the urban side of the scale for *delil* is 50 per cent while it is about 65 per cent for *kanıt*. The biggest groups gave a neutral ranking. The education factor is significant for the differentiation of the neologism, *kanıt* (Table 24). The combined proportions of the cells on the urban side of the scale indicate that the number of subjects who ranked *kanıt* as urban increased as the education level went up.

Table 24: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *kanıt* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 4.77 | 0 | 4.5 | 0 | **45.5** | 18.2 | 27.3 | 4.5 |
| | Secondary | 5.33 | 0 | 0 | 4.8 | **42.9** | 4.8 | 9.5 | 38.1 |
| | Tertiary | 5.58 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23.4 | 19.0 | **31.9** | 25.5 |

In summary, *kanıt* is significantly more rough than *delil*, which is slightly less simple, more formal and rural than *kanıt*. An equal proportion of subjects ranked both items as native. To women, *delil* is significantly more simple than *kanıt*, which is significantly more urban to tertiary educated subjects more frequently than others.

### 6.9 *Cankurtaran-Ambulans* (Ambulance)

The number of subjects who rated *cankurtaran* was 92 and the number of subjects who rated *ambulans* was 90. Table 25 shows the data for the five semantic scales tested.

Table 25: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *cankurtaran* and *ambulans* (ambulance)

| Intensity | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Scales | Word | Mean | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Simplicity | *cankurtaran* | 2.72 | **42.4** | 17.4 | 4.3 | 16.3 | 5.4 | 8.7 | 5.4 |
| | *ambulans* | 3.18 | **35.6** | 11.1 | 11.1 | 8.9 | 17.8 | 6.7 | 8.9 |
| Formality | *cankurtaran* | 3.41 | 19.6 | 8.7 | 15.2 | **39.1** | 6.5 | 2.2 | 8.7 |
| | *ambulans* | 3.67 | 15.6 | 8.9 | 3.3 | **53.3** | 6.7 | 7.8 | 4.4 |
| Nativeness* | *cankurtaran* | 2.55 | **43.5** | 13.0 | 15.2 | 15.2 | 4.3 | 3.3 | 5.4 |
| | *ambulans* | 5.33 | 8.9 | 1.1 | 4.4 | 16.7 | 10.0 | 20.0 | **38.9** |
| Elegance | *cankurtaran* | 3.36 | 18.5 | 10.9 | 20.7 | **29.3** | 10.9 | 5.4 | 4.3 |
| | *ambulans* | 3.12 | 25.6 | 12.2 | 20.0 | **24.4** | 5.6 | 8.9 | 3.3 |
| Ruralness* | *cankurtaran* | 4.16 | 4.3 | 7.6 | 13.0 | **47.8** | 6.5 | 10.9 | 9.8 |
| | *ambulans* | 5.52 | 0 | 1.1 | 2.2 | 27.8 | 15.6 | 18.9 | **34.4** |

Simplicity: The two lexical items were given approximately the same rankings for simplicity. The traditional word, *cankurtaran*, appears to be more simple than the loanword, *ambulans*.

Formality: Although there is not much differentiation, *cankurtaran* seems to be used more frequently in spoken language than *ambulans*. The factors gender and education differ significantly for *ambulans* (Table 26).

There is about 20 per cent difference between the proportion of each group who opted for the neutral ranking. Women are more opinionated than men; a higher (combined) proportion of women (32.8 per cent) than men (18.8 per cent) ranked *ambulans* as less formal. With education, *ambulans* is more formal to primary educated subjects than to tertiary educated subjects.

Table 26: Distribution of formality scale for *ambulans* by gender and education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 3.64 | 19.0 | 12.1 | 1.7 | **46.6** | 1.7 | 12.1 | 6.9 |
| | Male | 3.75 | 9.4 | 3.1 | 6.3 | **65.6** | 15.6 | 0 | 0 |
| Education | Primary | 3.95 | 9.1 | 13.6 | 4.5 | **36.4** | 22.7 | 9.1 | 4.5 |
| | Secondary | 3.86 | 9.5 | 0 | 4.8 | **76.2** | 0 | 9.5 | 0 |
| | Tertiary | 3.47 | 21.3 | 10.6 | 2.1 | **51.1** | 2.1 | 6.4 | 6.4 |

Nativeness: *Cankurtaran* and *ambulans* significantly differentiate on the native-nonnative scale; *cankurtaran* is native to Turkish while *ambulans* is rated as a non-native lexical item by the majority of the subjects. The biggest group indicated that *cankurtaran* is very native, and the biggest group ranked *ambulans* as very nonnative. The factors age and education are significant in relation to *ambulans* on this scale (Table 27). As subjects get younger, the proportion of subjects who regard *ambulans* as non-native increases steadily. As far as education is concerned, given the combined percentages for the non-native side of the scale, higher level of education is associated with higher ranking of *ambulans* as nonnative though the difference between the secondary educated and tertiary educated subjects is very little.

Elegance: Although the two words differ little on the scale of elegance, it is *cankurtaran* which was ranked as more rough a word in comparison to *ambulans*.

Table 27: Distribution of native-nonnative scale for *ambulans* by age and education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 5.73 | 9.5 | 0 | 0 | 21.4 | 11.9 | 14.3 | **47.6** |
| | Adult | 5.37 | 0 | 3.8 | 15.4 | 11.5 | 11.5 | 23.1 | **34.6** |
| | Old | 4.86 | 18.2 | 0 | 0 | 22.7 | 4.5 | **27.3** | **27.3** |
| Education | Primary | 4.85 | 18.2 | 4.5 | 4.5 | **31.8** | 13.6 | 4.5 | 22.7 |
| | Secondary | 5.52 | 9.5 | 0 | 9.5 | 4.8 | 9.5 | 19.0 | **47.6** |
| | Tertiary | 5.77 | 4.3 | 0 | 2.1 | 14.9 | 8.5 | 27.7 | **42.6** |

Ruralness: The two lexical items differentiate significantly for this scale. *Cankurtaran* is regarded as neutral by the majority of the subjects while *ambulans* is generally ranked as an urban word. The biggest group for *ambulans* reported *ambulans* as very urban; a combined proportion of about 70 per cent of the subjects indicated that *ambulans* is used by urban speakers while a combined proportion of about 27 per cent suggested that *cankurtaran* is used by urban speakers. The age factor significantly differentiates for the distribution of *ambulance* (Table 28). For the urbanness of *ambulans*, the highest combined proportion (80.9 per cent) was given by young subjects followed by old subjects who scored a combined percentage of 68.2.

Table 28: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *ambulans* by age

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 5.85 | 0 | 2.4 | 0 | 16.7 | 9.5 | 33.3 | **38.1** |
| | Adult | 5.04 | 0 | 0 | 7.7 | **42.3** | 11.5 | 11.5 | 26.9 |
| | Old | 5.41 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31.8 | 31.8 | 0 | **36.4** |

Summarising, the loanword, *ambulans*, is significantly more non-native and urban than the traditional word, *cankurtaran*. *Cankurtaran* is more simple, informal, and rough than *ambulans*. With speaker variables, female and tertiary educated subjects regarded *ambulans* as less informal than other groups. Lower aged and more highly educated subjects can more easily identify *ambulans* as a loanword. A higher proportion of tertiary educated subjects reported *ambulans* as more urban a word than primary educated subjects.

### 6.10 *Muayenehane-Klinik* (Clinic)

92 subjects provided responses for *muayenehane* and 90 subjects did so for *klinik*. Table 29 below profiles the data for the five scales.

Table 29: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *muayenehane* and *klinik* (clinic)

| Intensity Scales | Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity | *muayenehane* | 3.72 | **27.2** | 8.7 | 6.5 | 17.4 | 15.2 | 12.0 | 13.0 |
| | *klinik* | 4.01 | **18.9** | 12.2 | 11.1 | 12.2 | 13.3 | 16.7 | 15.6 |
| Formality* | *muayenehane* | 3.91 | 14.1 | 7.6 | 5.4 | **44.6** | 12.0 | 6.5 | 9.8 |
| | *klinik* | 4.56 | 5.6 | 5.6 | 3.3 | **42.2** | 13.3 | 15.6 | 14.4 |
| Nativeness* | *muayenehane* | 3.23 | **22.8** | 17.4 | 14.1 | 18.5 | 16.3 | 8.7 | 2.2 |
| | *klinik* | 5.47 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 15.6 | 16.7 | 16.7 | **40.0** |
| Elegance | *muayenehane* | 3.23 | **22.8** | 17.4 | 14.1 | 18.5 | 16.3 | 8.7 | 2.2 |
| | *klinik* | 2.93 | **27.8** | 17.8 | 16.7 | 23.3 | 4.4 | 5.6 | 4.4 |
| Ruralness* | *muayenehane* | 4.64 | 5.4 | 4.3 | 8.7 | **38.0** | 9.8 | 13.0 | 20.7 |
| | *klinik* | 6.00 | 0 | 1.1 | 0 | 13.3 | 12.2 | 28.9 | **44.4** |

Simplicity: The rankings are almost evenly distributed to all seven points. The two words are ranked more simple than complicated. The factor group

education is significant for the comprehension of *klinik* (Table 30). Curiously, the comprehension rating of the loanword, *klinik*, is considerably lower with secondary and tertiary educated subjects; the majority of primary educated subjects firmly believe that *klinik* is very simple, while the majority of secondary educated subjects ranked it as rather complicated whereas the majority of tertiary educated subjects reported it as very complicated.

Table 30: Distribution of simplicity scale for *klinik* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 2.22 | **50.0** | 9.1 | 22.7 | 9.1 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 0 |
| | Secondary | 4.85 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 0 | 9.5 | **28.6** | 23.8 | 19.0 |
| | Tertiary | 4.46 | 8.5 | 14.9 | 10.6 | 14.9 | 10.6 | 19.1 | **21.3** |

Formality: The largest groups decided on the neutral ranking for each word. *Klinik* is ranked as significantly more literary a word than *muayenehane*.

Nativeness: The two words significantly differ on this scale. The loanword, *klinik*, was rightly pointed out as non-native by over 73 per cent of the subjects while the percentage of the subjects who thought *muayenehane* was native to Turkish was only about 47 per cent (though it is an Arabic word in origin). The age factor is significant on this scale for *klinik* (Table 31). Higher reporting of *klinik* as non-native is associated with younger age.

Table 31: Distribution of native-nonnative scale for *klinik* by age

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 6.64 | 2.3 | 0 | 2.3 | 11.9 | 9.5 | 19.0 | **54.8** |
| | Adult | 5.30 | 3.8 | 0 | 3.8 | 19.2 | **30.8** | 11.5 | **30.8** |
| | Old | 4.58 | 9.1 | 13.6 | 4.5 | 18.2 | 13.6 | 18.2 | **22.7** |

Elegance: There is little differentiation for this scale; *muayenehane* was ranked as more rough than *klinik* by about 14 per cent of the subjects.

Ruralness: The two words significantly differentiate for this scale. Although a clear majority of subjects reported both forms as more urban than rural, the combined proportion for the urban side of the *klinik* is nearly twice as great as that for the urban side of *muayenehane*. In other words, the subjects consider that these two words are in fact part of the vocabulary of urban speakers rather than rural speakers. *Klinik* shows significant differences in ranking for age and education (Table 32). As far as the combined percentages for the urban side of the scale is concerned, younger age and higher education are significantly associated with a higher proportion of ranking of *klinik* as urban.

Table 32: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *klinik* by age and education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 6.44 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.4 | 7.1 | 33.3 | **57.1** |
| | Adult | 5.67 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23.7 | 15.4 | **34.6** | 26.9 |
| | Old | 5.58 | 0 | 4.5 | 0 | 22.7 | 18.2 | 13.6 | **40.9** |
| Education | Primary | 5.22 | 0 | 4.5 | 0 | 31.8 | 22.7 | 13.6 | **27.3** |
| | Secondary | 6.09 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19.1 | 4.8 | 23.8 | **52.3** |
| | Tertiary | 6.33 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.1 | 10.6 | 38.3 | **48.9** |

In conclusion, the loanword, *klinik*, is significantly more urban, formal and non-native than the traditional word, *muayenehane*, which is slightly more simple, and rough. For speaker variables, the higher educated subjects have significantly more difficulty in the comprehension of *klinik* than the lower

educated subjects. With age, as subjects get younger, the proportion of ranking *klinik* as nonnative increases.

### 6.11 *Hakim-Yargıç* (Judge)

The number of responses for *hakim* was 90 and the number of responses for *yargıç* was 88. Table 33 below gives the data of these two words for the five scales.

Table 33: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *hakim* and *yargıç* (judge)

| Intensity | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Scales | Word | Mean | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Simplicity* | *hakim* | 1.90 | **50.0** | 12.0 | 7.6 | 17.4 | 8.7 | 1.1 | 3.3 |
| | *yargıç* | 2.98 | **33.0** | 14.8 | 10.2 | 18.2 | 14.8 | 5.7 | 3.4 |
| Formality | *hakim* | 3.60 | 13.0 | 6.5 | 12.0 | **55.4** | 4.3 | 6.5 | 2.2 |
| | *yargıç* | 4.00 | 11.4 | 3.4 | 5.7 | **51.1** | 13.6 | 10.2 | 4.5 |
| Nativeness | *hakim* | 3.12 | 21.7 | 13.0 | 21.7 | **28.3** | 8.7 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| | *yargıç* | 3.68 | 21.6 | 9.1 | 4.5 | **31.8** | 13.6 | 14.8 | 4.5 |
| Elegance | *hakim* | 2.89 | **28.3** | 15.2 | 15.2 | **28.3** | 7.6 | 4.3 | 1.1 |
| | *yargıç* | 3.04 | 21.9 | 14.8 | 21.6 | **28.4** | 8.0 | 4.5 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness* | *hakim* | 4.49 | 4.3 | 2.2 | 2.2 | **56.5** | 14.1 | 6.5 | 14.1 |
| | *yargıç* | 5.37 | 1.1 | 2.3 | 1.1 | 26.1 | 15.9 | **28.4** | 25.0 |

Simplicity: The two items differentiate significantly on the very simple ranking; *hakim* was ranked more simple than *yargıç*.

Formality: There is little difference between the two lexical items; *yargıç* appears to be more literary than *hakim*,

Nativeness: Although the two biggest groups suggest that the two words are neither native not non-native, the second biggest groups reported that both words are very native. The combined proportions for the native side of the scale, however, reveals that the originally Arabic word *hakim* is rated as more native than *yargıç*.

Elegance: The two alternative lexical items are almost equally elegant.

Ruralness: The two lexical items significantly differ for the rural-urban scale. The percentage of those subjects who chose the neutral ranking for *hakim* is more than twice as much as that for *yargıç*: 56.5 per cent and 26.1 per cent respectively. Conversely, on the urban side of the scale, the combined proportion for *yargıç* is about twice as great as that for *hakim*; 69.3 per cent and 34.7 per cent respectively. The factor age is significant for *yargıç* (Table 34). Among the groups who chose the very urban position, old subjects reported the highest proportion while adult and young subjects reported similar proportions.

Table 34: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *yargıç* by age

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 5.43 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **29.3** | 17.1 | 34.1 | 19.5 |
| | Adult | 5.08 | 0 | 8.0 | 0 | **36.0** | 8.0 | 28.0 | 20.0 |
| | Old | 5.63 | 4.5 | 0 | 4.5 | 9.1 | 22.7 | 18.2 | **40.9** |

To sum up, *yargıç* is rated as significantly more urban and formal than *hakim*. *Hakim* is more simple, native, and less literary than *yargıç*. There is virtually no difference for elegance. The two words hardly differ for the scales formality and elegance. For nativeness, however, *hakim* is ranked as more

native than *yargıç*. With speaker variables, *yargıç* is significantly reported more urban by old subjects.

### 6.12 *Gecelik-Pijama* (Nightgown)

There were 92 responses for the traditional item, *gecelik*, while there were 88 responses for *pijama*. The following table illustrates the data for the five scales.

Table 35: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *gecelik* and *pijama* (nightgown)

| Intensity | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Scales | Word | Mean | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Simplicity* | *gecelik* | 1.80 | **67.4** | 13.0 | 6.5 | 5.4 | 3.3 | 2.2 | 2.2 |
| | *pijama* | 2.53 | **54.5** | 9.1 | 5.7 | 13.6 | 4.5 | 5.7 | 6.8 |
| Formality | *gecelik* | 3.07 | 21.7 | 12.0 | 10.9 | **52.2** | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| | *pijama* | 3.19 | 21.6 | 11.4 | 4.5 | **53.4** | 6.8 | 2.3 | 0 |
| Nativeness* | *gecelik* | 2.95 | **47.8** | 8.7 | 17.4 | 19.6 | 0 | 2.2 | 4.3 |
| | *pijama* | 4.73 | 15.9 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 15.9 | 13.6 | 14.8 | **30.7** |
| Elegance | *gecelik* | 2.38 | **38.0** | 20.7 | 20.7 | 16.3 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 1.1 |
| | *pijama* | 2.88 | 25.0 | 17.0 | 19.3 | **27.3** | 6.8 | 3.4 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness | *gecelik* | 4.60 | 4.3 | 1.1 | 6.5 | **51.1** | 9.8 | 9.8 | 17.4 |
| | *pijama* | 4.84 | 1.1 | 3.4 | 0 | **52.3** | 11.4 | 12.5 | 19.3 |

Simplicity: Significant difference is observed between the two lexical items. *Gecelik* was ranked more simple by 86.9 per cent of the subjects while *pijama* was ranked likewise by 69.3 per cent of the subjects.

Formality: There is little difference for this scale. While the two biggest groups decided on the neutral ranking, an almost equal number of subjects stated that both words are informal. However, the combined percentages on

the literary side shows that *pijama* is rated as more literary than *gecelik*. The factors age and education are significant for *gecelik* (Table 36). Least formality is attributed to *gecelik* by the combination of old and primary educated subjects, followed by young and tertiary subjects.

Nativeness: The two lexical items significantly differentiate on the native-nonnative scale. The reporting for the two alternative items was accurate; *gecelik* is rated as a native word by a combined majority of (73.9 per cent) of subjects, and *pijama* is rated as a loanword by 59.1 per cent of the subjects.

Table 36: Distribution of formality scale for *gecelik* by age and education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 2.81 | 32.6 | 9.5 | 2.3 | **55.8** | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Adult | 3.42 | 7.7 | 15.4 | 15.4 | **57.7** | 0 | 3.8 | 0 |
| | Old | 3.16 | 17.4 | 13.0 | 21.7 | **39.1** | 4.3 | 0 | 4.3 |
| Education | Primary | 2.94 | **27.3** | 18.2 | 13.6 | **27.3** | 4.5 | 4.5 | 4.5 |
| | Secondary | 3.65 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 13.0 | **78.3** | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Tertiary | 2.83 | 27.7 | 12.8 | 8.5 | **51.1** | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Elegance: *Gecelik* is ranked slightly more elegant than *pijama*. Gender is a significant factor for *gecelik* in the differentiation of elegance (Table 35); women (78.3 per cent) regarded *gecelik* as more elegant than men (62.5 per cent).

Ruralness: A higher proportion of the subjects think that the two words are used in urban contexts. *Pijama* appears to be more urban than *gecelik*.

Concluding, *gecelik* is significantly more native and simple than *pijama*, which is more complicated, formal, rough, and urban than *gecelik*. For the

scale formality, virtually no noteworthy difference exists between these words. With speaker variables, however, *gecelik* is significantly more informal to old and primary educated subjects, and it is more elegant to women than to men.

### 6.13 *Siyasetçi-Politikacı* (Politician)

There were 92 responses for *siyasetçi* and 88 responses for *politikacı*. The following table gives the data for the five scales.

Table 37: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *siyasetçi* and *politikacı* (politician)

| Intensity Scales | Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity | *siyasetçi* | 4.02 | **19.6** | 8.7 | 7.6 | **19.6** | 16.3 | 15.2 | 13.0 |
| | *politikacı* | 3.52 | **25.0** | 14.8 | 6.8 | 19.3 | 12.5 | 13.6 | 8.0 |
| Formality | *siyasetçi* | 4.10 | 7.6 | 3.3 | 9.8 | **53.3** | 9.8 | 9.8 | 6.5 |
| | *politikacı* | 3.62 | 15.9 | 9.1 | 8.0 | **48.9** | 6.8 | 4.5 | 6.8 |
| Nativeness* | *siyasetçi* | 3.80 | 14.1 | 12.0 | 12.0 | **27.5** | 19.6 | 8.7 | 6.5 |
| | *politikacı* | 4.44 | 10.2 | 4.5 | 12.5 | **28.4** | 12.5 | 11.4 | 20.5 |
| Elegance | *siyasetçi* | 3.25 | 17.4 | 13.0 | 25.0 | **28.3** | 7.6 | 5.4 | 3.3 |
| | *politikacı* | 3.16 | 18.2 | 18.2 | 18.2 | **26.1** | 13.6 | 4.5 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness | *siyasetçi* | 5.06 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 5.4 | **33.7** | 13.0 | 20.7 | 22.8 |
| | *politikacı* | 4.94 | 1.1 | 0 | 5.7 | **44.3** | 12.5 | 18.2 | 18.2 |

Simplicity: There is little difference in the comprehension of the two forms; however, *siyasetçi* is more complicated and *politikacı* is more simple to more of the subjects.

Formality: Close to half of the subjects chose the neutral position. *Siyasetçi* appears to be more formal than *politikacı*. The factor age is significant for

*siyasetçi* (Table 38). For the combined percentages on the formal side of the scale, young subjects gave the highest proportion (34.9 per cent) while old subjects gave about 26 per cent whereas adult subjects gave the lowest proportion (11.5 per cent).

Nativeness: The two lexical items differ significantly on this scale; the mean for the originally Arabic word, *siyasetçi*, is 3.8 per cent while the mean for the recent French loanword, *politikacı*, is 4.44. Combined percentages on the non-native side of the scale show that *politikacı* is recognised as more non-native than *siyasetçi* by only about 10 per cent of the subjects.

Table 38: Distribution of formality scale for *siyasetçi* by age

| Intensity | | | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 4.53 | 2.3 | 4.7 | 4.7 | **53.5** | 9.3 | 11.6 | 14.0 |
| | Adult | 3.65 | 15.4 | 0 | 7.7 | **65.4** | 3.8 | 7.7 | 0 |
| | Old | 3.78 | 8.7 | 4.3 | 21.7 | **39.1** | 17.4 | 8.7 | 0 |

Elegance: Although very little difference is observed between these two words for the scale of elegance, *politikacı* appears to be slightly more rough than *siyasetçi*.

Ruralness: The two forms received virtually the same rankings for both sides of the scale.

In summary, the only significant differentiation occurred in relation to the scale nativeness where *politikacı* was ranked as more nonnative than *siyasetçi*. *Politikacı* was ranked as more simple, rough, and less formal than *siyasetçi*. As far as the speaker groups are concerned, young subjects reported *siyasetçi* as formal significantly more than the other groups.

### 6.14 *Hayal-Düş* (Dream)

There were 91 responses for *hayal* and 87 responses for *düş*. Table 39 shows the data for the five scales.

Table 39: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *hayal* and *düş* (dream)

| Scales | Intensity Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity | *hayal* | 2.07 | **46.2** | 16.5 | 13.2 | 11.0 | 1.1 | 5.5 | 6.6 |
| | *düş* | 2.36 | **48.3** | 18.4 | 8.0 | 11.5 | 5.7 | 3.4 | 4.6 |
| Formality | *hayal* | 3.20 | 22.0 | 9.9 | 9.9 | **48.4** | 5.5 | 3.3 | 1.1 |
| | *düş* | 3.50 | 16.1 | 9.2 | 11.5 | **44.8** | 9.2 | 8.0 | 1.1 |
| Nativeness | *hayal* | 2.50 | **39.6** | 13.2 | 15.4 | 24.2 | 5.5 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| | *düş* | 2.93 | **27.6** | 11.5 | 19.5 | 26.4 | 11.5 | 2.3 | 1.1 |
| Elegance | *hayal* | 2.45 | **39.6** | 19.8 | 20.9 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 2.2 | 4.4 |
| | *düş* | 2.68 | **32.2** | 14.9 | 16.1 | 27.6 | 8.0 | 0 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness | *hayal* | 4.55 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 0 | **48.4** | 11.0 | 17.6 | 12.1 |
| | *düş* | 4.73 | 1.1 | 2.3 | 9.2 | **46.0** | 6.9 | 19.5 | 14.9 |

Simplicity: Little difference is observed between the traditional item and the neologism. The two biggest groups (46.2 per cent and 48.3 per cent) ranked *hayal* and *düş* as very simple to understand.

Formality: The majority of the subjects decided on the neutral ranking with the rest tending to indicate both words as informal. *Düş* is rated as slightly more formal than *hayal*.

Nativeness: Both words are almost equally ranked as native by a comfortable majority of the subjects; the traditional item, *hayal*, was ranked slightly more native than the neologism, *düş*.

Elegance: Although both items are ranked as very elegant by the majority of the subjects, *hayal* is ranked as more elegant than *düş*.

Ruralness: The two biggest cells for each word opted for the neutral ranking while the rest regarded both items as urban words. The education factor is significant for *düş* (Table 40). According to the combined percentages of the groups on the urban side of the scale, a higher rating for the urban character of *düş* is associated with a higher level of education.

Table 40: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *düş* by education

| Intensity | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Mean | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Education | Primary | 4.10 | 0 | 4.8 | 14.3 | **66.7** | 0 | 9.5 | 4.8 |
| | Secondary | 4.24 | 4.8 | 0 | 4.8 | **66.7** | 9.5 | 9.5 | 4.8 |
| | Tertiary | 5.26 | 0 | 2.2 | 8.9 | 26.7 | 8.9 | **28.9** | 24.4 |

In summary, the two alternative items appear to be parallel in the five semantic scales. Nonetheless, *hayal* was ranked as more native, elegant, and less formal than *düş*, albeit not substantially. Tertiary educated subjects gave significantly higher rating of the neologism, *düş*, as more of an urban word.

**6.15 *Beraat etmek-Aklanmak* (To get acquitted)**

91 subjects provided useable responses for the traditional verb, *beraat etmek*, while 88 subjects provided useable responses for the neologism, *aklanmak*. Table 41 illustrates the data for the five scales.

Table 41: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *beraat etmek* and *aklanmak* (to get acquitted)

| Scales | Intensity Lexical Item | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *beraat etmek* | 3.75 | **26.4** | 7.7 | 8.8 | 14.3 | 16.5 | 17.6 | 8.8 |
| | *aklanmak* | 2.94 | **37.5** | 9.1 | 20.5 | 6.8 | 11.4 | 10.2 | 4.5 |
| Formality* | *beraat etmek* | 3.86 | 7.7 | 13.2 | 9.9 | **42.9** | 13.2 | 7.7 | 5.5 |
| | *aklanmak* | 3.27 | 19.3 | 12.5 | 12.5 | **43.2** | 4.5 | 5.7 | 2.3 |
| Nativeness* | *beraat etmek* | 3.69 | 18.7 | 11.0 | 16.5 | **24.2** | 6.6 | 12.1 | 11.0 |
| | *aklanmak* | 2.29 | **40.9** | 19.3 | 18.2 | 17.0 | 1.1 | 2.3 | 1.1 |
| Elegance | *beraat etmek* | 3.33 | 18.7 | 16.5 | 13.2 | **33.0** | 6.6 | 7.7 | 4.4 |
| | *aklanmak* | 3.39 | 18.2 | 14.8 | 15.9 | **27.3** | 11.4 | 10.2 | 2.3 |
| Ruralness* | *beraat etmek* | 4.86 | 1.1 | 4.4 | 3.3 | **42.9** | 16.5 | 11.0 | 20.9 |
| | *aklanmak* | 4.11 | 6.8 | 8.0 | 12.5 | **42.0** | 10.2 | 10.2 | 10.2 |

Simplicity: There is significant difference between the two expressions. Although both are very simple according to the two biggest groups, *beraat etmek* is rated more complicated than *aklanmak*.

Formality: With the two largest groups giving a neutral ranking; however, *beraat etmek* was ranked significantly more literary than *aklanmak*.

Nativeness: The two expressions differentiate significantly on this scale; 40.9 per cent of the subjects chose the very native position for the neologism while 18.7 per cent of the subjects chose it for the traditional

item. The biggest group for *beraat etmek* (33 per cent) is undecided. The combined proportions on the native side of the scale give support to the above observation; 78.4 per cent of the subjects ranked the neologism as a native item to Turkish and 46.2 per cent of subjects reported the traditional item as a native item, though its origin is Arabic.

Elegance: The proportions of ratings are approximately the same for each lexical item. The two lexical items are more elegant than rough. Given the percentages on the rough side, *aklanmak* seems to be more rough than *beraat etmek*.

Ruralness: Significant difference is seen between the two forms. While they are both regarded as more urban than rural, *beraat etmek* was ranked as more urban than *aklanmak* by over 16 per cent of the subjects. The two biggest groups chose the neutral ranking. The age factor is significant for *aklanmak* (Table 42). Adult subjects do not seem to have a tendency for either end of the scale: 60 per cent of them opted for neutrality. Old subjects reported the highest proportion for the urbanness of *aklanmak* whereas young subjects stated the lowest proportion.

Table 42: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *aklanmak* by age

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 3.78 | 14.6 | 9.8 | 12.2 | **36.6** | 4.9 | 17.1 | 4.9 |
| | Adult | 4.12 | 0 | 4.0 | 16.0 | **60.0** | 12.0 | 0 | 8.0 |
| | Old | 4.77 | 0 | 9.1 | 9.1 | **31.8** | 18.2 | 9.1 | 22.7 |

To sum up, *aklanmak* is significantly more native, simple, urban, and less formal than *beraat etmek*. *Beraat etmek* is less rough than *aklanmak*.

**6.16 *Güle güle-Bay bay* (Bye bye)**

91 and 88 responses were given for *güle güle* and *bay bay* respectively. Table 43 shows the data for these two items.

Table 43: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *güle güle* and *bay bay* (bye bye)

| Intensity | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Scales | Lexeme | Mean | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Simplicity* | *güle güle* | 1.64 | **69.2** | 11.0 | 7.7 | 9.9 | 2.2 | 0 | 0 |
| | *bay bay* | 2.72 | **46.6** | 11.4 | 10.2 | 12.5 | 3.4 | 5.7 | 10.2 |
| Formality | *güle güle* | 2.48 | **40.7** | 12.1 | 12.1 | 31.9 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| | *bay bay* | 2.27 | **44.3** | 18.2 | 15.9 | 13.6 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 1.1 |
| Nativeness* | *güle güle* | 2.13 | **52.7** | 13.2 | 11.0 | 18.7 | 1.1 | 2.2 | 1.1 |
| | *bay bay* | 4.93 | 11.4 | 4.5 | 5.7 | 18.2 | 14.8 | 9.1 | **36.4** |
| Elegance* | *güle güle* | 2.07 | **47.7** | 19.8 | 16.5 | 13.2 | 2.2 | 1.1 | 0 |
| | *bay bay* | 3.63 | 14.8 | 14.8 | 13.6 | **30.7** | 10.2 | 8.0 | 8.0 |
| Ruralness* | *güle güle* | 4.34 | 3.3 | 2.2 | 6.6 | **62.6** | 5.5 | 9.9 | 9.9 |
| | *bay bay* | 5.83 | 2.3 | 0 | 1.1 | 15.9 | 13.6 | 22.7 | **44.3** |

Simplicity: There is significant difference between the two items for their ranking of comprehension. The percentages of the subjects who ranked *güle güle* as very simple is significantly higher than that of those who ranked *bay bay* as very simple; 69.2 per cent and 46.6 per cent respectively. The combined percentages of those who found the loanword complicated is over 19 per cent. The age factor is significant for *güle güle* (Table 44). A large proportion of old subjects regarded *güle güle* as very simple, followed by young subjects.

Table 44: Distribution of simplicity scale for *güle güle* by age.

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Young | 1.62 | **69.1** | 14.3 | 2.4 | 14.3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Adult | 1.72 | **61.5** | 15.4 | 11.5 | 11.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Old | 1.65 | **18.3** | 0 | 13.0 | 0 | 8.7 | 0 | 0 |

Formality: The two lexical items do not differ substantially. Nonetheless, *bay bay* was ranked as less formal than *güle güle*. The two biggest groups chose the very informal position for both words.

Nativeness: The traditional item and the loanword significantly differentiate for this scale; the majority of subjects can easily identify the two forms as native and non-native. Interestingly, however, over 20 per cent of the subjects thought that *bay bay* is a native lexical item.

Elegance: The two forms differ significantly for the scale of elegance; overall, 83.6 per cent of the subjects ranked *güle güle* as elegant while 43.2 per cent of the subjects ranked *bay bay* as elegant. On the other side of the scale, 26.2 per cent of the subjects stated that they found the loanword rough whereas a mere 3.3 per cent suggested likewise for the traditional item. The factor education is highly significant for *bay bay* (Table 45).

Table 45: Distribution of elegance scale for *bay bay* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 2.67 | **27.3** | **27.3** | **27.3** | 0 | 9.1 | 4.5 | 4.5 |
| | Secondary | 3.47 | 19.0 | 9.5 | 9.5 | **38.1** | 19.0 | 0 | 4.8 |
| | Tertiary | 4.15 | 6.7 | 11.1 | 8.9 | **42.2** | 6.7 | 13.3 | 11.1 |

In view of the combined percentages for the rough side of the scale, the proportion of those who found the loanword rough increases steadily as the educational attainment goes up.

Ruralness: There is a significant difference between the two lexical items. 62.6 per cent of the subjects opted for the neutral position for *güle güle* while 44.3 per cent of the subjects ranked *bay bay* as a very urban expression. According to the combined percentages, more than 80 per cent of the subjects rated *bay bay* as urban, whereas only about 25 per cent of the subjects reported likewise for *güle güle*.

Summarising, *güle güle* and *bay bay* significantly differentiate in all scales except for formality, in which *bay bay* is less formal than *güle güle*. The traditional item is more simple, native, elegant, and rural than the loanword. With speaker variables, old subjects significantly differ from adult and young subjects in their reporting of simplicity for *güle güle*; they reported the highest proportion, followed by young subjects. With education, as educational level increases, so does the proportion of the indication of *bay bay* as a rough expression.

### 6.17 *Lokanta-Restoran* (Restaurant)

The number of responses given for both lexical items was equal: 91. Table 46 gives the data for *lokanta* and *restoran* (restaurant).

Simplicity: Significant differentiation is observed for the comprehension of the two words; the proportion of subjects who ranked *lokanta* as very simple is three times as great as the proportion of those subjects who ranked *restoran* as very simple. Further, according to the combined percentages on

the complicated side of the scale, *restoran* was found complicated five times as much as *lokanta*; 50.6 per cent and 9.9 per cent respectively. *Restoran* significantly differentiates for simplicity in regard to gender (Table 47). Women ranked *restoran* as complicated at a combined percentage of 54.2 per cent while men gave a lower level of complicatedness for *restoran*: 43.9 per cent.

Table 46: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *lokanta* and *restoran* (restaurant)

| Intensity | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Scales | Word | Mean | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Simplicity* | *lokanta* | 2.06 | **60.4** | 11.0 | 7.7 | 11.0 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 2.2 |
| | *restoran* | 4.15 | **19.8** | 11.0 | 7.7 | 11.0 | 14.3 | 18.7 | 17.6 |
| Formality* | *lokanta* | 3.05 | 20.9 | 12.1 | 14.3 | **46.2** | 6.6 | 0 | 0 |
| | *restoran* | 4.10 | 7.7 | 6.6 | 11.0 | **47.3** | 6.6 | 12.1 | 8.8 |
| Nativeness* | *lokanta* | 2.84 | **35.2** | 13.2 | 13.2 | 25.3 | 2.2 | 5.5 | 5.5 |
| | *restoran* | 5.88 | 2.2 | 1.1 | 3.3 | 15.4 | 12.1 | 8.8 | **57.1** |
| Elegance | *lokanta* | 3.22 | 17.6 | 18.7 | 14.3 | **33.0** | 8.8 | 5.5 | 2.2 |
| | *restoran* | 2.91 | **25.3** | 19.8 | 22.0 | 18.7 | 3.3 | 7.7 | 3.3 |
| Ruralness* | *lokanta* | 3.30 | 9.9 | 6.6 | 9.9 | **49.5** | 7.7 | 7.7 | 8.8 |
| | *restoran* | 6.26 | 0 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 6.6 | 7.7 | 28.6 | **54.9** |

Table 47: Distribution of simplicity scale for *restoran* by gender

| Intensity | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sex | Female | 4.27 | **25.4** | 5.1 | 5.1 | 10.2 | 10.2 | 23.7 | 20.3 |
| | Male | 3.94 | 9.4 | **21.9** | 12.5 | 12.5 | **21.9** | 9.4 | 12.5 |

Formality: There is significant difference between the two forms. *Restoran* was ranked more literary than *lokanta*, 27.5 per cent and 6.6 per cent respectively.

Nativeness: There is significant differentiation between the traditional word ( a 15th century loan from Italian) and the recent loanword for the native-nonnative scale. The majority of the subjects identified the Italian loan *lokanta* as native while the overwhelming majority of the subjects noted *restoran* as non-native. The combined rankings give the following picture: 78 per cent of the subjects ranked *restoran* as a loanword while 61.6 per cent of the subjects reported *lokanta* as a native word, though wrongly.

Elegance: Substantial difference is seen for the distribution between the two items on the elegance scale. Although both forms were regarded as substantially more elegant than rough, the loanword was ranked as more elegant than *lokanta*; a combined 67.1 per cent and 50.6 per cent respectively.

Ruralness: There is significant difference for this scale: an overwhelming majority of the subjects (91.2 per cent) indicated that *restoran* is used by urban speakers while almost equal number of subjects indicated that *lokanta* may be used in both rural and urban contexts. About half of the subjects chose the neutral ranking. All factor groups are significant for the distribution of *restoran* (Table 48). Women gave a proportion twice as great as that of men for the very urban position. With age, a higher proportion of indication of *restoran* as very urban is associated with lower age. As far as education is concerned, the higher the education level is, the higher the proportion of assigned to *restoran* for the very urban position.

Table 48: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *restoran* by sex, age and education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 6.49 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5.1 | 6.8 | 22.0 | **66.1** |
| | Male | 5.84 | 0 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 9.4 | 9.4 | **40.6** | 34.4 |
| Age | Young | 6.58 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4.7 | 0 | 27.9 | **67.4** |
| | Adult | 6.11 | 0 | 0 | 3.8 | 7.7 | 15.4 | 19.2 | **53.8** |
| | Old | 5.87 | 0 | 4.5 | 0 | 9.1 | 13.6 | **40.9** | 31.8 |
| Education | Primary | 5.67 | 0 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 13.6 | 18.2 | 18.2 | **40.9** |
| | Secondary | 6.27 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9.1 | 4.5 | 36.4 | **50.0** |
| | Tertiary | 6.55 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.1 | 4.3 | 29.8 | **63.8** |

In conclusion, *restoran* is ranked as significantly more complicated, formal, nonnative, and urban than *lokanta*. *Lokanta* is substantially elegant than *restoran*. With speaker groups, women's reporting of *restoran* as simple is significantly greater than men's. As far as the rural-urban scale is concerned, the combination of female, young, and tertiary educated groups reported *restoran* as urban significantly more than other groups, in particular male, old, and primary educated.

### 6.18 *Mülakat-Röportaj* (Interview)

91 responses were given for *mülakat* while *röportaj* was given 89 responses. Table 49 below offers the data for the five scales for these two items.

Simplicity: No significant difference is observed for the rankings between the two forms, which were both regarded as complicated. *Mülakat* was ranked as more complicated than *röportaj*; a combined percentage of 58.3 per cent and 50.6 per cent respectively.

Table 49: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *mülakat* and *röportaj* (interview)

| Intensity Scales | Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity | *mülakat* | 4.50 | 17.6 | 6.6 | 5.5 | 12.1 | 14.3 | **25.3** | 18.7 |
| | *röportaj* | 4.04 | 18.0 | 16.9 | 4.5 | 10.1 | **23.6** | 7.9 | 19.1 |
| Formality* | *mülakat* | 4.22 | 12.1 | 7.7 | 11.0 | **27.5** | 13.2 | 14.3 | 14.3 |
| | *röportaj* | 3.76 | 13.5 | 9.0 | 7.9 | **48.3** | 4.5 | 12.4 | 4.5 |
| Nativeness* | *mülakat* | 4.12 | 12.1 | 11.0 | 11.0 | **24.2** | 16.5 | 11.0 | 14.3 |
| | *röportaj* | 5.00 | 5.6 | 7.9 | 5.6 | 20.2 | 11.2 | 21.3 | **28.1** |
| Elegance* | *mülakat* | 3.71 | 14.3 | 9.9 | 19.8 | **24.2** | 15.4 | 11.0 | 5.5 |
| | *röportaj* | 3.07 | 22.5 | 15.7 | 19.1 | **27.0** | 7.9 | 5.6 | 2.2 |
| Ruralness | *mülakat* | 5.33 | 0 | 1.1 | 4.4 | **34.1** | 13.2 | 15.4 | 31.9 |
| | *röportaj* | 5.90 | 0 | 0 | 1.1 | 18.0 | 12.4 | 27.0 | **41.6** |

Formality: The traditional item, *mülakat*, which is originally Arabic, was ranked significantly more literary than the more recent loanword, *röportaj*; the combined percentages of formality are 41.8 per cent and 21.4 per cent respectively.

Nativeness: There is significant differentiation for this scale. The two items were ranked more non-native than native; higher proportions were given for the non-native side of the scale. A total of 60.6 per cent of the subjects regarded *röportaj* as a loanword while a total of 41.8 per cent of the subjects regarded Arabic *mülakat* as a loanword. The factor education is significant for the distribution of *röportaj* (Table 50). The very urban position for *röportaj* was given at the highest proportion by secondary educated subjects, followed by tertiary educated subjects. The ranking given by secondary educated subjects was more than twice as much as that given by primary educated subjects.

Table 50: Distribution of native-nonnative scale for *röportaj* by education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 3.86 | 18.2 | 13.6 | 9.1 | **22.7** | 13.6 | 4.5 | 18.2 |
| | Secondary | 5.62 | 0 | 4.8 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 14.3 | 19.0 | **42.9** |
| | Tertiary | 5.26 | 2.2 | 6.5 | 2.2 | 23.9 | 8.7 | **30.4** | 26.1 |

Elegance: The two lexical items differentiate significantly for elegance; the loanword, *röportaj*, was ranked as more elegant than the traditional word, *mülakat*.

Ruralness: Substantial difference exists in the rankings of the two lexical items, which were reported used more in urban contexts. *Röportaj* is more urban than *mülakat*; a combined percentage of 81 and 60.5 respectively. The education factor is significant for the distribution of *röportaj* as well as *mülakat* (Table 51). According to the combined percentages on the urban side of the scale, tertiary educated subjects gave 70.7 per cent for the ranking of *mülakat* as urban while secondary educated subjects gave 58.4 per cent whereas primary educated subjects gave the lowest proportion: 40.9 per cent. The same pattern applies to *röportaj* with education; the percentages are 91.3 percent, 81 per cent, and 49.9 per cent respectively. So, as the level of educational attainment increases, so do the rankings assigned to the urban character of *mülakat* and *röportaj*.

To sum up, *röportaj* is regarded as significantly more formal, elegant and non-native than *mülakat*, which is considerably less simple, and urban than *röportaj*. With speaker variables, *röportaj* was seen as most non-native by secondary educated subjects, followed by tertiary educated subjects. With

both *mülakat* and *röportaj*, a higher proportion of assignment for urbanness is significantly associated with higher level of education.

Table 51: Distribution of rural-urban scale for *mülakat* and *röportaj* by age and education

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | Primary | 4.68 | 0 | 0 | 9.1 | 50.0 | 22.7 | 0 | 18.2 |
| (*mülakat*) | Secondary | 5.35 | 0 | 0 | 9.1 | 31.8 | 13.6 | 4.5 | 40.9 |
| | Tertiary | 5.62 | 0 | 2.1 | 0 | 27.7 | 8.5 | 27.7 | 34.0 |
| Education | Primary | 5.13 | 0 | 0 | 4.5 | 45.5 | 13.6 | 4.5 | 31.8 |
| (*röportaj*) | Secondary | 5.90 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19.0 | 14.3 | 23.8 | 42.9 |
| | Tertiary | 6.04 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4.3 | 6.5 | 39.1 | 45.7 |

### 6.19 *Netice-Sonuç* (Result)

The number of responses for *netice* was 91 while it was 88 for *sonuç*. Table 52 illustrates the data for the five scales used for these two items.

Simplicity: There is significant differentiation between the two forms. The neologism, *sonuç*, was ranked as significantly more simple than the traditional word, *netice*. For the very simple ranking, *netice* was chosen by 38.5 per cent of the subjects while *sonuç* was chosen by 58 per cent of the subjects. The factor gender is significant for the distribution of *sonuç* (Table 53). As Table 50 shows, women ranked *sonuç* as more simple than men; the very simple ranking was chosen by 65.5 per cent of women while it was chosen by 43.3 per cent of men.

Table 52: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *netice* and *sonuç* (result)

| Scales | Intensity Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *netice* | 2.87 | **38.5** | 17.6 | 8.8 | 11.0 | 8.8 | 8.8 | 6.6 |
| | *sonuç* | 1.87 | **58.0** | 10.2 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 3.4 | 2.3 | 1.1 |
| Formality | *netice* | 3.80 | 12.1 | 8.8 | 8.8 | **46.2** | 13.2 | 3.3 | 7.7 |
| | *sonuç* | 3.72 | 9.1 | 8.0 | 4.5 | **67.0** | 4.5 | 4.5 | 2.3 |
| Nativeness | *netice* | 3.15 | 23.1 | 16.5 | 13.2 | **28.6** | 9.9 | 5.5 | 3.3 |
| | *sonuç* | 2.75 | **34.1** | 11.4 | 17.0 | 28.4 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 2.3 |
| Elegance | *netice* | 2.83 | 26.4 | 17.6 | 13.2 | **30.8** | 8.8 | 3.3 | 0 |
| | *sonuç* | 2.63 | **28.4** | 19.3 | 21.6 | 23.9 | 5.7 | 0 | 1.1 |
| Ruralness | *netice* | 5.02 | 1.1 | 0 | 8.8 | **38.5** | 7.7 | 25.3 | 18.7 |
| | *sonuç* | 4.70 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 | **54.5** | 18.2 | 12.5 | 11.4 |

Table 53: Distribution of simplicity scale for *sonuç* by gender

| Intensity | | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex Female | 1.74 | **65.5** | 13.8 | 10.3 | 6.9 | 0 | 1.7 | 1.7 |
| Male | 2.63 | **43.3** | 3.3 | 16.6 | 23.3 | 10.0 | 3.3 | 0 |

Formality: Taken separately, the two lexical items appear to have a balanced ranking for this scale; that is, there is no substantial tendency for subjects to rank one side of the scale more than the other. However, *sonuç* was ranked slightly less literary than *netice*.

Nativeness: There is no substantial differentiation between the traditional word, *netice*, which is originally Arabic, and the neologism, *sonuç*. They were ranked as more native than non-native; based on the combined percentages

on the native side of the scale, the neologism was ranked more native than the traditional word; 62.5 per cent and 52.8 per cent respectively.

Elegance: The two words are considered almost equally elegant. *Sonuç* is slightly more elegant than *netice*. The factor gender is significant for the distribution of *netice* (Table 54). *Netice* was ranked as elegant by more women than men; 32.2 per cent and 15.6 per cent respectively.

Table 54: Distribution of elegance scale for *netice* by gender

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 2.86 | **32.2** | 16.9 | 5.1 | 28.8 | 11.9 | 5.1 | 0 |
| | Male | 2.90 | 15.6 | 18.8 | 28.1 | **34.4** | 3.1 | 0 | 0 |

Ruralness: There is a substantial difference in the rankings given to the two lexical items. The two biggest groups opted for the neutral ranking. According to the combined percentages, more subjects (51.7 per cent) rated *netice* as urban while fewer subjects (42.1 per cent) rated *sonuç* thus.

To sum up, the neologism, *sonuç*, is ranked as significantly more simple than the traditional word, *netice*. *Sonuç* is more native, elegant, rural, and less literary than *netice*. With speaker groups, women found *netice* more simple and elegant than men.

### 6.20 *Şahit-Tanık* (Witness)

An equal number of subjects provided responses for the two lexical items: 90. Table 55 below shows the data for the five scales used for these two words.

Table 55: Distribution of Semantic Scales for *şahit* and *tanık* (witness)

| Intensity Scales | Word | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simplicity* | *şahit* | 2.30 | **53.3** | 10.0 | 10.0 | 14.4 | 6.7 | 2.2 | 3.3 |
| | *tanık* | 2.62 | **37.8** | 21.1 | 8.9 | 14.4 | 11.1 | 4.4 | 2.2 |
| Formality* | *şahit* | 3.33 | 17.8 | 8.9 | 13.3 | **48.9** | 6.7 | 2.2 | 2.2 |
| | *tanık* | 3.91 | 11.1 | 6.7 | 5.6 | **54.4** | 5.6 | 12.2 | 4.4 |
| Nativeness | *şahit* | 2.96 | 26.7 | 14.4 | 15.6 | **31.1** | 5.6 | 4.4 | 2.2 |
| | *tanık* | 3.12 | 27.8 | 13.3 | 10.0 | **30.0** | 8.9 | 6.7 | 3.3 |
| Elegance | *şahit* | 3.20 | 16.7 | 18.9 | 14.4 | **35.6** | 7.8 | 5.6 | 1.1 |
| | *tanık* | 2.75 | **26.7** | 14.4 | 27.8 | 23.3 | 3.3 | 4.4 | 0 |
| Ruralness* | *şahit* | 3.96 | 7.8 | 2.2 | 5.6 | **68.9** | 5.6 | 6.7 | 3.3 |
| | *tanık* | 5.13 | 0 | 0 | 5.6 | **38.9** | 12.2 | 23.3 | 20.0 |

Simplicity: There is significant differentiation between the two words, in particular for the very simple ranking; it was chosen by 53.3 per cent of the subjects for *şahit* while it was chosen by 37.8 per cent of the subjects for *tanık*.

Formality: Although the majority of the subjects concentrated on the neutral ranking, *şahit* is significantly more informal than *tanık*. The gender factor is significant for the distribution of *tanık* (Table 56). A higher proportion of women indicated lower formality than men; 27.6 per cent and 15.7 per cent respectively.

Table 56: Distribution of formality scale for *tanık* by gender

| Intensity | | Mean | 1 % | 2 % | 3 % | 4 % | 5 % | 6 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | Female | 3.90 | 12.1 | 10.3 | 5.2 | **50.0** | 0 | 15.5 | 6.9 |
| | Male | 3.94 | 9.4 | 0 | 6.3 | **62.5** | 15.6 | 6.3 | 0 |

Nativeness: The two items received almost equal percentages for each rating point. Both items were ranked as more native than nonnative. There is virtually no difference in the ranking of the items for either side of the scale.

Elegance: The differentiation between the items is not substantial, however, the neologism was ranked rather more elegant than the traditional word.

Ruralness: The differences in the ranking of the two lexical items are significant on this scale. Although the two biggest groups decided on the neutral ranking, the majority of the subjects for *tanık* clearly viewed it as an urban word whereas subjects for *şahit* appeared divided equally between rural and urban sides.

In summary, the neologism, *tanık*, is significantly more urban, formal and complicated than the traditional word, *şahit*, which is less formal and elegant than *tanık*. The only significant factor, gender, surfaced in relation to the formality scale; women regarded *tanık* as less formal than men.

**6.21 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the language attitudes of the subjects for the 20 pairs on five semantic scales. 51 pairs appeared significantly differentiated in their ranking for simplicity, formality, nativeness, elegance, and ruralness. The ruralness scale produced the highest number of differentiations (14), followed by the simplicity scale, which had 13 pairs. The scale nativeness had 11 pairs while the scales formality and elegance yielded the fewest number of pairs: 7 and 6 respectively.

Simplicity: Of the 13 pairs, 8 were traditional word-neologism pairs while 5 were traditional word-loanword pairs (Table 57). All of the loanwords were ranked as more complicated than the traditional words. With the neologisms, four were ranked as more complicated while the other four were ranked as more simple than traditional words.

Table 57: List of pairs significantly differentiated for the scale of simplicity

| More Simple | | More Complicated | | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *şehir* | (T) | *kent* | (N) | city |
| *cevap* | (T) | *yanıt* | (N) | answer |
| *şahit* | (T) | *tanık* | (N) | witness |
| *hakim* | (T) | *yargıç* | (N) | judge |
| *yokuş* | (T) | *rampa* | (L) | uphill |
| *güle güle* | (T) | *bay bay* | (L) | bye bye |
| *lokanta* | (T) | *restoran* | (L) | restaurant |
| *gecelik* | (T) | *pijama* | (L) | nightgown |
| *araba* | (T) | *otomobil* | (L) | car |
| *sonuç* | (N) | *netice* | (T) | result |
| *sınav* | (N) | *imtihan* | (T) | exam |
| *öğrenci* | (N) | *talebe* | (T) | student |
| *aklanmak* | (N) | *beraat etmek* | (T) | to get acquitted |

Formality: Of the seven pairs, four were traditional word-neologism pairs while the other three were traditional word-loanword pairs. Five of the seven traditional items were ranked significantly less formal than their counterparts. Four of these were also ranked as more simple above.

Table 58: List of pairs significantly differentiated for the scale of formality

| Less Formal | | More Formal | | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *şehir* | (T) | *kent* | (N) | city |
| *hikaye* | (T) | *öykü* | (N) | story |
| *şahit* | (T) | *tanık* | (N) | witness |
| *araba* | (T) | *otomobil* | (L) | car |
| *lokanta* | (T) | *restoran* | (L) | restaurant |
| *aklanmak* | (N) | *beraat etmek* | (T) | to get acquitted |
| *röportaj* | (L) | *mülakat* | (T) | interview |

Nativeness: Recall that there were 11 (recent) loanwords tested in this study. 9 of these were among the 11 pairs which were ranked significantly different on the nativeness scale (Table 59). All 9 lexical items were correctly identified as more nonnative than their counterparts. The remaining two pairs were traditional word-neologism pairs; Of these, *kent* (a Persian loanword but disguised as a neologism; see 1.5.4), was ranked as more nonnative than its traditional counterpart, *şehir*, which is also a Persian borrowing. The reverse is true for the other pair; *beraat etmek*, an established Arabic word, was ranked as more nonnative than the neologism, *aklanmak* (Table 59). It may be that *beraat etmek* is considered so because it is psychologically identifiable as Arabic; it has a pattern of loan noun, which means 'acquittal', + *etmek*, which means 'to do'.

Table 59: List of pairs significantly differentiated for the scale of nativeness

| More Native | | More Nonnative | | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *araba* | (T) | *otomobil* | (L) | car |
| *yokuş* | (T) | *rampa* | (L) | uphill |
| *cankurtaran* | (T) | *ambulans* | (L) | ambulance |
| *muayenehane* | (T) | *klinik* | (L) | clinic |
| *siyasetçi* | (T) | *politikacı* | (L) | politician |
| *gecelik* | (T) | *pijama* | (L) | nightgown |
| *güle güle* | (T) | *bay bay* | (L) | bye bye |
| *lokanta* | (T) | *restoran* | (L) | restaurant |
| *mülakat* | (T) | *röportaj* | (L) | interview |
| *şehir* | (T) | *kent* | (N) | city |
| *aklanmak* | (N) | *beraat etmek* | (T) | to get acquitted |

Elegance: It is difficult to generalise for this scale (Table 60). Of the six pairs, three were traditional word-neologism while the other three were traditional word-loanword pairs. Further, three of the traditional items, two of the neologisms, and one of the loanwords were significantly ranked as more elegant. The three traditional items which were rated as less elegant were *imtihan*, *talebe*, and *mülakat*.

Table 60: List of pairs significantly differentiated for the scale of elegance

| More Elegant | | Less Elegant | | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *yokuş* | (T) | *rampa* | (L) | uphill |
| *güle güle* | (T) | *bay bay* | (L) | bye bye |
| *delil* | (T) | *kanıt* | (N) | evidence |
| *sınav* | (N) | *imtihan* | (T) | exam |
| *öğrenci* | (N) | *talebe* | (T) | student |
| *röportaj* | (L) | *mülakat* | (T) | interview |

Ruralness: There were 14 pairs which were significantly differentiated for this scale (Table 61); all but one of the traditional words were ranked as more rural than their counterparts, neologisms or loanwords. Six of the 14 pairs turned out to be (recent) loanwords; all six items, which were also among the more nonnative words, were ranked as more urban; so were the other seven neologisms. The traditional item which was ranked as more urban than its counterpart was *beraat etmek* (to get acquitted).

Table 61: List of pairs significantly differentiated for the scale of ruralness

| More Rural | | More Urban | | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *şehir* | (T) | *kent* | (N) | city |
| *hikaye* | (T) | *öykü* | (N) | story |
| *talebe* | (T) | *öğrenci* | (N) | student |
| *imtihan* | (T) | *sınav* | (N) | exam |
| *cevap* | (T) | *yanıt* | (N) | answer |
| *hakim* | (T) | *yargıç* | (N) | judge |
| *yokuş* | (T) | *rampa* | (L) | uphill |
| *cankurtaran* | (T) | *ambulans* | (L) | ambulance |
| *muayenehane* | (T) | *klinik* | (L) | clinic |
| *araba* | (T) | *otomobil* | (L) | car |
| *güle güle* | (T) | *bay bay* | (L) | bye bye |
| *lokanta* | (T) | *restoran* | (L) | restaurant |
| *şahit* | (T) | *tanık* | (N) | witness |
| *aklanmak* | (N) | *beraat etmek* | (T) | to get acquitted |

More salient generalisations can be made for the pairs which were significantly differentiated on the scales simplicity, nativeness, and ruralness. For instance, a majority of traditional words were rated as more simple, native, and rural while the majority of (recent) loanwords were identified as nonnative. These findings were predicted to some degree in 0.3. In the next chapter, these three groups of words are discussed, including the non-significant results, in more detail particularly in reference to the hypotheses proposed in 0.3.

# Chapter 7

# SYNTHESIS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

## 7.0 Introduction

This chapter makes a synthesis of the results obtained for individual lexical items in Chapter 6; the data elicited from the five semantic scales (simple-complicated, spoken-literary, native-nonnative, elegant-rough, and rural-urban) are discussed in relation to the three groups of words (traditional words, neologisms, and loanwords) with a view to show correlations with speaker variables. Where relevant, the outcome of these general discussions are related to the results obtained on actual use in Chapter 4. Also, comments are made in relation to individual lexical items which have interesting rankings on various scales.

## 7.1 Simple-Complicated[1]

### 7.1.1 Simplicity of Established Arabic and Persian Loanwords

The scale simple-complicated was designed to ascertain the extent to which the three groups of lexical items (traditional words, neologisms, and loanwords) are found simple or complicated to understand. The hypothesis put forward in 0.3 is that the traditional words would be more simple to comprehend than neologisms and loanwords due to the fact that traditional words were already in use when neologisms and loanwords were introduced into speech. Nonetheless, recall that language planners had claimed that the recovery of the meaning of the Arabic and Persian words was difficult for Turkish speakers (1.5.3), and that, therefore, these words needed to be eradicated. Here, we also wanted to test if this claim had any semantic basis.

[1] The percentages presented in the tables of this section are calculated by collapsing figures (5), (6), and (7) on the simple-complicated scale.

Therefore, the five (truly) Turkish words among the 20 traditional words were excluded; these are *lokanta* (restaurant), *gecelik* (nightgown), *yokuş* (uphill), *cankurtaran* (ambulance) and *güle güle* (bye bye).

Table 1: Reporting of Established Arabic and Persian Words as related to Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *mülakat* | 57.6 | 59.4 | 61.9 | 46.2 | 65.2 | 40.9 | 63.6 | 63.8 | 58.2 |
| *siyasetçi* | 41.7 | 50.0 | 48.8 | 34.6 | 47.8 | 36.4 | 39.1 | 51.1 | 44.6 |
| *beraat etmek* | 42.3 | 43.8 | 40.5 | 38.5 | 52.2 | 40.9 | 40.9 | 44.7 | 42.9 |
| *imtihan* | 45.9 | 30.3 | 53.5 | 29.6 | 29.2 | 39.1 | 39.1 | 41.7 | 40.4 |
| *muayenehane* | 45.0 | 31.3 | 53.5 | 26.9 | 30.4 | 13.6 | 56.5 | 44.7 | 40.2 |
| *hakim* | 25.0 | 31.3 | 11.6 | 7.7 | 21.7 | 13.6 | 8.7 | 14.9 | 27.2 |
| *delil* | 30.5 | 16.1 | 22.0 | 30.8 | 26.1 | 28.6 | 19.0 | 25.0 | 25.6 |
| *netice* | 27.1 | 18.8 | 33.3 | 19.2 | 13.0 | 13.6 | 27.3 | 25.5 | 24.2 |
| *talebe* | 25.0 | 18.2 | 32.3 | 19.2 | 8.3 | 9.1 | 21.7 | 29.2 | 22.6 |
| *hikaye* | 13.3 | 15.2 | 9.3 | 11.1 | 26.1 | 26.1 | 8.7 | 10.6 | 14.0 |
| *hayal* | 13.6 | 12.5 | 16.7 | 3.8 | 17.4 | 18.2 | 13.6 | 10.6 | 13.2 |
| *şahit* | 15.5 | 6.3 | 11.6 | 12.0 | 13.6 | 13.6 | 19.0 | 14.9 | 12.2 |
| *araba* | 4.9 | 9.4 | 2.3 | 14.8 | 4.3 | 17.4 | 4.3 | 2.1 | 6.5 |
| *cevap* | 3.3 | 6.1 | 2.3 | 0 | 12.5 | 8.7 | 0 | 4.2 | 4.3 |
| *şehir* | 6.7 | 0 | 2.3 | 0 | 12.5 | 13.0 | 0 | 2.1 | 4.3 |
| MEAN | 26.5 | 23.2 | 26.8 | 19.6 | 25.4 | 21.3 | 24.1 | 25.7 | **25.4** |

Table 1 gives the data for these established Arabic and Persian loanwords. Over 25 per cent of all subjects reported these established traditional words as difficult to comprehend. As far as the speaker variables are concerned, the combination of groups female, young, and tertiary educated ranked the traditional words as complicated at the highest proportions. These three

groups indeed used traditional words in actual speech at the lowest proportions (4.1). Further, men who reported the traditional words as complicated at a lower percentage than women used these words more than women in actual speech. With age and education, no pattern is observed.

More specifically, the traditional word which was ranked as most complicated is *mülakat* (interview); almost 60 per cent of the subjects indicated it as such. There are five traditional words that were reported difficult to understand by more than 40 per cent of the subjects; these are *mülakat* (interview), *imtihan* (exam), *siyasetçi* (politician), *muayenehane* (clinic), and *beraat etmek* (to get acquitted). The first three words were in fact seldom used in the actual speech of subjects while their counterparts were used by the majority of the subjects (4.1.1). Therefore, it was predicted that these three words would not survive in the longer term (4.2.3). Ranking of these words as highly complicated may be another sign of their demise. With *muayenehane* (clinic), it is hard to say anything since it and its counterpart, *klinik*, surfaced only three times in actual speech. *Beraat etmek* (to get acquitted), however, presents a dilemma; in actual use, it was used by 27 subjects whereas its counterpart, *aklanmak*, was used by only one subject. The remaining eleven traditional words do not seem to be too complicated; this is also evident in their higher proportion of usage in actual speech of subjects (4.1).

### 7.1.2 Simplicity of Neologisms

Although the neologisms were coined using the resources of Turkish, it may be that, as is often claimed (1.5.7), they are as unintelligible to speakers as some of the loanwords (recent or otherwise). The data given in Table 2 may go some way to test if this claim is accurate.

Table 2: Reporting of Neologisms as Complicated by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *kanıt* | 25.9 | 18.8 | 26.2 | 15.4 | 40.9 | 27.3 | 19.0 | 29.8 | 26.7 |
| *aklanmak* | 19.0 | 40.0 | 22.0 | 20.0 | 41.0 | 36.4 | 38.1 | 15.6 | 26.1 |
| *yanıt* | 27.6 | 18.8 | 38.1 | 11.5 | 22.7 | 13.6 | 38.1 | 23.4 | 24.4 |
| *kent* | 25.4 | 21.9 | 27.9 | 19.2 | 22.7 | 18.2 | 13.6 | 31.9 | 24.2 |
| *yargıç* | 23.2 | 25.0 | 24.4 | 32.0 | 13.6 | 13.6 | 42.9 | 20.0 | 23.9 |
| *öykü* | 16.9 | 21.9 | 16.3 | 7.7 | 36.4 | 9.1 | 22.7 | 23.4 | 18.7 |
| *tanık* | 19.0 | 15.6 | 19.0 | 11.5 | 22.7 | 18.2 | 0 | 25.5 | 17.8 |
| *düş* | 15.8 | 10.0 | 15.0 | 16.0 | 9.1 | 4.8 | 14.3 | 17.8 | 13.8 |
| *sınav* | 10.2 | 6.3 | 7.0 | 11.5 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 8.5 | 8.8 |
| *sonuç* | 3.4 | 13.3 | 7.3 | 8.0 | 4.5 | 9.1 | 14.3 | 2.2 | 5.7 |
| *öğrenci* | 0 | 9.4 | 2.3 | 7.7 | 4.5 | 0 | 9.1 | 2.1 | 3.3 |
| MEAN | 16.9 | 18.3 | 18.7 | 14.6 | 20.7 | 14.5 | 20.1 | 18.2 | **17.6** |

Close to 18 per cent of all subjects reported the neologisms as complicated, lower than the percentage for the established traditional words. In so far as speaker variables are concerned, the following observations can be made. The combination of male, old and secondary educated subjects ranked the neologisms as complicated at the highest percentages. These are respectively 18.3 per cent, 20.7 per cent, and 20.1 per cent. It is most surprising to find that primary educated subjects who scored the lowest actual use (in fact nearly half the proportion of tertiary educated subjects) could suggest that they do not find the neologisms as hard to comprehend as tertiary educated subjects do. Adult subjects, too, who ranked the neologisms as less complicated than either young or old subjects, employed neologisms in actual use at a lower proportion than young subjects (4.1.1). Female speakers, however, used more neologisms than men and ranked the neologisms as less complicated than men did.

With the individual items, the neologisms which were ranked as complicated by more than 10 per cent of the subjects are among the most recent neologisms. In fact, most neologisms were used in actual speech at substantially lower proportions than their traditional counterparts (4.1.1). The remaining neologisms, *öğrenci* (student), *sonuç* (result), and *sınav* (exam), are virtually not complicated at all; these words were used in actual speech about ten times more frequently than their counterparts.

### 7.1.3 Simplicity of Loanwords

Table 3 below illustrates the data obtained for loanwords on the simple-complicated scale. About 36 per cent of all subjects ranked the loanwords as complicated. This is the highest proportion among the three groups of words; that is, loanwords are the most complicated lexical items.

Young and secondary educated subjects, and to a lesser extent, female subjects, ranked the loanwords as difficult to comprehend at the highest percentages: 40.8 per cent, 50.3 per cent, and 34.7 per cent respectively (Table 3). Interestingly, this could be the reason why these three groups used the loanwords in their actual speech at the lowest proportions (see 4.1.1). Further, the groups which found the loanwords most comprehensible are male, adult, and primary educated subjects; 33 per cent, 28.6 per cent, and 18.2 per cent respectively. Male and adult subjects in fact employed the loanwords in their actual speech at a higher proportion than other groups. Primary educated subjects, however, followed tertiary educated subjects with a higher use of loanwords in actual speech (4.1.1). These results are in contradiction to those of Cicioni (1991), who found a positive correlation between the level of education and loanword comprehension.

Table 3: Reporting of Loanwords as Complicated by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *röportaj* | 50.8 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 36.0 | 68.2 | 31.8 | 71.4 | 50.0 | 50.6 |
| *restoran* | 54.2 | 43.8 | 55.8 | 42.3 | 50.0 | 31.8 | 63.6 | 53.2 | 50.5 |
| *rampa* | 48.3 | 46.9 | 54.8 | 42.3 | 40.9 | 18.2 | 66.7 | 53.2 | 47.8 |
| *klinik* | 44.8 | 46.9 | 52.4 | 38.5 | 40.9 | 9.1 | 71.4 | 51.1 | 45.6 |
| *politikacı* | 34.5 | 33.3 | 43.9 | 28.0 | 22.7 | 18.2 | 61.9 | 28.9 | 34.1 |
| *ambulans* | 36.2 | 28.1 | 28.6 | 30.8 | 45.5 | 18.2 | 42.9 | 36.2 | 33.3 |
| *otomobil* | 27.1 | 25.0 | 37.2 | 19.2 | 13.6 | 27.3 | 31.8 | 23.4 | 26.4 |
| *bay bay* | 22.4 | 13.3 | 24.4 | 12.0 | 18.2 | 9.1 | 14.3 | 26.7 | 18.2 |
| *pijama* | 20.7 | 10.0 | 22.0 | 8.0 | 18.2 | 0 | 28.6 | 20.0 | 17.0 |
| MEAN | 34.7 | 33.0 | 40.8 | 28.6 | 35.4 | 18.2 | 50.3 | 38.1 | **35.9** |

There were two loanwords which more than half of the subjects found complicated to comprehend. These are *restoran* (restaurant) and *röportaj* (interview). The group which reported *röportaj* complicated at the highest proportion is secondary educated subjects; 71.4 per cent. The loanword that was ranked as the least complicated by all subjects is *pijama* (nightgown); 17 per cent. To all of the primary subjects, however, it is simple to understand.

Concluding, the hypothesis, put forward in 0.3, was that neologisms and loanwords would be more complicated than established traditional words. In the face of these findings, the hypothesis cannot be sustained; more recent (Indo-European) loanwords are the most complicated, while established Arabic and Persian loanwords are rated as more complicated than neologisms.

## 7.2 Formality[2]

### 7.2.1 Formality of Traditional Words

The hypothesis proposed in regard to the formality scale is that traditional words would be less formal than their counterparts, neologisms and loanwords. Each group of words will now be examined for formality.

Table 4 shows the data for traditional words. The overall mean for the formality of traditional words is 16.6 per cent; that is, they are more informal than formal. The combination of male, adult, and primary educated subjects ranked these words as literary at higher proportions than female, adult and secondary educated groups. Recall that higher use of traditional words in actual speech is associated with male, adult, and primary educated groups (4.1.1).

With individual lexical items, there were seven words which were ranked as formal by more than 20 per cent of the subjects; in the order of higher ranking, these are *mülakat* (interview), *delil* (evidence), *imtihan* (exam), *muayenehane* (clinic), *beraat etmek* (to get acquitted), *siyasetçi* (politician), and *netice* (result). Of these, *mülakat* (interview), *imtihan* (exam), *muayenehane* (clinic), *siyasetçi* (politician), and *beraat etmek* (to get acquitted) were also ranked as the most complicated words to understand in 7.1.1. The lexical items which were ranked as formal by less than ten percent of the subjects are *güle güle* (bye bye), *gecelik* (nightgown), *lokanta* (restaurant), *araba* (car), *şehir* (city), and *hayal* (dream). Of these, *araba* (car), *şehir* (city), and *hayal* (dream) were among the five lexical items ranked as complicated at the lowest proportions in the simple-complicated scale.

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[2] The percentages presented in the tables of this section are calculated by collapsing figures (5), (6), and (7) on the scale spoken-literary.

Table 4: Reporting of Traditional Words as Formal by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *mülakat* | 45.8 | 34.4 | 50.0 | 42.3 | 26.1 | 45.5 | 31.8 | 48.9 | 41.8 |
| *delil* | 28.8 | 32.3 | 31.7 | 26.9 | 30.4 | 33.3 | 28.6 | 29.2 | 30.0 |
| *imtihan* | 26.2 | 30.3 | 34.9 | 25.9 | 25.0 | 39.1 | 13.0 | 29.2 | 28.7 |
| *muayenehane* | 26.7 | 31.3 | 37.2 | 26.9 | 30.4 | 36.4 | 34.8 | 21.3 | 28.3 |
| *beraat etmek* | 25.4 | 28.1 | 33.3 | 26.9 | 13.0 | 22.7 | 36.4 | 23.4 | 26.4 |
| *siyasetçi* | 28.3 | 21.9 | 34.9 | 11.5 | 26.1 | 27.3 | 26.1 | 25.5 | 26.1 |
| *netice* | 23.7 | 25.0 | 26.2 | 23.1 | 21.7 | 22.7 | 9.1 | 31.9 | 24.2 |
| *cankurtaran* | 16.7 | 18.8 | 16.7 | 11.5 | 25.0 | 28.6 | 8.7 | 16.7 | 17.4 |
| *hakim* | 13.3 | 12.5 | 7.0 | 7.7 | 30.4 | 31.8 | 0 | 10.6 | 13.0 |
| *hikaye* | 10.0 | 18.2 | 11.6 | 11.1 | 17.4 | 17.4 | 4.3 | 14.9 | 12.9 |
| *talebe* | 10.0 | 18.2 | 9.3 | 15.4 | 16.7 | 18.2 | 13.0 | 10.4 | 12.9 |
| *şahit* | 12.1 | 9.4 | 7.0 | 12.0 | 18.2 | 22.7 | 0 | 8.5 | 11.1 |
| *cevap* | 8.3 | 15.2 | 7.0 | 11.5 | 16.7 | 21.7 | 4.5 | 8.3 | 10.8 |
| *hayal* | 10.2 | 9.4 | 9.5 | 7.7 | 13.0 | 22.7 | 0 | 8.5 | 9.9 |
| *şehir* | 10.0 | 9.1 | 7.0 | 7.7 | 16.7 | 13.0 | 4.5 | 10.4 | 9.7 |
| *araba* | 4.9 | 15.2 | 7.0 | 3.7 | 16.7 | 17.4 | 4.3 | 6.3 | 8.5 |
| *yokuş* | 8.2 | 6.3 | 2.3 | 3.8 | 20.8 | 18.2 | 0 | 6.3 | 7.5 |
| *lokanta* | 5.1 | 9.4 | 4.8 | 3.8 | 13.0 | 13.6 | 0 | 6.4 | 6.6 |
| *gecelik* | 1.7 | 6.3 | 0 | 3.8 | 8.7 | 13.6 | 0 | 0 | 3.3 |
| *güle güle* | 3.4 | 3.1 | 0 | 7.7 | 4.3 | 13.6 | 0 | 0 | 3.3 |
| MEAN | 15.7 | 17.7 | 16.9 | 14.5 | 19.5 | 24.0 | 10.3 | 15.8 | **16.6** |

### 7.2.2 Neologisms

Table 5 below gives the data for neologisms taken from the scale spoken-literary. More than 20 per cent of all subjects suggested that the neologisms under investigation belong to literary language, that is, formal.

Among the speaker groups, male, old, and primary educated subjects ranked these words as formal at the highest proportions. The very lowest percentage was obtained from the secondary educated subjects; only about 11 per cent of them thought that neologisms are formal. It is clear that the majority of the subjects do not consider these lexical items as formal.

Table 5: Reporting of Neologisms as Formal by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | Education | | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *kent* | 39.0 | 15.6 | 30.2 | 23.1 | 40.9 | 36.4 | 4.5 | 40.4 | 30.8 |
| *öykü* | 28.8 | 28.1 | 27.9 | 26.9 | 31.8 | 54.5 | 4.5 | 27.7 | 28.6 |
| *yargıç* | 23.2 | 37.5 | 29.3 | 16.0 | 40.9 | 18.2 | 19.0 | 37.8 | 28.3 |
| *yanıt* | 15.5 | 37.5 | 23.8 | 23.1 | 22.7 | 22.7 | 23.8 | 23.4 | 23.4 |
| *kanıt* | 19.0 | 31.2 | 21.4 | 15.4 | 36.4 | 27.3 | 23.8 | 21.3 | 23.3 |
| *tanık* | 22.4 | 21.9 | 21.4 | 11.5 | 36.4 | 27.3 | 14.3 | 23.4 | 23.2 |
| *düş* | 17.9 | 20.0 | 17.5 | 12.0 | 27.3 | 19.0 | 4.8 | 24.4 | 18.3 |
| *sınav* | 16.9 | 18.8 | 14.0 | 19.2 | 22.7 | 18.2 | 13.6 | 19.1 | 17.6 |
| *aklanmak* | 10.3 | 16.7 | 7.3 | 12.0 | 22.7 | 22.7 | 4.8 | 11.1 | 12.5 |
| *öğrenci* | 6.8 | 21.9 | 7.0 | 15.4 | 18.2 | 27.2 | 9.1 | 6.4 | 12.1 |
| *sonuç* | 10.3 | 13.3 | 4.9 | 16.0 | 18.2 | 22.7 | 4.8 | 8.9 | 11.3 |
| MEAN | 19.1 | 23.9 | 18.6 | 17.3 | 28.9 | 26.9 | 11.5 | 22.2 | **20.1** |

The six neologisms which were ranked as formal by more than 20 per cent of subjects are some of the most recently introduced lexical items. All of these neologisms are used in actual speech less frequently than their counterparts (4.1).

### 7.2.3 Loanwords

Table 6 indicates the total mean for the loanwords as 23.6 per cent, which suggests that these words are not formal. Young, primary and tertiary educated subjects ranked the loanwords as formal at substantially higher percentages than other groups. Again, secondary educated subjects differ radically from other groups in considering loanwords as less formal than the rest of the groups; 15.1 per cent.

Table 6: Reporting of Loanwords as Formal by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | Education | | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *klinik* | 46.6 | 37.5 | 54.8 | 38.5 | 27.3 | 31.8 | 38.1 | 51.1 | 43.3 |
| *otomobil* | 39.0 | 37.5 | 41.9 | 34.6 | 36.4 | 36.4 | 27.3 | 44.7 | 38.5 |
| *rampa* | 25.9 | 31.3 | 33.3 | 26.9 | 18.2 | 31.8 | 14.3 | 31.9 | 27.8 |
| *restoran* | 32.2 | 18.8 | 32.6 | 19.2 | 27.3 | 22.7 | 9.1 | 38.3 | 27.5 |
| *röportaj* | 18.6 | 26.7 | 21.4 | 16.0 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 9.5 | 23.9 | 21.3 |
| *ambulans* | 20.7 | 15.6 | 19.0 | 23.1 | 13.6 | 36.4 | 9.5 | 14.9 | 18.9 |
| *politikacı* | 17.3 | 20.0 | 24.4 | 12.0 | 13.6 | 18.2 | 19.0 | 17.8 | 18.1 |
| *pijama* | 6.9 | 13.3 | 7.3 | 8.0 | 13.6 | 13.6 | 4.8 | 8.9 | 9.1 |
| *bay bay* | 3.4 | 16.6 | 4.9 | 8.0 | 13.6 | 18.2 | 4.8 | 4.4 | 8.0 |
| MEAN | 23.4 | 24.1 | 26.6 | 20.7 | 21.2 | 26.3 | 15.1 | 26.2 | **23.6** |

Individual loanwords showed substantial differentiations; *klinik* (clinic) was ranked as formal by more than 43 per cent of subjects whereas *bay bay* (bye bye) was reported as formal by a mere 8 per cent of the subjects. The other loanwords which were ranked as formal more than the mean are *otomobil* (car), *rampa* (uphill), *restoran* (restaurant), and *röportaj* (interview). Most of these loanwords had a lower occurrence rate in actual use (4.1).

The hypothesis, proposed in 0.3, that neologisms and loanwords would be more formal than traditional words is not supported; although traditional words were ranked as less formal than both neologisms and loanwords, the differences are not considerable .

For the ranking of these three groups of words for formality, certain groups showed consistent rankings; for instance, male and primary educated subjects always gave the highest rankings whereas secondary educated subjects always gave the lowest rankings, which were substantially lower than the nearest groups. The least amount of variation occurred within the gender factor.

## 7.3 Native-Nonnative

### 7.3.1 Recognition of Established (Arabic, Persian and Italian) Loanwords as Nonnative

It was mentioned earlier (1.5.3) that language planners in Turkey stigmatised the Arabic, Persian, etc. elements as foreign (nonnative) and this constituted their basic reason for coining neologisms in order to replace these nonnative elements. Can speakers really identify these established loanwords as nonnative? Table 7 gives the data on subjects' perception of these 16 established loanwords. Overall, only 21.1 per cent of the subjects could identify these words as nonnative.

For speaker variables, women gave substantially higher proportions than men; 24.0 per cent versus 15.7 per cent respectively. For age, young subjects could rank the established loanwords as nonnative at higher proportions than adult and old subjects. Interestingly, however, old subjects could identify these loanwords at a higher proportion than adult

subjects. Yet, the mean of adult and old subjects is still below the mean percentage. As far as education is concerned, secondary and tertiary educated subjects indicated that they had very similar knowledge about the origin of these 16 loanwords; the means were very high: 24.3 per cent and 24.8 per cent respectively. Primary educated subjects, on the other hand, showed limited knowledge; only 10.4 per cent of them could do the identification. Overall, the groups female, young, secondary, and tertiary educated are most conscious of these established established loanwords.

Table 7: Reporting of Established Loanwords as Nonnative by Speaker Variables[3]

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *mülakat* | 40.7 | 43.9 | 47.6 | 34.6 | 39.1 | 31.8 | 45.5 | 44.7 | 41.8 |
| *siyasetçi* | 38.3 | 28.1 | 44.2 | 30.8 | 21.7 | 18.2 | 43.5 | 38.3 | 34.8 |
| *muayenehane* | 35.0 | 25.0 | 44.2 | 23.1 | 17.4 | 9.1 | 39.1 | 38.3 | 31.5 |
| *imtihan* | 37.8 | 21.2 | 41.9 | 22.2 | 25.0 | 13.1 | 30.4 | 41.7 | 29.8 |
| *beraat etmek* | 32.2 | 25.0 | 33.3 | 23.1 | 30.4 | 13.6 | 40.9 | 31.9 | 29.7 |
| *delil* | 28.8 | 16.1 | 26.8 | 15.4 | 30.4 | 14.3 | 28.6 | 27.1 | 24.4 |
| *talebe* | 26.7 | 3.0 | 23.3 | 11.5 | 4.2 | 4.5 | 21.7 | 22.9 | 19.4 |
| *cevap* | 23.3 | 12.1 | 23.3 | 15.4 | 16.7 | 13.0 | 22.7 | 22.9 | 19.4 |
| *netice* | 22.0 | 12.5 | 16.7 | 23.1 | 17.4 | 13.6 | 22.7 | 19.1 | 18.7 |
| *hikaye* | 20.0 | 15.2 | 23.3 | 11.1 | 17.4 | 8.7 | 26.1 | 19.1 | 18.3 |
| *şehir* | 16.9 | 9.1 | 16.3 | 11.5 | 16.7 | 13.0 | 9.1 | 18.9 | 15.1 |
| *hakim* | 20.0 | 6.3 | 18.6 | 7.7 | 17.4 | 4.5 | 17.4 | 19.1 | 15.2 |
| *lokanta* | 11.9 | 15.6 | 11.9 | 15.4 | 13.0 | 9.1 | 13.6 | 14.9 | 13.2 |
| *şahit* | 15.5 | 6.3 | 11.6 | 8.0 | 22.7 | 0 | 4.8 | 21.3 | 12.2 |
| *araba* | 6.6 | 6.1 | 4.7 | 3.7 | 12.5 | 0 | 13.0 | 6.3 | 6.4 |
| *hayal* | 8.5 | 6.3 | 7.1 | 7.7 | 8.7 | 0 | 9.1 | 10.6 | 7.7 |
| MEAN | 24.0 | 15.7 | 24.7 | 16.5 | 19.4 | 10.4 | 24.3 | 24.8 | **21.1** |

[3] The percentages presented in the table are calculated by collapsing figures (5), (6), and (7) on the native-nonnative scale.

The loanword *mülakat* (interview) was ranked as nonnative by the highest proportion of subjects: 41.8 per cent. Many of these older loanwords not judged as native are not identifiable phonologically - they show vowel harmony within the stem: *delil, netice, şehir, araba,* and *hayal*. Notice that these are concentrated towards the native ratings.

### 7.3.2 Recognition of Native Words as Native

It is interesting to see whether the nativeness judgements of the subjects reflect actual nativeness. Table 8 below shows the data for the fourteen native words, ten of which are neologisms and are given as the last eleven items in the table and separated by a line.

The average mean for all native words turned out to be 59.6 per cent. The lexical item which was judged to be a native word by the highest majority of the subjects was *aklanmak* (to get acquitted); the mean is 78.4 per cent. The lexical item which was ranked as native at the lowest proportion was *yargıç* (judge); 35.2 per cent. The three native words which follow *yargıç* (judge) are *kanıt* (evidence), *yanıt* (answer), and *sınav* (exam) in the order of lower ranking.

There is little difference between the means of female and male subjects: 60.2 per cent and 58.5 per cent respectively. Adult subjects were able to identify the native words better than young and old subjects. With education, surprisingly, secondary educated subjects could identify native words better than tertiary educated subjects. Predictably, though, primary educated subjects judged the native words at the lowest proportions.

Table 8: Reporting of Native Words as Native by Speaker Variables[4]

| | Sex | | Age | | Education | | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *gecelik* | 73.3 | 75.0 | 72.1 | 73.1 | 78.3 | 68.2 | 73.9 | 76.6 | 73.9 |
| *yokuş* | 72.1 | 71.9 | 74.4 | 69.2 | 70.8 | 68.2 | 82.6 | 68.8 | 72.0 |
| *cankurtaran* | 73.3 | 68.8 | 73.8 | 65.4 | 75.0 | 71.4 | 69.6 | 72.9 | 71.7 |
| *güle güle* | 62.7 | 59.4 | 64.3 | 61.5 | 56.5 | 59.1 | 68.2 | 59.6 | 61.5 |
| *aklanmak* | 81.0 | 73.3 | 73.2 | 84.0 | 81.8 | 77.3 | 81.0 | 77.8 | 78.4 |
| *öğrenci* | 59.3 | 68.8 | 55.8 | 65.4 | 72.7 | 62.6 | 45.5 | 70.2 | 62.6 |
| *sonuç* | 62.1 | 63.3 | 53.7 | 76.0 | 63.6 | 68.2 | 61.9 | 60.0 | 62.5 |
| *düş* | 59.6 | 56.7 | 52.5 | 68.0 | 59.1 | 61.9 | 71.4 | 51.1 | 58.8 |
| *öykü* | 61.0 | 53.1 | 53.5 | 65.4 | 59.1 | 77.3 | 54.5 | 51.1 | 58.2 |
| *sınav* | 57.6 | 50.0 | 46.5 | 65.4 | 59.1 | 59.1 | 59.1 | 51.1 | 54.9 |
| *tanık* | 53.4 | 46.9 | 50.0 | 65.4 | 36.4 | 36.4 | 52.4 | 57.4 | 51.1 |
| *yanıt* | 48.3 | 46.9 | 42.9 | 65.4 | 36.4 | 31.8 | 52.4 | 53.2 | 47.8 |
| *kanıt* | 44.8 | 46.9 | 45.2 | 50.0 | 40.9 | 40.9 | 42.9 | 48.9 | 45.6 |
| *yargıç* | 33.9 | 37.5 | 31.7 | 36.0 | 40.9 | 31.8 | 66.7 | 35.6 | 35.2 |
| MEAN | 60.2 | 58.5 | 56.4 | 65.0 | 59.3 | 58.2 | 63.0 | 59.6 | **59.6** |

### 7.3.3 Recognition of Loanwords

The scale of nativeness was put in the survey so as to ascertain the extent to which speakers are conscious of loanwords (more recent or otherwise). The hypothesis regarding the loanwords is that speakers are rather conscious of loanwords in their speech and they would be ranked as more nonnative than other groups of words. Further, speakers from higher educational backgrounds would be expected to have a higher recognition of these words as nonnative than those with lower education (0.3). Table 9 shows the data for the nine loanwords by speaker variables.

[4] The percentages are calculated by collapsing figures (1), (2), and (3) in the scale native-nonnative.

Table 9: Reporting of Loanwords as Nonnative by Speaker Variables[5]

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *restoran* | 79.7 | 75.0 | 79.1 | 76.9 | 77.3 | 59.1 | 81.0 | 83.0 | 78.0 |
| *klinik* | 74.1 | 71.9 | 83.3 | 76.9 | 54.5 | 45.6 | 85.7 | 80.9 | 73.3 |
| *ambulans* | 70.7 | 65.6 | 73.8 | 69.2 | 59.1 | 40.1 | 76.2 | 78.7 | 68.9 |
| *röportaj* | 62.7 | 56.7 | 71.4 | 48.0 | 54.5 | 36.4 | 76.2 | 68.1 | 60.7 |
| *bay bay* | 62.1 | 56.7 | 56.1 | 60.0 | 68.2 | 50.0 | 42.9 | 68.9 | 60.2 |
| *pijama* | 60.3 | 56.7 | 65.9 | 52.0 | 54.5 | 31.8 | 71.4 | 63.8 | 59.1 |
| *otomobil* | 55.9 | 59.4 | 69.8 | 46.2 | 45.5 | 27.3 | 66.7 | 68.1 | 57.1 |
| *rampa* | 48.3 | 56.3 | 50.0 | 61.5 | 10.0 | 27.3 | 57.1 | 59.6 | 51.1 |
| *politikacı* | 41.4 | 50.0 | 46.3 | 44.0 | 40.9 | 27.3 | 57.1 | 44.7 | 44.3 |
| MEAN | 61.7 | 60.9 | 66.6 | 59.4 | 51.6 | 39.3 | 68.3 | 68.4 | **61.4** |

Overall recognition is quite high; the mean for the nine loanwords is 61.4 per cent. The lexical item which was ranked as nonnative by the highest proportion of the subjects (78 per cent) was *restoran* (restaurant). Even about 60 per cent of the primary educated subjects could recognise this as a loanword. The lexical item which was reported as nonnative by the lowest proportion of the subjects (44.3 per cent) was *politikacı* (politician). Only 27 per cent of the primary educated subjects could identify it as such.

Between men and women, there is hardly any difference; 60.9 per cent and 61.7 per cent respectively. The age variable showed a well established pattern; recognition of loanwords steadily increased as subjects got younger; close to 67 per cent of the young subjects could recognise the loanwords while over 59 per cent of the adult subjects reported the

[5] The percentages are calculated by collapsing figures (5), (6), and (7) in the scale native-nonnative.

loanwords as nonnative and 51.6 per cent of the old subjects reported likewise. The highest differentiation occurred in the education variable: secondary and tertiary educated subjects showed an almost identical proportion (68.3 per cent and 68.4 per cent respectively) ranked the loanwords as nonnative. The primary educated subjects were clearly different from these two groups; only about 40 per cent of these subjects could rank the loanwords as nonnative. Thus, the hypothesis proposed for the education factor in 0.3 has largely been confirmed.

To sum up, more recent (Indo-European) loanwords could be identified as nonnative almost three times more than earlier (Arabic, Persian and Italian) loanwords; 61.4 per cent and 21.1 per cent. The average proportion by which native Turkish words are rated as native is almost 60 per cent. If a differentiation is made between these native words as traditional words and neologisms, the proportion of identification of nine neologisms as native is lower than that for the four traditional words; 55.5 per cent and 69.8 per cent respectively.

These findings generally reflect the findings of Bookless (1977); the majority of subjects were able to identify English loanwords in Spanish. Also, the ability to identify loanwords was associated with factors such as higher education, and younger age (among others) (2.5). The role of gender in the identification and comprehension of loanwords was non-significant in this study, as was the case for Bookless (1977) and Sajavaara (1986). Further, as Sajavaara (1986) found in regard to the comprehension of English loanwords in Finnish, the comprehension of Indo-European loanwords in Turkish is rather low; these loanwords are the most difficult to understand (7.1.3).

## 7.4 Elegance[6]

Integration of lexical items into one's vocabulary is considerably influenced by the way they are psychologically perceived in terms of positive and negative feelings. The scale elegant-rough was designed to elicit data for this purpose. Now each of the three groups of words is examined in turn.

### 7.4.1 Traditional Words

Table 10 indicates that close to 58 per cent of all subjects ranked the traditional words as elegant. The combination of female, adult, and primary educated subjects reported the elegance of these words at the highest proportion. Of these three groups, in actual speech, only primary educated subjects scored the highest percentage. The groups that reported the lowest percentages for the elegant ranking of the traditional words are male, young, and secondary educated; only young subjects among these three groups used the least number of traditional words in actual speech (4.1.1).

As for individual lexical items, *güle güle* (bye bye) is the word which was indicated as elegant by the highest proportion of the subjects (83.5 per cent), while *talebe* (student) was given the lowest proportion of elegance (36.6 per cent). The other four lexical items that follow *talebe* in lower proportions for elegance are *imtihan* (exam), *yokuş* (uphill), *mülakat* (interview), and *araba* (car). Of these, *talebe* (student), *imtihan* (exam), and *mülakat* (interview) were predicted to drop out of use in the longer term on the basis of infrequent occurrence relative to their counterparts (4.3.2). Given the role of elegance in the use of lexical items and the findings

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[6] The percentages presented in the tables of this section are calculated by collapsing figures (1), (2), and (3) in the scale elegant-rough.

obtained in this section, these three traditional words are most likely to discontinued in use in the long term.

Table 10: Reporting of Traditional Words as Elegant by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *güle güle* | 79.7 | 90.6 | 76.2 | 88.5 | 91.3 | 86.4 | 81.8 | 83.0 | 83.5 |
| *hayal* | 84.7 | 71.9 | 81.0 | 80.8 | 78.3 | 86.4 | 77.3 | 78.7 | 80.2 |
| *gecelik* | 88.3 | 62.5 | 83.7 | 76.9 | 73.9 | 77.3 | 73.9 | 83.0 | 79.3 |
| *şehir* | 80.0 | 57.6 | 72.1 | 76.9 | 66.7 | 78.3 | 72.7 | 68.8 | 72.0 |
| *hikaye* | 76.7 | 57.6 | 72.1 | 81.5 | 52.2 | 69.6 | 78.3 | 66.0 | 70.0 |
| *cevap* | 76.7 | 57.6 | 65.1 | 84.6 | 62.5 | 82.6 | 68.2 | 64.6 | 69.9 |
| *delil* | 67.8 | 61.3 | 70.7 | 69.2 | 52.2 | 61.9 | 71.4 | 64.6 | 65.6 |
| *hakim* | 65.0 | 46.9 | 58.1 | 69.2 | 47.8 | 63.6 | 43.4 | 63.8 | 58.7 |
| *netice* | 54.2 | 62.5 | 54.8 | 61.5 | 56.5 | 81.8 | 45.4 | 51.1 | 57.1 |
| *siyasetçi* | 58.3 | 50.0 | 60.5 | 57.8 | 43.5 | 63.6 | 47.8 | 55.3 | 55.4 |
| *muayenehane* | 55.0 | 53.1 | 46.5 | 50.0 | 73.9 | 68.2 | 47.8 | 51.1 | 54.3 |
| *beraat etmek* | 47.5 | 50.0 | 47.6 | 53.8 | 43.4 | 63.6 | 36.4 | 46.8 | 50.5 |
| *lokanta* | 50.8 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 46.2 | 56.5 | 72.7 | 36.4 | 46.8 | 50.5 |
| *şahit* | 56.9 | 37.5 | 51.2 | 60.0 | 36.4 | 59.1 | 38.1 | 51.1 | 50.0 |
| *cankurtaran* | 43.3 | 62.5 | 40.5 | 53.8 | 62.5 | 61.9 | 34.8 | 52.1 | 50.0 |
| *araba* | 52.5 | 33.3 | 37.2 | 55.6 | 83.3 | 56.5 | 43.5 | 41.7 | 45.7 |
| *mülakat* | 52.5 | 56.3 | 38.1 | 42.3 | 56.5 | 59.1 | 18.2 | 48.9 | 44.0 |
| *yokuş* | 45.9 | 37.5 | 37.2 | 50.0 | 45.8 | 50.0 | 39.1 | 41.7 | 43.0 |
| *imtihan* | 42.6 | 42.4 | 39.5 | 44.4 | 45.8 | 65.2 | 47.8 | 29.2 | 42.6 |
| *talebe* | 36.7 | 36.4 | 18.6 | 46.2 | 58.3 | 77.3 | 26.1 | 22.9 | 36.6 |
| MEAN | 60.8 | 53.9 | 55.0 | 62.5 | 59.4 | 69.3 | 51.4 | 55.6 | **57.8** |

### 7.4.2 Neologisms

As Table 11 indicates, the neologisms were ranked as elegant by about 65 per cent of subjects. In spite of the fact that these words were regarded as more elegant than traditional words, the difference between these two groups of words is not substantial.

Table 11: Reporting of Neologisms as Elegant by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *öğrenci* | 91.5 | 71.9 | 79.1 | 88.5 | 86.4 | 77.3 | 86.4 | 85.1 | 83.6 |
| *sınav* | 79.7 | 62.5 | 72.1 | 80.8 | 68.2 | 77.3 | 81.8 | 68.1 | 73.7 |
| *öykü* | 74.6 | 59.4 | 65.1 | 65.4 | 81.8 | 72.7 | 68.2 | 68.1 | 69.3 |
| *sonuç* | 72.4 | 63.3 | 58.5 | 72.0 | 86.4 | 86.4 | 61.9 | 64.4 | 69.3 |
| *tanık* | 70.7 | 65.6 | 59.5 | 84.6 | 68.2 | 81.8 | 71.4 | 61.7 | 68.9 |
| *kent* | 71.2 | 56.3 | 62.8 | 57.8 | 81.8 | 81.8 | 61.2 | 57.4 | 65.9 |
| *düş* | 68.4 | 53.3 | 70.0 | 60.0 | 54.5 | 61.9 | 61.9 | 64.4 | 63.2 |
| *yanıt* | 63.8 | 53.1 | 59.5 | 53.8 | 68.2 | 72.7 | 61.9 | 53.2 | 60.0 |
| *yargıç* | 67.1 | 43.8 | 48.8 | 72.0 | 59.1 | 77.3 | 61.9 | 46.7 | 58.0 |
| *kanıt* | 55.2 | 46.9 | 45.2 | 69.2 | 45.5 | 68.2 | 47.6 | 46.8 | 52.2 |
| *aklanmak* | 53.4 | 40.0 | 36.6 | 52.0 | 68.2 | 50.0 | 38.1 | 53.3 | 48.9 |
| MEAN | 69.8 | 56.0 | 59.7 | 68.7 | 69.8 | 73.4 | 63.8 | 60.8 | **64.8** |

For speaker characteristics, the groups that reported the neologisms as elegant at the highest proportions are female, old, also adult, and primary educated. Compared with their performances in actual use of neologisms, only female subjects recorded the highest actual use (4.1). Further, the lowest ranking of neologisms as elegant was obtained from the combination of male, young, and tertiary educated groups, although young and tertiary subjects used the highest proportion of neologisms in actual use (4.1.1). Therefore, there is no correlation between ranking neologisms as elegant and using them more frequently in actual speech.

The five lexical items which were ranked as more elegant than others in Table 11 are *öğrenci* (student), *sınav* (exam), *tanık* (witness) , *öykü* (story), and *sonuç* (result) in the order of ranking. *Öğrenci* (student), *sınav* (exam) and

*sonuç* (result) are already being used more frequently than their counterparts (4.1). The others, however, are being used less frequently. The prediction, made in 4.2.3, that these two words would gain a higher rate of usage appears to receive support by the finding that they are regarded as highly elegant.

### 7.4.3 Loanwords

Among the speaker groups, female, adult, and primary educated subjects ranked the loanwords as elegant at the highest proportions (Table 12); these same groups (except for old subjects) ranked the neologisms as elegant at the highest proportions. The combination of male, young, and tertiary educated groups who ranked neologisms as elegant at the lower proportions likewise ranked the loanwords at the lowest proportions.

As far as the individual items are concerned, the four lexical items which were indicated as most elegant are *restoran* (restaurant), *klinik* (clinic), *otomobil* (car), and *pijama* (nightgown). The first three words were used a lot less frequently than their counterparts in actual use (4.1). However, the prediction, made in 4.2.3, was that they would continue to be used at higher proportions is confirmed as they were ranked quite high in the elegance scale.

The mean for the reporting of loanwords as elegant is close to 56 per cent. Compared with the elegance ranking of traditional words (57.8 per cent) and neologisms (64.8 per cent), the loanwords are rated as the least elegant group of words. However, the difference between the three groups is not substantial. The hypothesis put forward in 0.3 regarding the three groups of words is that traditional words are less elegant than neologisms and loanwords. In view of the these results, the hypothesis is not confirmed.

Table 12: Reporting of Loanwords as Elegant by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *restoran* | 69.5 | 62.5 | 58.1 | 76.9 | 72.7 | 90.9 | 54.5 | 61.7 | 67.1 |
| *klinik* | 63.8 | 56.4 | 61.9 | 65.4 | 59.1 | 81.8 | 61.9 | 53.2 | 62.9 |
| *ambulans* | 58.6 | 56.3 | 50.0 | 69.2 | 59.1 | 86.4 | 47.6 | 48.9 | 57.8 |
| *röportaj* | 59.3 | 53.3 | 54.8 | 60.0 | 59.1 | 72.7 | 52.4 | 52.2 | 57.3 |
| *bay bay* | 41.4 | 46.7 | 31.7 | 44.0 | 63.6 | 81.8 | 38.1 | 26.7 | 43.2 |
| *pijama* | 67.2 | 50.0 | 56.1 | 72.0 | 63.6 | 77.3 | 61.9 | 53.3 | 61.4 |
| *otomobil* | 61.0 | 59.4 | 55.8 | 57.7 | 72.7 | 77.3 | 54.5 | 55.3 | 62.6 |
| *rampa* | 34.5 | 37.5 | 28.6 | 53.8 | 27.3 | 50.0 | 33.3 | 29.8 | 35.6 |
| *politikacı* | 62.1 | 53.3 | 53.7 | 68.0 | 40.9 | 63.6 | 42.9 | 55.6 | 54.6 |
| MEAN | 57.7 | 52.8 | 50.1 | 63.0 | 57.6 | 75.8 | 49.7 | 48.5 | **55.8** |

### 7.5 Rural-Urban[7]

Neologisms were disseminated by means of mainly radio and press media, which were available to people living in urban areas in the 1930s through to the 1960s (1.5.6). Neologisms and loanwords are disseminated and take root first in urban areas. This scale was designed to reveal information as to whether these groups of words are associated with urban life.

#### 7.5.1 Traditional Words

Table 13 shows the data obtained for traditional words. The overall mean for the urbanness of the traditional words is close to 35 per cent. The four items

[7] The percentages in the tables of this section are calculated by collapsing figures (5), (6), and (7) of the scale rural-urban for urbanness.

which were ranked as urban at the highest proportions are *mülakat* (interview), *siyasetçi* (politician), *netice* (result), and *delil* (evidence) in the order of higher ranking, whereas *yokuş* (uphill), *talebe* (student), *şahit* (witness), *araba* (car) were ranked as the least urban traditional words. It is interesting to find *araba* (car) in this list; in actual speech, it was used by 92 subjects (87.5 per cent) as opposed to its loanword alternative *otomobil* (car), which was used only by 5 subjects.

Table 13: Reporting of Traditional Words as Urban by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | Education | | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *mülakat* | 62.7 | 56.3 | 66.7 | 53.8 | 56.5 | 40.9 | 59.1 | 70.2 | 60.4 |
| *siyasetçi* | 55.0 | 59.4 | 62.8 | 50.0 | 56.9 | 54.5 | 60.9 | 55.3 | 56.1 |
| *netice* | 54.2 | 46.9 | 61.9 | 38.5 | 47.8 | 40.9 | 50.0 | 57.4 | 51.6 |
| *delil* | 52.5 | 45.2 | 53.7 | 46.2 | 52.2 | 42.9 | 57.1 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| *beraat etmek* | 49.2 | 46.9 | 57.1 | 42.3 | 39.1 | 27.3 | 68.2 | 48.9 | 48.4 |
| *muayenehane* | 48.3 | 34.4 | 51.2 | 42.3 | 30.4 | 27.3 | 52.2 | 46.8 | 43.5 |
| *hikaye* | 43.3 | 27.3 | 39.5 | 33.3 | 39.1 | 30.4 | 30.4 | 44.7 | 39.8 |
| *hayal* | 45.8 | 31.3 | 45.2 | 34.6 | 39.1 | 27.3 | 45.5 | 44.7 | 39.6 |
| *gecelik* | 35.0 | 40.6 | 41.9 | 19.2 | 47.8 | 31.8 | 47.8 | 34.0 | 37.0 |
| *şehir* | 38.3 | 30.3 | 39.5 | 23.1 | 41.7 | 34.8 | 31.8 | 37.5 | 35.5 |
| *hakim* | 31.7 | 40.6 | 37.2 | 26.9 | 39.1 | 40.9 | 30.4 | 34.0 | 33.7 |
| *imtihan* | 37.7 | 21.2 | 37.2 | 22.2 | 33.3 | 21.7 | 26.1 | 39.6 | 31.9 |
| *cevap* | 28.3 | 27.3 | 32.6 | 15.4 | 33.3 | 21.7 | 27.3 | 31.3 | 28.0 |
| *cankurtaran* | 26.7 | 28.1 | 26.2 | 15.4 | 41.7 | 28.6 | 21.7 | 29.2 | 27.2 |
| *güle güle* | 25.4 | 25.0 | 28.6 | 11.5 | 34.8 | 22.7 | 18.2 | 29.8 | 25.3 |
| *lokanta* | 25.4 | 21.9 | 26.2 | 11.5 | 34.8 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 21.3 | 24.2 |
| *araba* | 24.6 | 12.1 | 20.9 | 14.8 | 25.0 | 13.0 | 21.7 | 22.9 | 20.2 |
| *şahit* | 22.4 | 3.1 | 16.3 | 16.0 | 13.6 | 9.1 | 9.5 | 21.3 | 15.6 |
| *talebe* | 16.7 | 9.1 | 7.0 | 15.4 | 25.0 | 13.6 | 13.0 | 14.6 | 14.0 |
| *yokuş* | 11.5 | 15.6 | 11.6 | 11.5 | 16.7 | 9.1 | 13.0 | 14.6 | 12.9 |
| MEAN | 36.7 | 31.1 | 38.2 | 27.2 | 37.4 | 26.9 | 35.5 | 37.4 | **34.7** |

Among the speaker groups, male, adult, and primary educated ranked the traditional words as the least urban; 31.1 per cent, 27.2 per cent, and 26.9

per cent respectively. For the age factor, young and old subjects reported very close proportions for the urbanness of traditional words, as is with secondary and tertiary educated subjects in the education factor.

### 7.5.2 Neologisms

Table 14 below gives the data for the 11 neologisms. About 57 per cent of all subjects ranked the 11 neologisms as lexical items used in urban contexts. The speaker groups male, adult, and primary educated ranked the neologisms as urban at the lowest proportions; 54.9 per cent, 47.3 per cent, and 46.5 per cent respectively. The groups which gave the highest proportions are female, young, old, and tertiary educated.

With individual items, *kent* (city) was ranked as urban by the highest proportion of subjects; 75.8 per cent. Interestingly, in the scale native-nonnative, *kent* was ranked as native by the lowest proportion of subjects: 29.7 per cent (7.4.3). Further, *aklanmak* (to get acquitted), which was ranked as urban by the lowest proportion of subjects, was reported in the native-nonnative scale as native by the highest number of subjects. Furthermore, *yanıt* (answer), *yargıç* (judge), and *kanıt* (evidence), which were also ranked urban by high proportions of subjects, were reported in the native-nonnative scale as native by the lowest percentages of subjects. Thus, more often than not, what is ranked highly native is not ranked highly urban and vice versa, implying a inverse relationship between the perceptions of nativeness and urbanness for these subjects.

Table 14: Reporting of Neologisms as Urban by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | | Education | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *kent* | 76.3 | 75.0 | 79.1 | 73.1 | 72.7 | 72.7 | 72.7 | 78.7 | 75.8 |
| *yanıt* | 74.1 | 75.0 | 81.0 | 57.8 | 81.8 | 68.2 | 71.4 | 78.7 | 74.4 |
| *yargıç* | 67.9 | 72.0 | 70.7 | 56.0 | 81.8 | 72.7 | 71.4 | 66.7 | 69.3 |
| *kanıt* | 65.5 | 62.5 | 66.7 | 50.0 | 77.3 | 50.0 | 52.4 | 76.6 | 64.4 |
| *öykü* | 64.4 | 56.3 | 65.1 | 53.8 | 63.6 | 31.8 | 59.1 | 76.6 | 61.5 |
| *öğrenci* | 64.4 | 43.8 | 69.8 | 42.3 | 50.0 | 31.8 | 72.7 | 61.7 | 57.1 |
| *sınav* | 54.2 | 59.4 | 58.1 | 50.0 | 59.1 | 36.4 | 63.6 | 59.6 | 56.0 |
| *tanık* | 58.6 | 50.0 | 54.8 | 57.7 | 54.5 | 31.8 | 61.9 | 63.8 | 55.6 |
| *sonuç* | 46.6 | 33.3 | 46.3 | 32.0 | 45.5 | 45.5 | 52.4 | 35.6 | 42.0 |
| *düş* | 43.9 | 36.7 | 52.5 | 28.0 | 36.4 | 52.5 | 28.0 | 36.4 | 41.4 |
| *aklanmak* | 25.9 | 40.0 | 26.8 | 20.0 | 50.0 | 18.2 | 23.8 | 40.0 | 30.7 |
| MEAN | 58.3 | 54.9 | 61.0 | 47.3 | 61.2 | 46.5 | 57.2 | 61.3 | **57.1** |

### 7.5.3 Loanwords

Table 15 gives the data on loanwords for the scale rural-urban. Close to 70 per cent of all subjects ranked the loanwords as urban; higher than the proportion given for neologisms, with the implication that loanwords are more marked for their urban character than neologisms. The combination of female, young, and tertiary educated groups ranked the loanwords as urban at the highest proportions. These three groups also identified the loanwords as nonnative at the highest proportions (see 7.4.1). Overall, subjects' ability to rank loanwords as urban is higher (69.5 per cent) than their knowledge to identify loanwords as nonnative (61.4 per cent). Therefore, more often than not, there is a positive correlation between the subjects' ability to rank loanwords as urban and their knowledge of loanwords.

Table 15: Reporting of Loanwords as Urban by Speaker Variables

| | Sex | | Age | | Education | | | | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Mean |
| *restoran* | 94.9 | 84.4 | 95.3 | 88.5 | 86.4 | 77.3 | 90.9 | 97.9 | 91.2 |
| *klinik* | 87.9 | 81.3 | 97.6 | 76.9 | 72.7 | 63.6 | 81.0 | 97.9 | 85.6 |
| *röportaj* | 86.4 | 70.0 | 88.1 | 72.0 | 72.7 | 50.0 | 81.0 | 95.7 | 80.9 |
| *bay bay* | 82.8 | 76.7 | 90.2 | 68.0 | 77.3 | 63.6 | 81.0 | 88.9 | 80.7 |
| *otomobil* | 69.5 | 68.8 | 81.4 | 57.7 | 59.1 | 50.0 | 77.3 | 74.5 | 69.2 |
| *ambulans* | 70.7 | 65.6 | 81.0 | 50.0 | 68.2 | 63.6 | 71.4 | 70.2 | 68.6 |
| *rampa* | 58.6 | 53.1 | 57.1 | 65.4 | 36.4 | 54.5 | 52.4 | 59.6 | 56.7 |
| *politikacı* | 51.7 | 43.3 | 51.2 | 44.0 | 50.0 | 40.9 | 57.1 | 48.9 | 48.9 |
| *pijama* | 43.1 | 43.3 | 43.9 | 44.0 | 50.0 | 22.7 | 66.7 | 42.2 | 43.2 |
| MEAN | 71.7 | 65.2 | 76.2 | 62.9 | 63.6 | 54.0 | 73.2 | 75.1 | **69.5** |

The loanword which was ranked as urban by the highest percentage of subjects turned out to be *restoran* (restaurant), which was earlier ranked as the most nonnative lexical item. Further, four other loanwords, *klinik* (clinic), *röportaj* (interview), *bay bay* (bye bye), and *otomobil* (car), which were ranked as urban at a higher percentage than others, were also reported as nonnative at a higher proportion than the rest, except for *ambulans* (ambulance). Thus, more often than not, when a loanword is ranked high for nonnativeness, it is more likely that it will also be ranked high for urbanness.

Summarising, the proportion of the subjects who reported that the loanwords tested were used in urban contexts is 69.5 per cent, while the proportion of the subjects who indicated that neologisms were used in urban contexts is 57.1 per cent, whereas a smaller proportion of subjects

stated that traditional words were used in urban contexts. In view of these figures, the hypothesis, proposed in 0.3, that neologisms and loanwords are more urban than traditional words is confirmed.

### 7.6 Conclusion

This chapter contains a general discussion of the detailed results obtained for the 20 pairs of words in Chapter 6; generalisations have been made for the traditional words, neologisms, and loanwords on their ranking in the five semantic scales employed. The findings included the following; traditional words are less formal, elegant, urban, and more complicated than neologisms. Recent Indo-European loanwords are more complicated, formal, nonnative, urban, and less elegant than traditional words. Neologisms are less complicated, formal, urban, and more elegant than these loanwords. Such loanwords were identified as nonnative by the majority of the subjects whereas Arabic and Persian loanwords could be identified by only a small proportion of subjects.

For speaker groups across the five semantic scales, it is hard to generalise. Identification of native words is most accurately done by women, adult and secondary educated subjects while nonnative words were best judged to be nonnative by young and tertiary educated subjects. Ranking of neologisms and loanwords as simple, informal, elegant, and urban is associated more with women than men. All three groups of words were ranked as rural by male, adult, and primary educated subjects at the highest proportions whereas they were ranked as urban by female, young, and tertiary educated subjects at the highest proportions. Similarly, all three groups of words were reported as more elegant by female, adult, and primary educated subjects, whereas they were reported as rougher by male, young, and secondary educated subjects.

# Chapter 8

# CONCLUSION

## 8.0 Introduction

This thesis contains three types of innovative approaches:

a) it examines the actual and reported usages patterns of traditional words, neologisms and loanwords in lexical variation for the first time in Turkish, taking into account gender, age, and education,

b) it investigates semantic changes by relying on the intuitions of a sample of more than one hundred native speakers,

c) it tries to establish that connotative information about a lexical item may lead to semantic changes in that lexical item.

In this chapter, the findings of the survey are summarised in regard to the theories and hypotheses, as well as the main objectives for this study as set out in 0.2. Last of all, future prospects and possibilities for further research are outlined.

## 8.1 Actual and Reported Use

The hypothesis in regard to speaker variables was that neologisms and loanwords would be used (actually and reportedly) by a higher proportion of female, younger, and higher educated subjects (0.3). The hypothesis is largely confirmed; female, young and tertiary educated subjects used neologisms (actually and reportedly) more often than traditional words while adult and tertiary educated subjects gave the highest proportions for loanwords in both actual and reported use.

Contrary to this hypothesis, traditional words are over-reported compared to both neologisms and loanwords. Fairly predictably, though, a higher proportion of the actual use of traditional words correlates with social characteristics such as older age, lower education, and male gender. With loanwords and neologisms, no clear patterns are discernible for any of the speaker groups.

### 8.2 Semantic Changes and Lexical Variation

Lexical variation has been a widespread phenomenon in Turkish for many decades (1.5.5 as well as 4.1) Given the theory that linguistic change results from linguistic variation (Labov, 1972d), the hypothesis, proposed in 0.3, is that the lexical variation in Turkish has given way to semantic changes between the alternative lexical items, and that these semantic changes are usually one of semantic differentiation. The results appeared to confirm this hypothesis; findings discussed in Chapter 5 indicated that 17 of the 20 lexical pairs studied showed significant semantic differences at least in one meaning they shared. Take, for instance, the pair *şahit-tanık* (witness); the traditional word *şahit* is now more a 'person who is present at the scene of an accident' while the neologism *tanık* is a 'person who gives evidence in a law court', although both items share the same meaning to an extent. Also, *restoran* (restaurant) is a 'food house which sells expensive meals' while *lokanta* (restaurant) is a 'food house which sells cheap meals'. However, the differentiations are not always a complete differentiation; mostly, one meaning is more central for one lexical item than to the other, and some other meaning is more central for the other item in the pair.

The other main hypothesis is that semantic changes are instigated or caused by the way lexical items are sociologically and psychologically perceived by speakers (2.3.1); that is, lexical variation is embedded in the

social setting and behaviour (Labov, 1972d). The hypothesis is neither completely supported nor disconfirmed. The following discussion is based on the results obtained from the five semantic scales. A matching of the 12 lexical pairs which were strongly semantically differentiated (Chapter 5: Table 43) and the 6 lexical pairs which differed significantly between themselves in the majority of the semantic scales (three or more) (Chapter 6) reveals that only four lexical pairs which strongly differentiated semantically also differed in the majority of the scales. These are *şehir-kent* (city), *yokuş-rampa* (uphill), *restoran-lokanta* (restaurant), and *güle güle-bay bay* (bye bye). *Araba-otomobil* (car), which differed significantly in the majority of the scales, had a mild semantic differentiation (Chapter 5: Table 42). The last pair among those which differed in the semantic scales, *talebe-öğrenci* (student), showed no semantic differentiation.

Of the three lexical pairs which did not show any semantic differentiation (5.2.1), *delil-kanıt* (evidence) and *siyasetçi-politikacı* (politician) did not differentiate for any of the semantic scales either, neither significantly nor substantially (The other pair was *talebe-ögrenci* (student), see above). In other words, these two pairs appear to be in free alternation with the same meanings and connotations.

The Prototype semantic theory has been used in the definitions of the lexical items. By having the frequency test for usage across each definition, we were able to ascertain which meaning(s) were the most, more, less, and least central for each item. Thus, the study provided a prototypical structure for each of the 40 lexical items.

### 8.3 Language Attitudes

In order to investigate the long term survival of the competing lexical variants, five semantic scales (simple-complicated, spoken-literary, native-nonnative, elegant-rough, and rural-urban) were employed to discover the attitudes of speakers towards individual lexical items in the three groups of words. The findings in relation to the lexical variables included the following. Traditional words are rated as less formal, elegant, urban and more complicated than neologisms while neologisms are rated as less complicated, formal, urban and more elegant than loanwords. Loanwords, on the other hand, are rated as more complicated, formal, nonnative, urban and less elegant than traditional words.

Based on the assumption that higher scores of elegance, urbanness, simplicity, formality, and (perhaps) nativeness would favour a lexical item, it appears that neologisms are generally preferred to both traditional words and loanwords; traditional words are generally preferred to loanwords. One possible outcome of the persistent negative attitudes toward a lexical item may be that that lexical item drops out of use creating a lexical change (2.3.1). Among the disfavoured lexical items, it appears that the traditional words *talebe* (student), *imtihan* (exam), and *mülakat* (interview) will be out of use in the near future.

### 8.4 Future Prospects

During and after this survey was conducted, it was discovered that a long written questionnaire as well as a tape-recording session was very intimidating for the majority of the participants regardless of age, education and gender. The filling of the questionnaire alone took an average 60 minutes. The narration of the cartoon illustration took no less

than 10 minutes. For reasons of time, no fewer than 15 potential participants left the questionnaire unfinished, in particular toward the end of it. Therefore, it is advisable that a questionnaire should take no more than 30-40 minutes to be completed for successful data elicitation.

A higher number of subjects as well as a larger number of lexical variables could be suggested for future studies of this kind, as well as more age divisions and educational levels. Political and religious convictions, rural-urban, level of income, knowledge of foreign languages and residential history could be added among speaker variables.

The findings pertaining to language attitudes could be helpful for language planners, and others concerned with language, when they have to decide between two near-synonymous lexical items for textbooks, books, newspapers, journals, and so on. Native words have positive sides to them in regard to comprehension and elegance; more use of these words would be an avenue for the promotion of a better communication. When the near-synonyms happen to be of Arabo-Persian and Indo-European origin, the one which is more easy to understand could be decided upon.

The findings of this thesis may be very useful to those who want to examine the sociocultural and ethnographic effects on the choice of variants; the best approach would be from the perspective of who chooses which lexical variant to whom, when, where (in what context), and why. Hymes (1962) and Oksaar (1983) offer an excellent framework for this kind of work. The role of semantic inclusion and exclusion (hyponymic, generic or other relations) on the choice of variants could also be pursued as D. Sankoff et al. (1978) did. Semantic relations between the lexical variants in Turkish may well follow a pattern; research is needed in this area. For this purpose, works by Traugott (1985) and Wilkins (1996, in press) provide the best starting

points. This thesis highlights the need for further research in the above-mentioned areas, to attempt to gain a better understanding of the way language changes socially and psychologically at lexical and semantic levels.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 Original Turkish Questionnaire

**RIZA GÖSTERME *FORMU***

GÜNÜMÜZ TÜRKÇESİNİN KELİMELERİ ÜZERİNE BİR SOSYAL DİLBİLİMİ ÇALIŞMASI

Araştırmacının Adı: Mehmet ÇELİK
Adresi: 12 Dunkeld St Meadow Heights Melbourne 3048, AVUSTRALYA

Bu araştırma Türkçe ile ilgilidir. Araştırmanın amacı, insanların tercih fırsatları olduğunda hangi kelimeleri nasıl seçtiklerini ortaya çıkarmaktır.

Size vereceğimiz bir resimli kitapçığı anlatmanızı isteyeceğiz. Ondan sonra, anket sorularımıza cevaplar vermenizi isteyeceğiz. Çoğunlukla sizden tercihlerinizi yuvarlak içine almanızı isteyeceğiz. Anketi doldurma işlemi 60-80 dakika sürecektir.

Vereceğiniz bilgiler benim doktora proğramımın bir parçası olarak kullanılacaktır. Anket tamamlandıktan sonra, verdiğiniz bilgiler tarafımdan saklanacak ve kimseye gösterilmeyecektir. Adınız kayıtlara geçmeyecek ve sizinle bir daha görüşmek isteğinde bulunulmayacaktır. Verdiğiniz bilgiler bende gizli kalacaktır. Bu anketin yapılması ile ilgili bir şikayetiniz olursa, şu adrese başvurabilirsiniz:

Beşeri Ahlak Komitesi Başkanı
La Trobe Üniversitesi
Bundoora, Melbourne, 3083, AVUSTRALYA
Tel: (03) 479 1443

Bu anketten istediğiniz zaman çekilebileceğiniz gibi verdiğiniz herhangi bir bilginin ortadan kaldırılmasını isteyebilirsiniz.

1- Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum,
2- Anketteki sorulara istediğim gibi karşılık vereceğim ve,
3- Bu ankete katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılanın İmzası:.....

BÖLÜM I.

**A-** Resimli kitabı bir defa gözden geçiriniz ve baş sayfadan başlayarak bize hikayeyi anlatınız.

**B-**Bu hikayeyi anlatırken aşağıda yanyana verilmiş çift kelimelerden hangisini kullandınız? Cevabınız ikisi ise, ikisini de yuvarlak içine alınız.

| | |
|---|---|
| şehir | kent |
| hikaye | öykü |
| araba | otomobil |
| imtihan | sınav |
| talebe | öğrenci |
| cevap | yanıt |
| yokuş | rampa |
| cankurtaran | ambulans |
| muayenehane | klinik |
| hakim | yargıç |
| şahit | tanık |
| delil | kanıt |
| beraat etmek | aklanmak |
| mülakat yapmak | röpörtaj yapmak |
| gecelik | pijama |
| hayal | düş |
| lokanta | restoran |
| siyasetçi | politikacı |
| güle güle | bay bay |
| netice | sonuç |

BÖLÜM II

A-Aşağıdaki kelime çiftleri arasında herhangi bir anlam farkı görüyor musunuz? Cevabınızı yuvarlak içine alınız.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| şehir | kent | Evet/Hayır |
| hikaye | öykü | Evet/Hayır |
| araba | otomobil | Evet/Hayır |
| imtihan | sınav | Evet/Hayır |
| talebe | öğrenci | Evet/Hayır |
| cevap | yanıt | Evet/Hayır |
| yokuş | rampa | Evet/Hayır |
| cankurtaran | ambulans | Evet/Hayır |
| muayenehane | klinik | Evet/Hayır |
| hakim | yargıç | Evet/Hayır |
| şahit | tanık | Evet/Hayır |
| delil | kanıt | Evet/Hayır |
| beraat etmek | aklanmak | Evet/Hayır |
| mülakat etmek | röpörtaj yapmak | Evet/Hayır |
| gecelik | pijama | Evet/Hayır |
| hayal | düş | Evet/Hayır |
| lokanta | restoran | Evet/Hayır |
| siyasetçi | politikacı | Evet/Hayır |
| güle güle | bay bay | Evet/Hayır |
| netice | sonuç | Evet/Hayır |

ÇOKTAN SEÇMELİ TANIMLAR

B. I. Kelimelerin karşısındaki anlamları gözden geçiriniz. Bir kelime, karşısında verilen anlamlarda kullanılıyorsa, yanındaki (a), (b), (c) şıklarından size göre kullanılanlarını yuvarlak içine alınız.

II. Eğer, verilen anlamlardan başka bir anlam biliyorsanız, bunu en son şıkka lütfen yazınız.

III. Yuvarlak içine aldığınız şıkkın karşısındaki kısma geçiniz. Bu anlam size göre hangi sıklıkta kullanılıyorsa ona göre beş sayıdan birini işaretleyiniz. Bir anlamın kullanım sıklığına göre 5, 4, 3, 2, ve 1'den birini yuvarlak içine alınız.

| | | | HİÇ 1 | ÇOK AZ 2 | ARASIRA 3 | SIK SIK 4 | ÇOK SIK 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Örnek: | | | | | | | |
| | Kelime | Anlamları | Anlamın Kullanış Sıklığı | | | | |
| A) | ev | a. Barınak. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir ailenin oturduğu yer. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1. | şehir | a. Büyük yerleşim merkezi, il. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Yaşama rahatlığı iyi kasaba. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Nüfusu daha çok sanayi, ticaret ve yönetimle ilgili işlerde çalışan yerleşim alanı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. | hikaye | a. Bir olayı sözlü anlatma. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Olmuş ya da olabilecek ilginç olayları anlatan düz yazı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Aslı olmayan söz. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | araba | a. Motorsuz tekerlekli kara aracı veya taşıtı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Motorlu, lastikli hızlı taşıt. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Akaryakıtla çalışan ve insan taşıyan taşıt. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. | imtihan | a. Sınama, deneme. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bilgi derecesini ölçme, değerlendirme. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Güç ve direnme gerektiren zor durum. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. İnsanın iyilik ve kötülük bakımından ömür boyu denenmesi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. | şahit | a. Bir olayı gözüyle gören kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Mahkemede bir olayla ilgili gördüğünü anlatan kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Bir mahkemelik davada özel bilgisi istenen uzman. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. | talebe | a. Okula giden çocuk. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Öğretmenden özel ders alan veya dersaneye giden kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Bilgi edinmek isteyen kişi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. | cevap | a. Soruya verilen karşılık. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Yazıya verilen karşılık. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. İhtiyacı karşılama. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | yokuş | a. Yukarı doğru yükselen yer. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Yükselerek devam eden yol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Karadan havaya fırlatılan füzelerin konduğu yer. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Bir gemiye mal yüklenirken kullanılan merdivenin eğimi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. | cankurtaran | a. Hasteneye yaralı ve hasta taşımaya yarayan araç. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir kazada yaralananlara ilk yardım yababilen araç. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Sel ve deprem gibi bir felakette insan kurtaran araç. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. | muayenehane | a. Hasta bakılan yer. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Hastanelerde kulak-burun-boğaz gibi bölümlerin adı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Özel doktor yazıhanesi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. | hakim | a. Etkili, sözünü geçiren. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Uyuşulmayan işlerde kanunları açıklığa kavuşturan yetkili kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Haklı ile haksızı ayıran kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Yüksekten bakınca manzarası olan. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | mülakat yapmak | a. Buluşmak, görüşmek. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir gazetecinin gördüklerini anlatması. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Bir gazetecinin sorulu-cevaplı bilgi alması. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Bir radyo habercisinin inceleme ve araştırma ile proğram yapması. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. İşe alınacak kişilerle yapılan karşılıklı görüşme. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. | gecelik | a. Yatakta giyilen giysi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Yatakta giyilen iki parça kıyafet. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Tek parça uyku elbisesi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. | delil | a. Herhangi bir şeyi ortaya çıkarmaya yarayan şey, emare, belirti. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir şeyin gerçekliği konusunda fikir verici ipucu. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Anlaşmazlık konusu olan şeyde hakimin fikrini dayandırdığı şey. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. İnsanı aradığı gerçeğe ulaştıran iz. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. Kılavuz. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | f. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. | hayal | a. İnsanın kafasında canlandırdığı şey. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Gerçek olmayan, hülya. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Olması istenen şey, ümit. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

16. lokanta

a. Pahalı yemek satılan aşevi. 1 2 3 4 5
b. Ucuz yemek satılan aşçı dükkanı. 1 2 3 4 5
c. Kazanç amacıyla açılmış, yemekleri garsonların getirdiği aşevi. 1 2 3 4 5
d. Garsonların olmadığı aşevi. 1 2 3 4 5
e. ..... 1 2 3 4 5

17. siyasetçi

a. Politika ile uğraşan kimse. 1 2 3 4 5
b. İşini ustaca yapan insan. 1 2 3 4 5
c. İnsanlara tutamayacağı sözü verip aldatan kimse. 1 2 3 4 5
d. ..... 1 2 3 4 5

18. güle güle

a. Gülerek. 1 2 3 4 5
b. Uğurlamak için kullanılan seslenme sözü. 1 2 3 4 5
c. Birisinden ayrılırken söylenen söz. 1 2 3 4 5
d. Üzüntüsüz ve gönül rahatlığı ile. 1 2 3 4 5
e. ..... 1 2 3 4 5

19. netice

a. Bir olaydan çıkan durum. 1 2 3 4 5
b. Yapılan bir işin sonunda ortaya çıkan faydalı veya zararlı şey. 1 2 3 4 5
c. Bir sözün veya yazının bitiş kısmı. 1 2 3 4 5
d. ..... 1 2 3 4 5

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20. | beraat etmek | a. Temize çıkma, arınma. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir suçlama sonunda suçsuz çıkmak. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Bir kimsenin görevli olduğu bir dönemi açıkça ortaya koyması. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. | kent | a. Büyük yerleşim merkezi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Yaşama rahatlığı iyi kasaba . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Sanayi, ticaret ve yönetim merkezi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. | öykü | a. Söz ile anlatılan olay. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Gerçek ya da tasarlanmış ilginç olayların yazıyla anlatımı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Doğru olmayan, uydurma söz. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. | otomobil | a. Motorsuz kara aracı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Motorla çalışan, lastikli süratli taşıt. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Akaryakıtla çalışan ve insan taşıyan taşıt. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. | sınav | a. Deneme. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bilgi derecesini anlamak amacıyla yapılan yoklama. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Direnme ve güç gerektiren zor durum. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. İnsanın iyilik ve kötülük açısından denenmesi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25. | tanık | a. Bir olay olurken orada bulunan şahıs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Dava konusu bir olayı gören ve mahkemede ifade veren kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Mahkemelik olmuş bir olayla ilgili uzman bilgisi olan kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 26. | öğrenci | a. Okula giden çocuk. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Öğretmenden özel ders alan veya kursa giden kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Devamlı okuyan ve bilgi edinen kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. | yanıt | a. Sorulan bir şeye verilen karşılık. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir kimseye veya yazıya verilen karşılık. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Bir ihtiyacı karşılama. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. | rampa | a. Bir arazinin yukarı doğru yükselen kısmı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Yükselerek devam eden kara veya demir yolu. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Havaya fırlatılan füzeli mermilerin yerleştirildiği eğik destek. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Bir gemiyle başka bir şeyin birbirine değecek şekilde yanaşmaları. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. | ambulans | a. Acil hastaları hastaneye götüren taşıt. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. İçinde ilk yardım aletleri olan hastane aracı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Yer kayması ve göçük gibi durumlarda insan kurtaran araç. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30. | klinik | a. Hasta bakılan yer. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Hastanelerde çesitli hastalıkara bakılan kısımların adı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Doktorların özel hasta gördükleri yazıhane. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. | yargıç | a. Etkili, sözünü geçiren. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Yargı yetkisini kullanarak, yasaya aykırı işlerde davranışlarda veya uyuşulmayan işlerde adaleti gerçekleştirmekle görevli kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Haklı ile haksızı ayıran şahıs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Yüksekten bakınca manzaralı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. | röportaj yapmak | a. Buluşmak, görüşmek. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir gazetecinin gördüklerini gazetede anlatması. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Bir gazetecinin birisiyle yaptığı sorulu-cevaplı konuşma. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Bir TV habercisinin araştırma ve inceleme ile proğram hazırlaması. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. İşe alınacak kişileri sorgulama. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | f. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33. | pijama | a. Yatak giysisi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Uyurken giyilen ceket ve pantolon takımı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Tek parça yatak elbisesi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34. | kanıt | a. Herhangi bir şeyi ortaya çıkarmaya yarayan şey. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir şeyin gerçekliği konusunda fikir verici belge. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Anlaşmazlık konusu olan şeyde hakimin fikrini dayandırdığı şey. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. İnsanı gerçeğe ulaştıran iz. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. Kılavuz. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | f. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. | düş | a. Gündüzün zihinde beliren olaylar, düşünceler. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Gerçek olmayan şey. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Gerçekleşmesi istenen şey, umut. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. | restoran | a. Pahalı yemek satılan aşçı dükkanı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Ucuz yemek satılan aşevi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Garsonların hizmet ettiği aşevi | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Müşterilerin yemeği kendi aldıkları yemek yenilen yer. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. | politikacı | a. Politika ile uğraşan kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. İşini ustaca yürütebilen kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Karşısındakinin duygularını okşayarak çıkar sağlayan kimse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 38. | bay bay | a. Gülerek. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Birisini uğurlarken söylenen söz. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Birisinden ayrılırken söylenen söz. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Üzüntüsüz ve gönül rahatlığı ile. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 39. | sonuç | a. Bir işten çıkan durum. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Bir işin sonunda elde edilen iyi ya da kötü şey. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Yazının veya sözün bitim bölümü. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. | aklanmak | a. Yüzü ak çıkmak. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Birinin bir suçtan dolayı suçsuz bulunması. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Derneklerde veya ortaklıklarda görevli kurulları o çalışma dönemi için sorumluluktan kurtarmak. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

BÖLÜM III - Dile Karşı Tutum

Aşağıdaki kelimeleri verilen beş ölçüye göre değerlendireceksiniz. Bu beş ölçü rakamların iki tarafında zıt kutuplar olarak verilmiştir. Bir kelime anlamı bakımından basit veya karmaşık olabilir. Basitse, 1, 2, 3 sayılarından birini basitlik derecesine göre yuvarlak içine alınız. Çok basitse 1, orta basitse 2, az basitse 3, ne basit karmaşık ise 4 ve çok karmaşık ise 7, orta karmaşıksa 6, az karmaşıksa 5'i yuvarlak içine alınız. Aynı işlemi diğer ölçülere göre de lütfen yapınız.

ÖRNEK:

DOLDURUŞA GELMEK

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

ŞEHİR

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

HİKAYE

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

ARABA

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

İMTİHAN

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

TALEBE

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

CEVAP

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

YOKUŞ

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

DELİL

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

CANKURTARAN

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

MUAYENEHANE

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

HAKİM

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

GECELİK

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

SİYASETÇİ

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

HAYAL

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

BERAAT ETMEK

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

GÜLE GÜLE

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

LOKANTA

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

MÜLAKAT YAPMAK

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

NETİCE

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

| | | | | RESTORAN | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |
| | | | | ŞAHİT | | | | |
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |
| | | | | KENT | | | | |
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |
| | | | | ÖYKÜ | | | | |
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |
| | | | | OTOMOBİL | | | | |
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |
| | | | | SINAV | | | | |
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |
| | | | | ÖĞRENCİ | | | | |
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

RAMPA

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

YANIT

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

AMBULANS

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

YARGIÇ

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

KLİNİK

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

TANIK

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

KANIT

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

RÖPORTAJ YAPMAK

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

AKLANMAK

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

PİJAMA

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

DÜŞ

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

POLİTİKACI

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

BAY BAY

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

SONUÇ

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| basit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | karmaşık |
| konuşma dili | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yazı dili |
| yerli | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | yabancı |
| kibar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | kaba |
| köylü | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | şehirli |

## Appendix 2 English Version of the Questionnaire

### CONSENT *FORM*

A QUANTITATIVE SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LEXICAL VARIATION IN TURKISH

Name of Researcher: Mehmet ÇELIK
Address: 12 Dunkeld St Meadow Heights Melbourne 3048, AUSTRALIA

This study is about Turkish. The aim of the researcher is to find out preference patterns on the use of near-synonyms in contemporary Turkish.

You will be asked to narrate a story illustrated in a cartoon book. Then, you will be asked to answer the questions in the questionnaire, mainly by circling one of the given options. It will take you somewhere between 60-80 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

The information you will offer will be used as part of the postgraduate work I am currently undertaking. After the completion of the survey, the information you will provide shall be secured safely by myself, allowing access only to myself and my supervisor. Your name and address will not be recorded and you will not be contacted again.

You may contact the following body if you may have complaints about the application of this survey:

The Chairperson
Human Ethics Committee
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Melbourne, 3083, AUSTRALIA
Ph: (03) 479 1443

You may not only withdraw from this survey at any stage but also may ask that any information you give be destroyed.

1- I have read the information above,
2- I will respond the questions in the survey as I like and,
3- I accept to participate in this survey.

Signature of the Participant:.....

PART I.

**A-** Please go through the illustrated cartoon book once. Try to narrate what you think is going on in the drawing as you go page by page.

**B-** When you were telling the story illustrated in the book, which one of the pairs of words given below have you used? If your answer is both, circle both please. (Only the underlined were present in the actual survey)

| (English) | (Traditional) | (Neologism+Loanword) |
|---|---|---|
| city | şehir | kent |
| story | hikaye | öykü |
| car | araba | otomobil |
| exam | imtihan | sınav |
| student | talebe | öğrenci |
| answer | cevap | yanıt |
| uphill | yokuş | rampa |
| ambulance | cankurtaran | ambulans |
| clinic | muayenehane | klinik |
| judge | hakim | yargıç |
| witness | şahit | tanık |
| evidence | delil | kanıt |
| to get acquitted | beraat etmek | aklanmak |
| to interview | mülakat yapmak | röpörtaj yapmak |
| nightgown | gecelik | pijama |
| dream | hayal | düş |
| restaurant | lokanta | restoran |
| politician | siyasetçi | politikacı |
| goodbye | güle güle | bay bay |
| result | netice | sonuç |

PART II

A- Do you observe a semantic difference between the following pairs of words? Please circle your answer.

| (English) | (Traditional) | (Neologism/Loanword) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| city | şehir | kent | Yes/No |
| story | hikaye | öykü | Yes/No |
| car | araba | otomobil | Yes/No |
| exam | imtihan | sınav | Yes/No |
| student | talebe | öğrenci | Yes/No |
| answer | cevap | yanıt | Yes/No |
| uphill | yokuş | rampa | Yes/No |
| ambulance | cankurtaran | ambulans | Yes/No |
| clinic | muayenehane | klinik | Yes/No |
| judge | hakim | yargıç | Yes/No |
| witness | şahit | tanık | Yes/No |
| evidence | delil | kanıt | Yes/No |
| to get acquitted | beraat etmek | aklanmak | Yes/No |
| to interview | mülakat yapmak | röpörtaj yapmak | Yes/No |
| nightgown | gecelik | pijama | Yes/No |
| dream | hayal | düş | Yes/No |
| restaurant | lokanta | restoran | Yes/No |
| politician | siyasetçi | politikacı | Yes/No |
| goodbye | güle güle | bay bay | Yes/No |
| result | netice | sonuç | Yes/No |

MULTIPLE CHOICE DEFINITIONS

B. I. Please examine the definitions given across the words. If a word is used (by you) in any of the definitions, circle the choice(s) (a), (b), (c), or (d).

II. If the word is used for a meaning other than the given ones, please specify in the space provided in the last option.

III. Now, please go across the options you have chosen. Out of the five figures '5', '4', '3', '2', and '1', circle one which describes the frequency with which you use that word. The higher the figure, the more frequent the usage.

| NEVER | SELDOM | SOMETIMES | FREQUENTLY | VERY FREQUENTLY |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Example:

| Word | Meanings | Frequency of Usage |
|---|---|---|
| house | a. Place where a family lives. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| | b. Commercial building. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| | c. ..... | 1 2 3 4 5 |

---

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | city | a. Large settlement area, provincial town. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| | | b. A town with good living conditions. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| | | c. A centre of industry, commerce, and administration. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 2. | story | a. Oral narration of an incident. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| | | b. A piece of literary writing of interesting past and imaginary events. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| | | c. Untrue oral statement. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 2 3 4 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | car | a. Wheeled vehicle without engine. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Wheeled fast vehicle with engine. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Vehicle which runs on petrol to carry people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. | examination | a. Testing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Examining someone's knowledge. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. A trying situation which requires resisting and courage. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. A testing of human beings in terms of good and bad deeds. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. | witness | a. Person who is present at the scene of an incident. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. person who gives evidence in law court in relation to an incident s/he saw. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. | student | a. Child who attends school. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Person who receives private tuition from either a teacher or institution. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Person who pursues knowledge. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. | answer | a. Response to a question. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Response to a query in writing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Meeting of a demand. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | uphill | a. Ascending land. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Ascending road. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Sloping area where land-to-air missiles are located. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Sloping way between ships and land. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. | ambulance | a. Vehicle for carrying injured and ill people to hospital. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Vehicle capable of providing first-aid for injured people at the scene. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Vehicle used in saving lives in natural disasters. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. | clinic | a. A place where the sick are provided with medical treatment. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Specialised section of a hospital such as eye-and-ear. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. A private office of a doctor. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. | judge | a. Influential person. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Person with legal authority to decide on disputed cases in a law court. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Person who determines who is right and wrong. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. One that has a good view from above. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. | interview | a. Act of meeting with someone. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. An account of a journalist on what s/he saw. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. A journalist's getting information by asking questions. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. The making of a program by a TV or radio journalist who does it by researching. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. An employer's meeting with prospective employees. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | nightgown | a. Dress for bed. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Two-piece dress worn in bed. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. One-piece sleeping dress. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. | evidence | a. A sign that brings something to light. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. A clue or document which reveals whether something is true or not. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. The thing on which a judge bases his decision in a matter of dispute. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. A trace which leads someone to truth. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. Guide. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | f. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. | dream | a. Conception of an idea. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Unreal (expectation). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Mental picture of a wish. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. | restaurant | a. Food house which sells expensive food. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Food house which sells cheap food. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Food house in which waiters serve customers. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Self-serve food house. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. | politician | a. Person who is involved in politics. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Person who is skilful in his/her dealings. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Person who deceives others by giving false political promises. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. | bye bye | a. In a grinning manner. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. An expression used when someone is seen of. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. An expression used by someone who departs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. Free from anxiety. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | e. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. | result | a. Outcome of an event or incident. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. Positive consequence after long hard work. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. Ending part of a speech or writing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. | to get acquitted | a. To turn out to be morally intact. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | b. To be cleared off following a legal charge. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | c. To be relieved of a responsibility (of a board) by giving accurate and persuasive explanation before members (of an association) as to the dealings they carried out during their term in office. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | d. ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

P.S. The remaining 20 lexical items are not repeated because they have the same definitions in a slightly altered wordings.

PART III - Language Attitudes

Please evaluate the following words on five different scales over a seven-point scale. These scales are given as two opposites poles on the same line. The numbers in between indicate the relative degree of association of the scale with the word. Number '4' being neutral, the closer the number to a word, the more it is associated with that word. Take the first scale for instance, if you think that the word 'city' is simple to understand, one of '1', '2', '3' will be circled depending on the degree of simplicity; circle '1' if it is too simple, '2' very simple, and '3' simple enough. The same procedure applies to the other side. With the other scales, you will evaluate each lexical item for formality, nativeness, elegance, and urbanness, respectively.

EXAMPLE:

STORY

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| simple | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | complicated |
| spoken | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | literary |
| native | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | foreign |
| elegant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | rough |
| rural | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | urban |

---

CITY

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| simple | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | complicated |
| spoken | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | literary |
| native | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | foreign |
| elegant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | rough |
| rural | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | urban |

EXAM

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| simple | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | complicated |
| spoken | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | literary |
| native | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | foreign |
| elegant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | rough |
| rural | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | urban |

CAR

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| simple | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | complicated |
| spoken | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | literary |
| native | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | foreign |
| elegant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | rough |
| rural | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | urban |

Note: The rest of the lexical items had the same scale pattern.

## Appendix 3: List of Pairs Marked Semantically Different

| Pairs | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Prim | Secon | Tert | Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hayal-düş | 30.8 | 35.0 | 33.3 | 23.3 | 40.0 | 32.0 | 26.6 | 36.0 | 34.3 |
| beraat etmek-aklanmak | 18.5 | 42.5 | 20.0 | 26.6 | 40.0 | 36.0 | 26.6 | 24.0 | 30.2 |
| hakim-yargıç | 23.1 | 15.0 | 22.2 | 16.6 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 21.2 |
| hikaye-öykü | 16.9 | 17.5 | 13.3 | 23.3 | 16.6 | 16.0 | 16.6 | 18.0 | 19.4 |
| şehir-kent | 12.3 | 20.0 | 13.3 | 13.3 | 20.0 | 16.0 | 16.6 | 14.0 | 16.3 |
| şahit-tanık | 7.7 | 20.0 | 11.1 | 6.6 | 20.0 | 16.0 | 6.6 | 14.0 | 13.3 |
| cevap-yanıt | 6.2 | 17.5 | 2.2 | 10.0 | 23.3 | 12.0 | 13.3 | 8.0 | 11.1 |
| delil-kanıt | 10.8 | 7.5 | 8.8 | 6.6 | 13.3 | 8.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 10.4 |
| netice-sonuç | 9.2 | 7.5 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 13.3 | 16.0 | 6.6 | 6.0 | 9.0 |
| talebe-öğrenci | 7.7 | 5.0 | 4.4 | 10.0 | 6.6 | 16.0 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| imtihan-sınav | 4.6 | 7.5 | 2.2 | 6.6 | 10.0 | 12.0 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 6.0 |
| gecelik-pijama | 55.4 | 32.5 | 60.0 | 30.0 | 43.3 | 36.0 | 43.3 | 54.0 | 54.5 |
| mülakat-röportaj | 47.7 | 37.5 | 48.8 | 46.6 | 33.3 | 44.0 | 43.3 | 44.0 | 45.1 |
| lokanta-restoran | 32.3 | 32.5 | 24.4 | 43.3 | 33.3 | 48.0 | 26.6 | 28.0 | 37.4 |
| muayenehane-klinik | 33.8 | 25.0 | 31.1 | 26.6 | 33.3 | 32.0 | 16.6 | 38.0 | 35.6 |
| güle güle-bay bay | 30.8 | 32.5 | 28.8 | 30.0 | 36.6 | 32.0 | 23.3 | 36.0 | 33.7 |
| araba-otomobil | 18.5 | 37.5 | 15.5 | 36.6 | 30.0 | 16.0 | 26.6 | 30.0 | 26.7 |
| yokuş-rampa | 20.0 | 22.5 | 24.4 | 10.0 | 26.6 | 16.0 | 16.6 | 26.0 | 23.4 |
| cankurtaran-ambulans | 20.0 | 17.5 | 20.0 | 23.3 | 13.3 | 20.0 | 13.3 | 22.0 | 19.4 |
| siyasetçi-politikacı | 10.8 | 22.5 | 4.4 | 20.0 | 26.6 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 10.0 | 16.5 |

**Appendix 4a: List of Traditional Word-Neologism Pairs for Actual Use by Dependent Variables**

| Pairs | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Prim | Secon | Tert | **Mean** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| şehir | 53.8 | 47.5 | 46.6 | 56.6 | 53.3 | 60.0 | 53.3 | 46.0 | 51.4 |
| kent | 6.2 | 17.5 | 6.6 | 10.0 | 16.6 | 8.0 | 13.3 | 10.0 | 10.5 |
| hikaye | 9.2 | 12.5 | 15.5 | 10.0 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 10.0 | 14.0 | 10.5 |
| öykü | 3.1 | 0 | 4.4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4.0 | 1.9 |
| imtihan | 1.5 | 12.5 | 4.4 | 0 | 13.3 | 8.0 | 3.3 | 6.0 | 5.7 |
| sınav | 63.1 | 40.0 | 66.6 | 43.3 | 46.6 | 44.0 | 43.3 | 66.0 | 54.3 |
| talebe | 3.1 | 7.5 | 2.2 | 3.3 | 10.0 | 12.0 | 0 | 4.0 | 4.8 |
| öğrenci | 83.1 | 72.5 | 84.4 | 80.0 | 70.0 | 52.0 | 86.6 | 88.0 | 79.0 |
| cevap | 41.5 | 40.0 | 37.7 | 43.3 | 43.3 | 48.0 | 43.3 | 36.0 | 41.0 |
| yanıt | 3.8 | 2.5 | 4.4 | 0 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 3.0 | 2.9 |
| hakim | 64.6 | 67.5 | 64.4 | 76.6 | 56.6 | 64.0 | 73.3 | 62.0 | 65.7 |
| yargıç | 16.9 | 12.5 | 15.5 | 10.0 | 20.0 | 16.0 | 6.6 | 20.0 | 15.2 |
| şahit | 21.5 | 35.0 | 24.4 | 20.0 | 36.6 | 20.0 | 33.3 | 26.0 | 26.6 |
| tanık | 21.5 | 22.5 | 20.0 | 30.0 | 16.6 | 20.0 | 16.6 | 26.0 | 21.9 |
| delil | 3.1 | 2.5 | 0 | 10.0 | 0 | 4.0 | 6.6 | 0 | 2.9 |
| kanıt | 3.1 | 0 | 2.2 | 0 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 4.0 | 1.9 |
| beraat etmek | 23.1 | 30.0 | 20.0 | 26.6 | 33.3 | 24.0 | 23.3 | 28.0 | 25.7 |
| aklanmak | 0 | 2.5 | 0 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 3.3 | 0 | 0.9 |
| hayal | 46.2 | 42.5 | 42.2 | 53.3 | 40.0 | 36.0 | 50.0 | 46.0 | 44.8 |
| düş | 10.8 | 10.0 | 8.8 | 13.3 | 10.0 | 4.0 | 20.0 | 8.0 | 10.5 |
| netice | 4.6 | 7.5 | 2.2 | 3.3 | 13.3 | 0 | 13.3 | 4.0 | 5.7 |
| sonuç | 43.1 | 47.5 | 57.7 | 40.0 | 30.0 | 20.0 | 50.0 | 54.0 | 44.8 |

**Appendix 4b: List of Traditional Word-Loanword Pairs for Actual Use by Dependent Variables**

| Pairs | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Prim | Secon | Tert | **Mean** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| araba | 89.2 | 85.0 | 84.0 | 80.0 | 100.0 | 88.0 | 90.0 | 86.0 | 87.6 |
| otomobil | 4.6 | 5.0 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 0 | 4.0 | 0 | 8.0 | 4.8 |
| yokuş | 3.1 | 5.0 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 3.8 |
| rampa | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| cankurtaran | 4.6 | 15.0 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 13.3 | 12.0 | 10.0 | 6.0 | 8.9 |
| ambulans | 89.2 | 67.5 | 84.4 | 86.6 | 70.0 | 80.0 | 70.0 | 88.0 | 81.0 |
| muayenehane | 0 | 7.5 | 4.4 | 0 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 6.0 | 2.9 |
| klinik | 4.6 | 0 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6.0 | 2.9 |
| mülakat | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 6.0 | 0.9 |
| röportaj | 56.9 | 55.0 | 57.7 | 56.6 | 53.3 | 52.0 | 70.0 | 50.0 | 56.2 |
| gecelik | 0 | 2.5 | 2.2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.0 | 0.9 |
| pijama | 7.7 | 7.5 | 2.2 | 13.3 | 10.0 | 8.0 | 13.3 | 2.0 | 7.6 |
| lokanta | 13.8 | 12.5 | 13.3 | 13.3 | 13.3 | 12.0 | 10.0 | 16.0 | 13.3 |
| restoran | 3.1 | 2.5 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 0 | 4.0 | 3.3 | 2.0 | 2.9 |
| siyasetçi | 7.7 | 7.5 | 11.1 | 10.0 | 0 | 0 | 13.3 | 8.0 | 7.6 |
| politikacı | 32.3 | 60.0 | 33.3 | 43.3 | 56.6 | 44.0 | 46.6 | 40.0 | 42.9 |
| güle güle | 9.2 | 15.0 | 6.6 | 13.3 | 16.6 | 16.0 | 13.3 | 8.0 | 11.4 |
| bay bay | 7.7 | 10.0 | 2.2 | 10.0 | 16.6 | 24.0 | 6.6 | 2.0 | 8.6 |

**Appendix 5a: List of Traditional Word-Neologism Pairs for Reported Use by Dependent Variables**

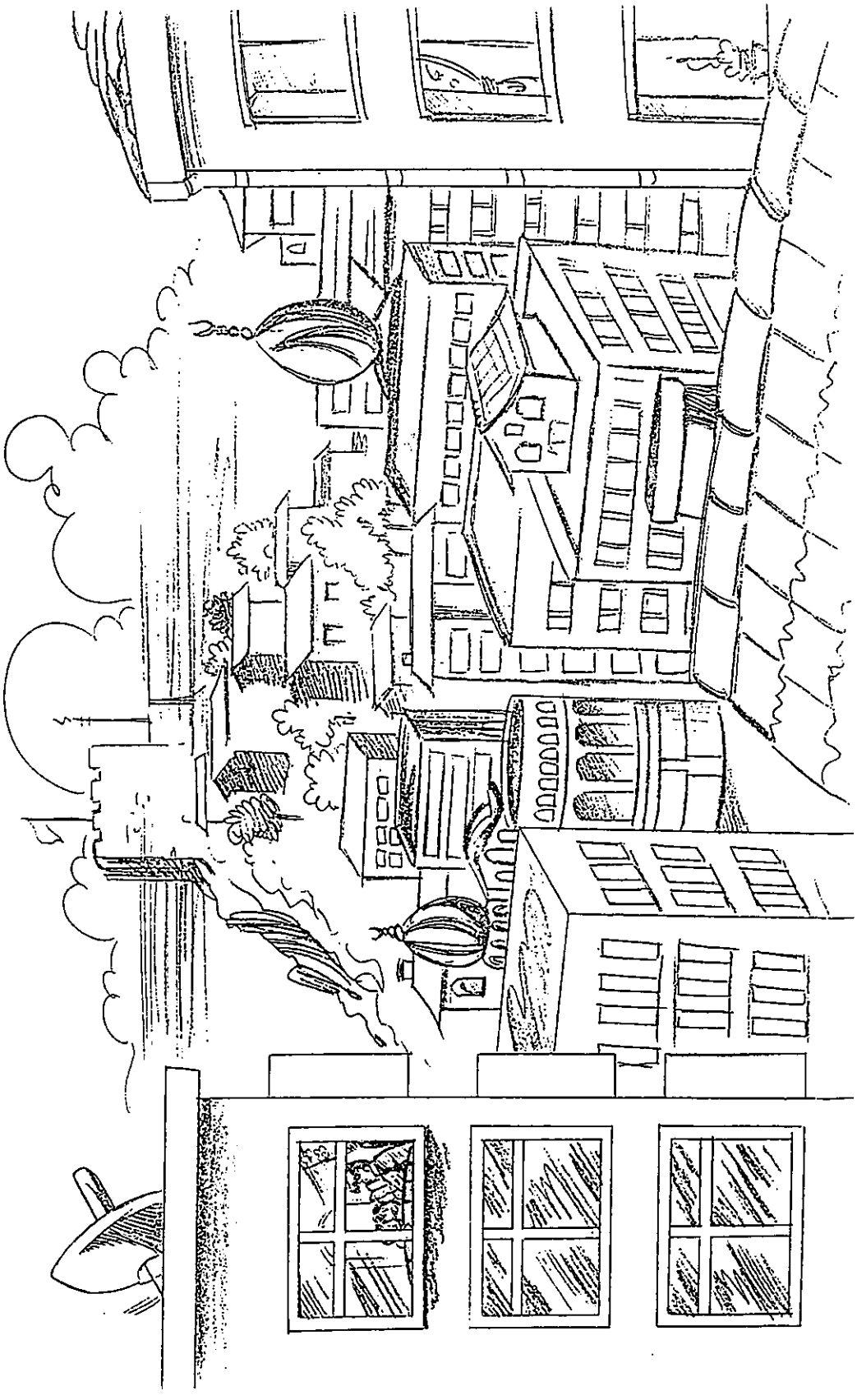
| Pairs | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Prim | Secon | Tert | **Mean** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| şehir | 84.6 | 80.0 | 86.6 | 80.0 | 80.0 | 92.0 | 93.3 | 72.0 | 82.6 |
| kent | 10.8 | 15.0 | 8.8 | 16.6 | 13.3 | 8.0 | 3.3 | 20.0 | 12.4 |
| hikaye | 73.8 | 80.0 | 77.7 | 80.0 | 70.0 | 84.0 | 86.6 | 66.0 | 76.2 |
| öykü | 12.3 | 15.0 | 8.8 | 13.3 | 20.0 | 16.0 | 13.3 | 12.0 | 13.3 |
| imtihan | 16.9 | 25.0 | 11.1 | 10.0 | 43.3 | 26.6 | 23.3 | 12.0 | 20.0 |
| sınav | 81.5 | 70.0 | 86.6 | 86.6 | 53.3 | 64.0 | 70.0 | 88.8 | 77.1 |
| talebe | 1.5 | 15.0 | 2.2 | 3.3 | 16.6 | 8.0 | 6.6 | 6.0 | 6.6 |
| öğrenci | 95.4 | 82.5 | 93.3 | 93.3 | 83.3 | 88.0 | 90.0 | 92.0 | 90.5 |
| cevap | 89.2 | 92.5 | 88.8 | 93.3 | 90.0 | 92.0 | 100.0 | 84.0 | 90.5 |
| yanıt | 7.7 | 5.0 | 8.8 | 3.3 | 6.6 | 4.0 | 3.3 | 10.0 | 6.6 |
| hakim | 80.0 | 80.0 | 80.0 | 86.6 | 73.3 | 80.0 | 93.3 | 72.0 | 80.0 |
| yargıç | 13.8 | 17.5 | 15.5 | 10.0 | 20.0 | 16.0 | 3.3 | 22.0 | 15.2 |
| şahit | 53.8 | 60.0 | 44.4 | 70.0 | 60.0 | 68.0 | 73.3 | 40.0 | 56.2 |
| tanık | 35.4 | 40.0 | 44.4 | 30.0 | 33.3 | 28.0 | 26.6 | 48.0 | 37.1 |
| delil | 50.8 | 70.0 | 44.4 | 70.0 | 66.6 | 72.0 | 70.0 | 44.0 | 58.1 |
| kanıt | 36.7 | 30.0 | 44.4 | 30.0 | 23.3 | 24.0 | 26.6 | 44.0 | 34.3 |
| beraat etmek | 81.5 | 92.5 | 84.4 | 93.3 | 80.0 | 88.0 | 93.3 | 80.0 | 85.7 |
| aklanmak | 7.8 | 7.5 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 10.0 | 8.0 | 3.3 | 10.0 | 7.6 |
| hayal | 78.5 | 80.0 | 73.3 | 80.0 | 86.6 | 72.0 | 86.6 | 78.0 | 79.0 |
| düş | 18.5 | 15.0 | 20.0 | 16.6 | 13.3 | 20.0 | 10.0 | 20.0 | 17.1 |
| netice | 13.8 | 17.5 | 4.4 | 16.6 | 30.0 | 28.0 | 13.3 | 10.0 | 15.2 |
| sonuç | 83.0 | 77.5 | 88.8 | 80.0 | 70.0 | 68.0 | 83.3 | 86.0 | 80.9 |

**Appendix 5b: List of Traditional Word-Loanword Pairs for Reported Use by Dependent Variables**

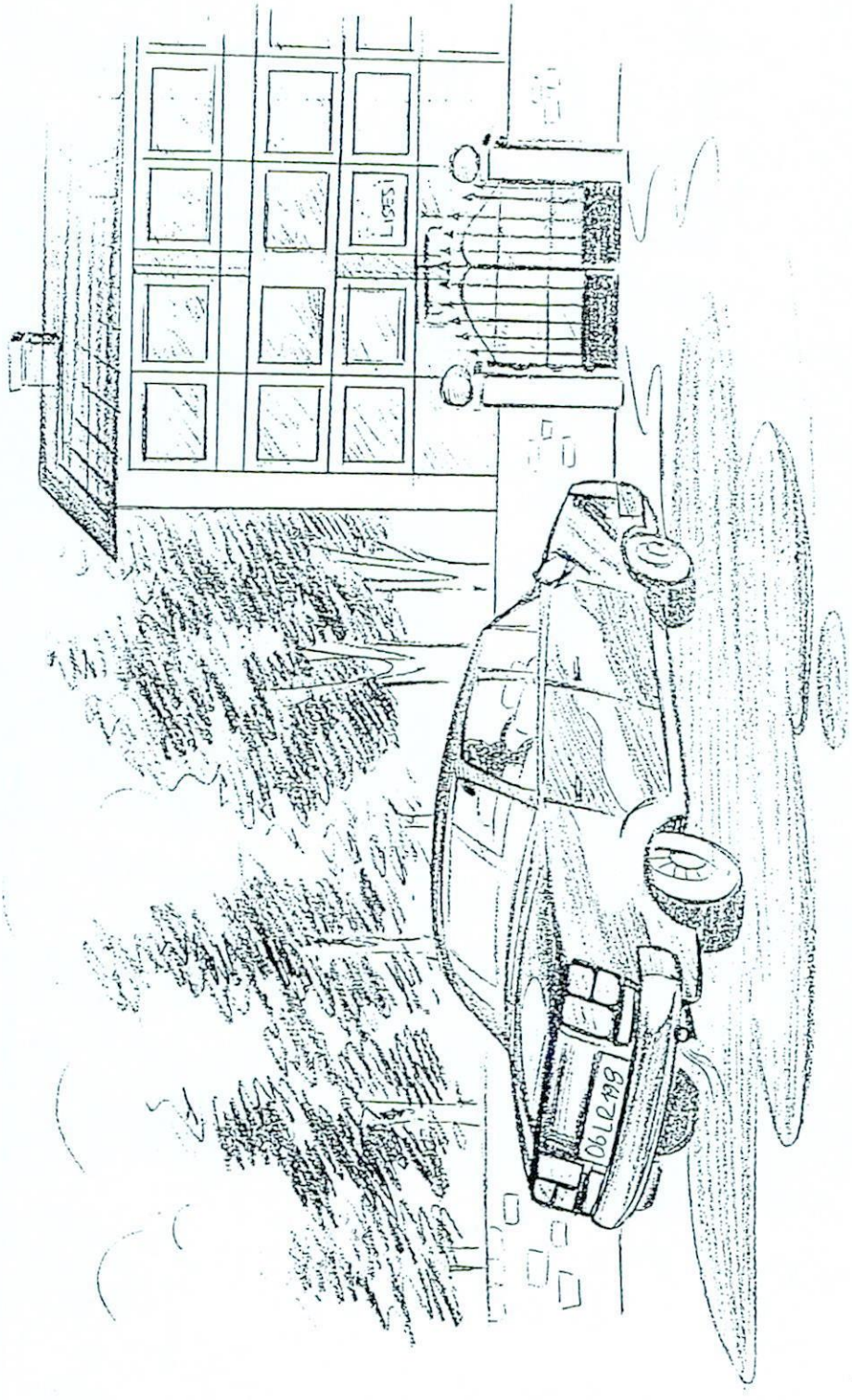
| Pairs | Female | Male | Young | Adult | Old | Prim | Secon | Tert | **Mean** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| araba | 80.0 | 80.0 | 77.7 | 80.0 | 83.3 | 88.0 | 80.0 | 76.0 | 80.0 |
| otomobil | 16.9 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 16.6 | 16.6 | 12.0 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 18.1 |
| yokuş | 80.0 | 72.5 | 77.7 | 80.0 | 73.3 | 76.0 | 76.6 | 78.0 | 77.1 |
| rampa | 9.2 | 20.0 | 11.1 | 16.6 | 13.3 | 16.0 | 13.3 | 12.0 | 13.3 |
| cankurtaran | 9.2 | 20.0 | 6.6 | 13.3 | 23.3 | 20.0 | 10.0 | 12.0 | 13.3 |
| ambulans | 90.8 | 80.0 | 93.3 | 86.6 | 76.6 | 80.0 | 90.0 | 88.0 | 86.6 |
| muayenehane | 66.0 | 67.5 | 60.0 | 70.0 | 73.3 | 80.0 | 63.3 | 62.0 | 66.6 |
| klinik | 18.5 | 25.0 | 22.2 | 23.3 | 16.6 | 12.0 | 26.6 | 22.0 | 21.0 |
| mülakat | 4.6 | 15.0 | 2.2 | 6.6 | 20.0 | 12.0 | 13.3 | 4.0 | 8.6 |
| röportaj | 95.4 | 85.0 | 97.7 | 93.3 | 80.0 | 88.0 | 86.6 | 96.0 | 91.4 |
| gecelik | 29.2 | 30.0 | 28.8 | 26.6 | 33.3 | 48.0 | 40.0 | 14.0 | 29.5 |
| pijama | 55.4 | 60.0 | 41.5 | 60.0 | 50.0 | 48.0 | 46.6 | 68.0 | 57.1 |
| lokanta | 64.6 | 77.5 | 66.6 | 73.3 | 70.0 | 76.0 | 80.0 | 60.0 | 69.5 |
| restoran | 20.0 | 15.0 | 13.3 | 23.3 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 10.0 | 22.0 | 18.1 |
| siyasetçi | 20.0 | 35.0 | 24.4 | 20.0 | 33.3 | 40.0 | 33.3 | 14.0 | 25.7 |
| politikacı | 70.8 | 65.0 | 64.4 | 80.0 | 63.3 | 56.0 | 66.6 | 76.0 | 68.6 |
| güle güle | 78.4 | 95.0 | 82.2 | 93.3 | 80.0 | 76.0 | 90.0 | 86.6 | 84.8 |
| bay bay | 13.8 | 5.0 | 11.1 | 6.6 | 13.3 | 20.0 | 10.0 | 6.0 | 10.5 |

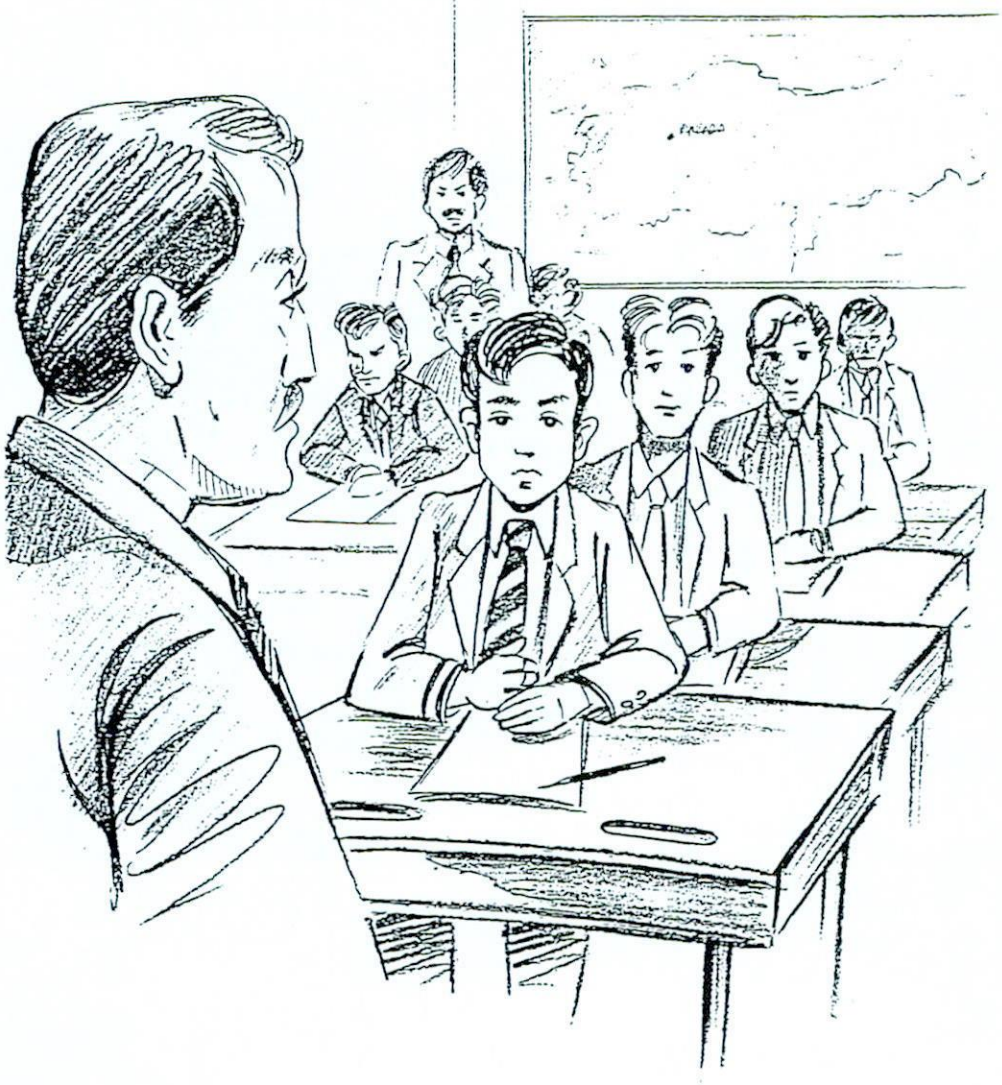
## Appendix 6

## Stimulus Material - Cartoon Illustration






LISSI
6617190



4



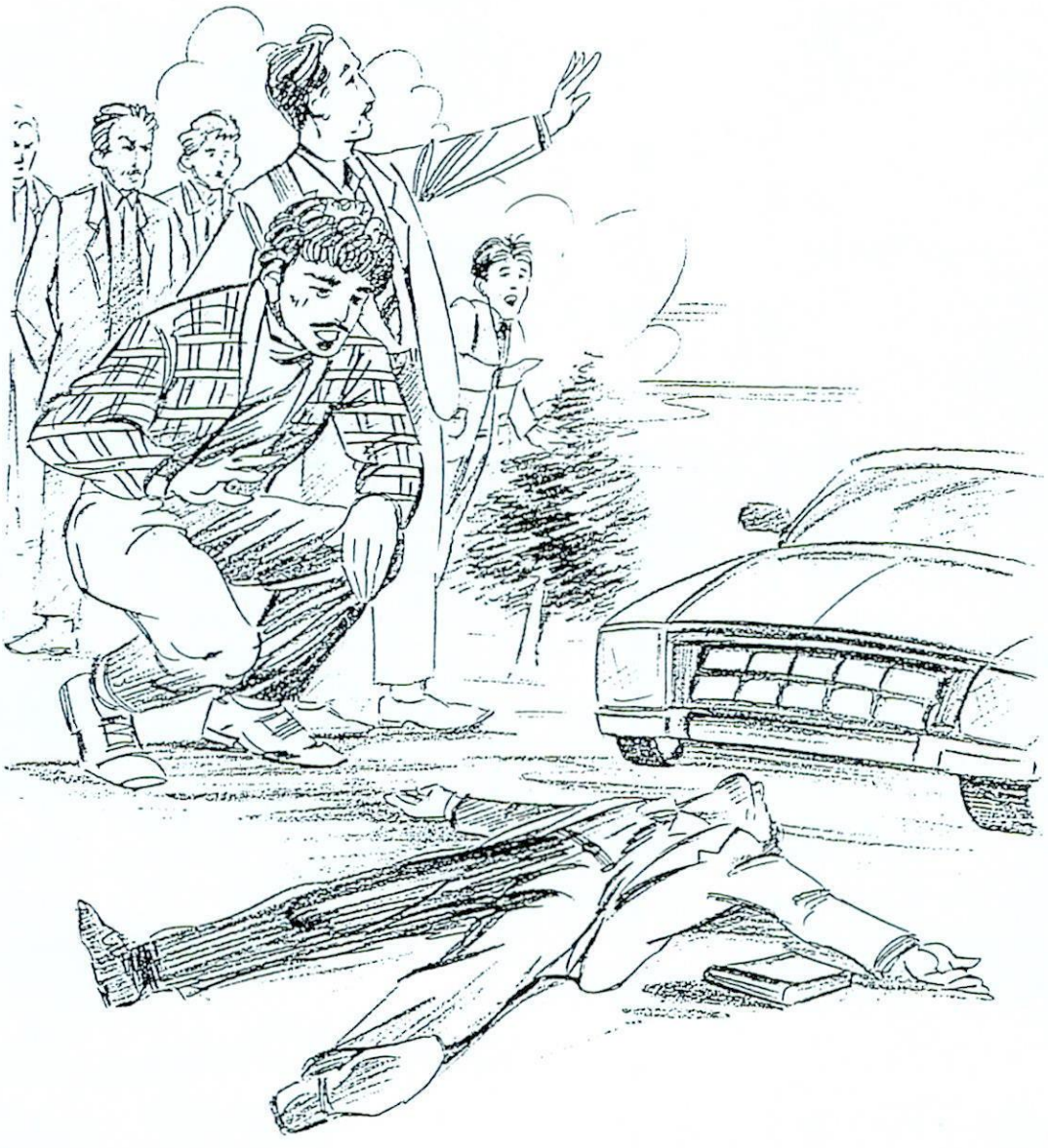
5







8



9



10



11



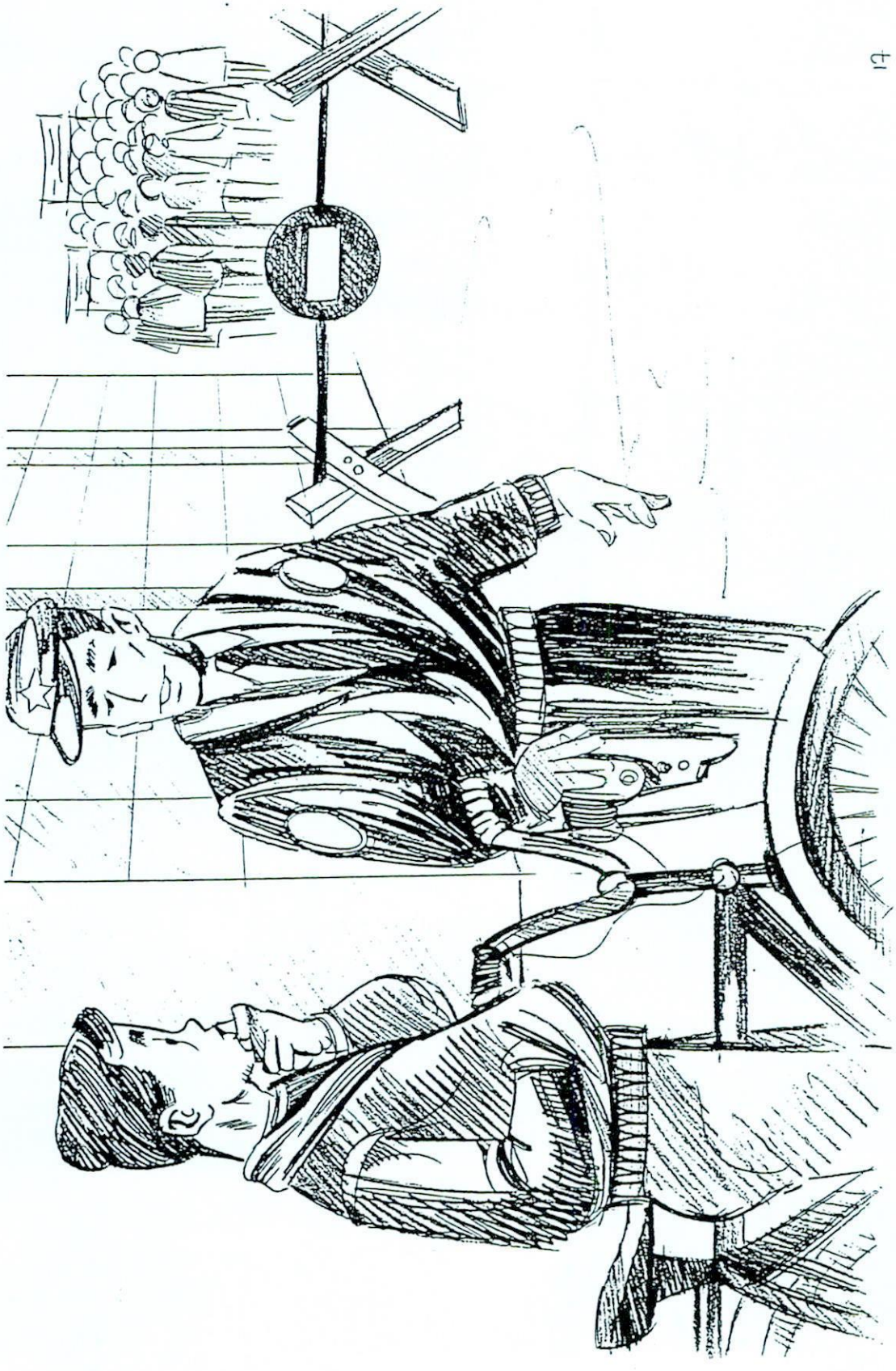

ADALET
MÜLLÜN
TEMELİDİR



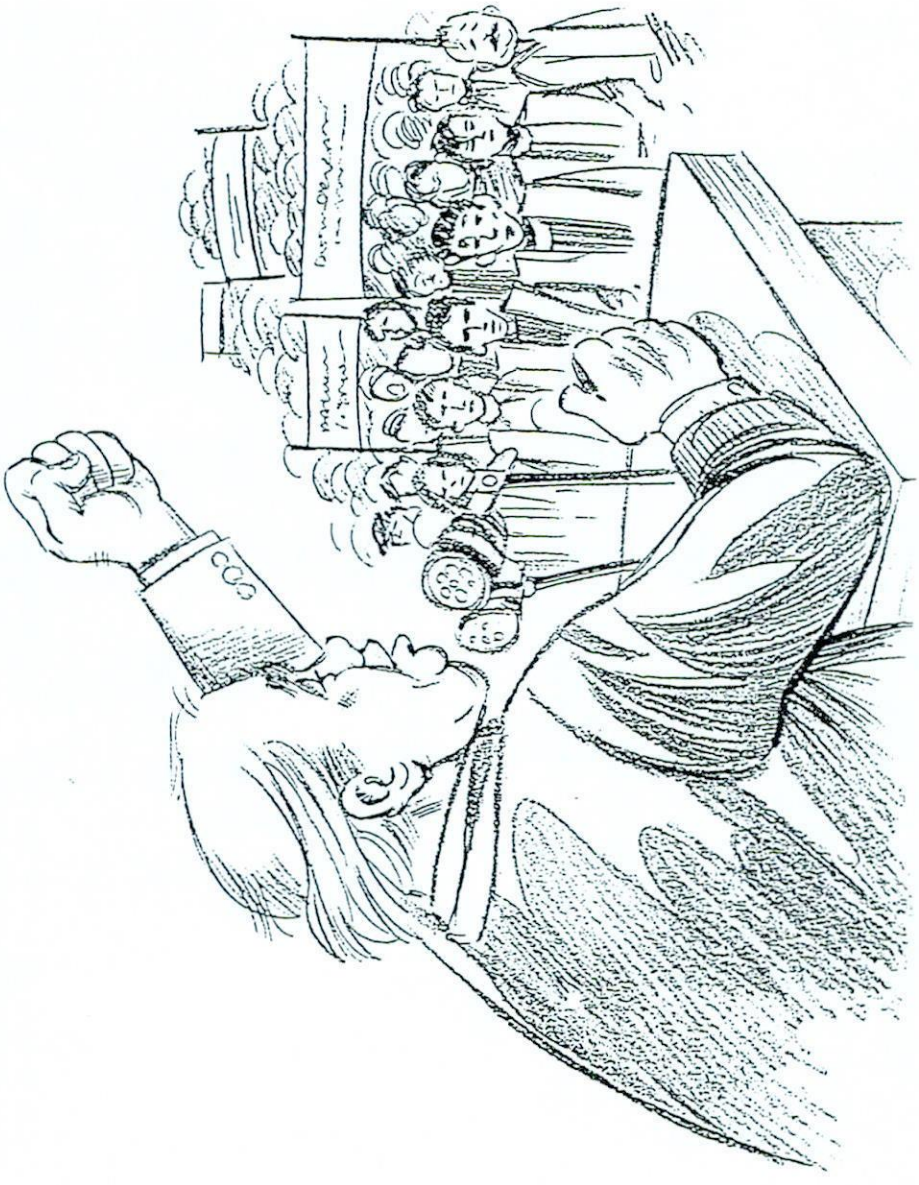

BASIN



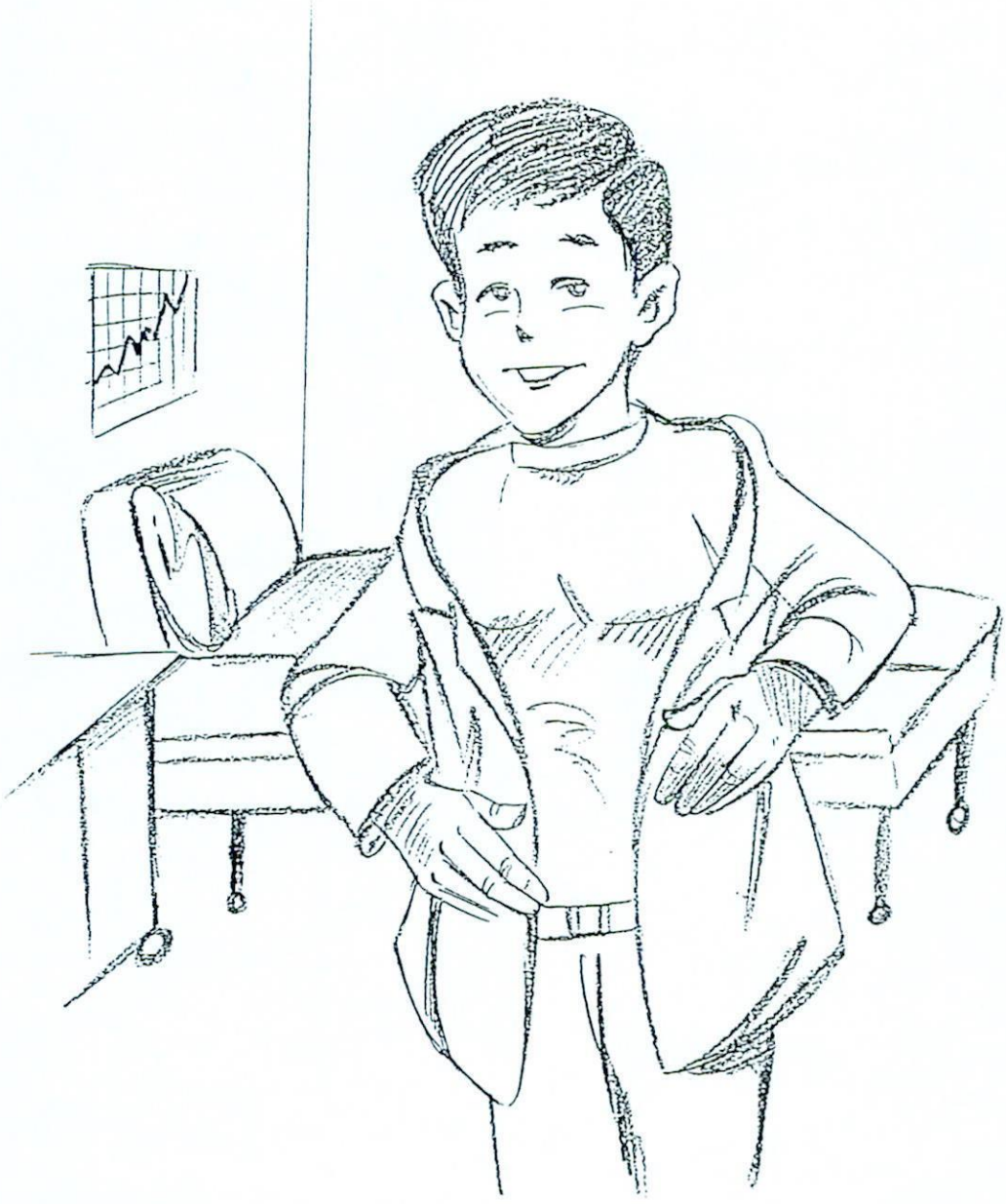
16



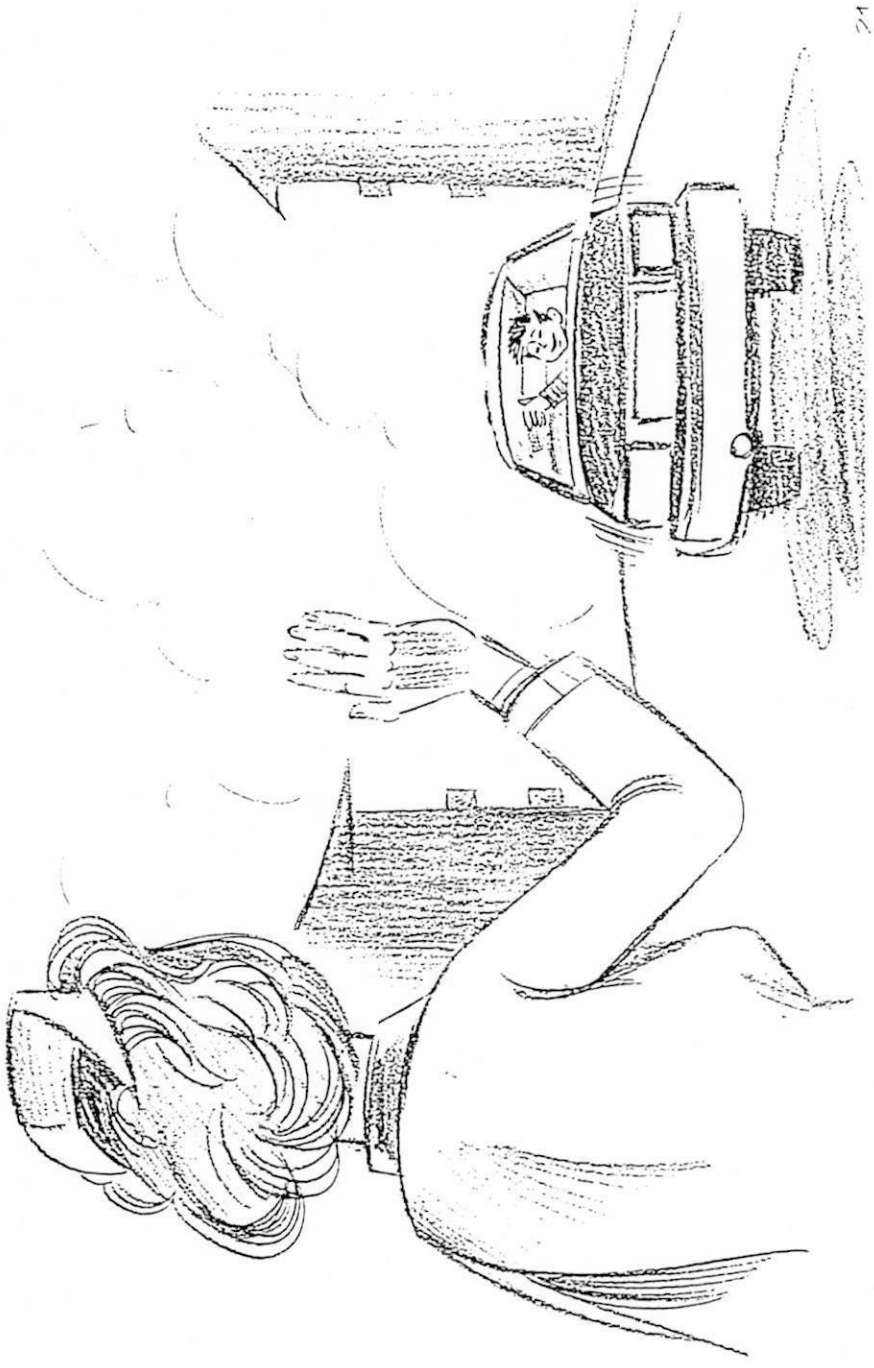
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